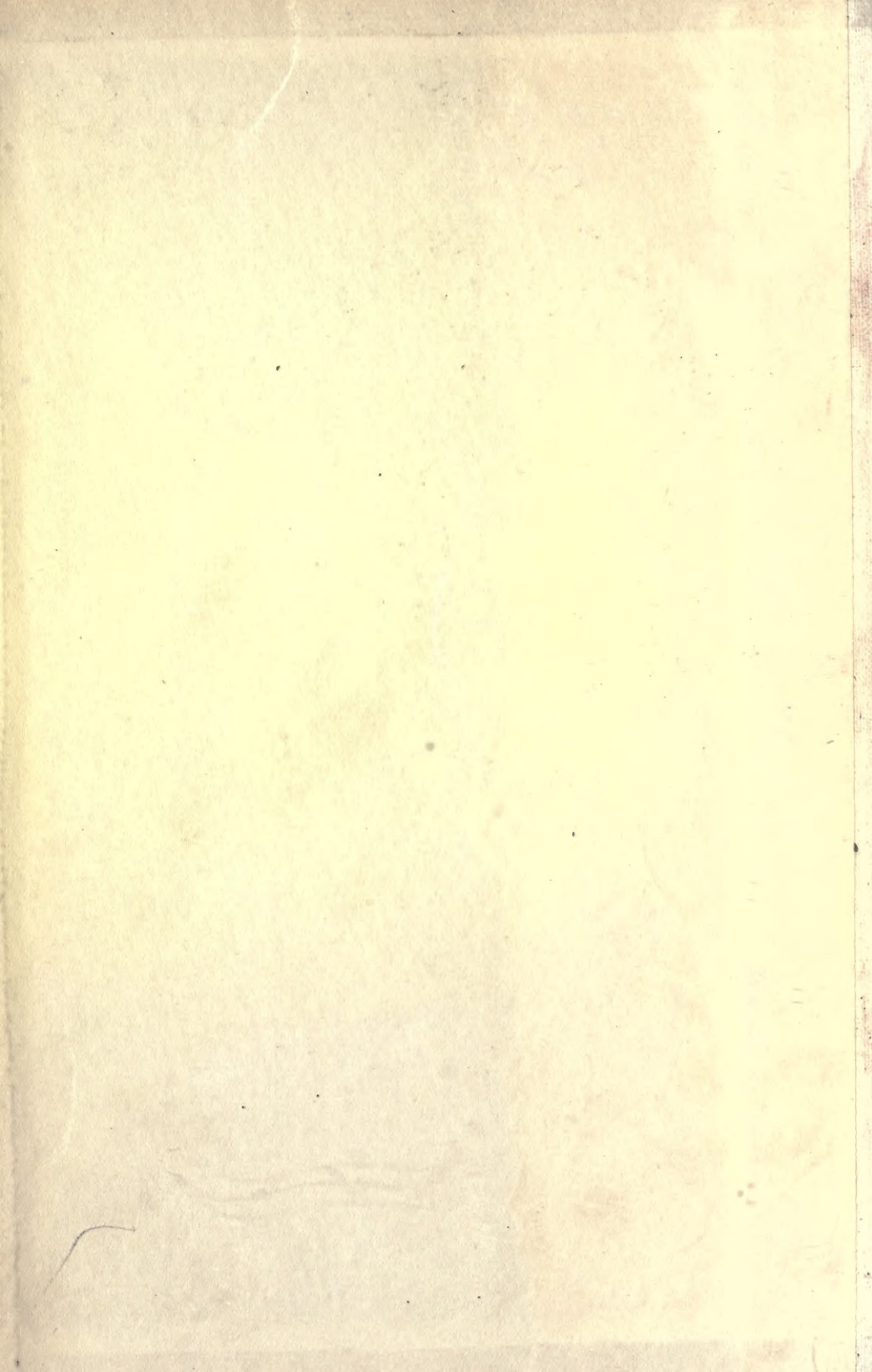


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HISTORY

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF

The Historical Association

Edited by

A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Litt.D.

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
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HISTORY

APRIL, 1919.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE¹

"SOME men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them." The eponymous hero of the Monroe Doctrine belonged rather to the third of these categories than to the first or the second. The son of a Virginian planter, he was certainly not born great; and although he served in the American War of Independence, was sent as envoy to France in 1797 and 1803, and was twice elected President of the United States, no one would say that he achieved measurable distance of the greatness of Presidents like Washington, Lincoln, or Wilson. His fame has come to him not for any personal qualities or achievements, but rather from his more or less accidental connection with a political doctrine which was fashioned out of the circumstances and the mind of the American people and came to express vaguely and varyingly their outlook upon external politics. It was adumbrated rather than defined in Monroe's presidential message read to Congress on December 2nd, 1823; but that message has been attributed to other minds than that of the President himself, and it bears that stamp of compromise which lends itself to various interpretations.

Monroe himself was a man of kindly temperament rather than decisive intellect, and, despite the name the doctrine bears, it is popularly fathered upon more clear-cut personalities, Canning on this side of the Atlantic, John Quincy Adams on the other. There are other claimants for whom historical research might make out a plausible title, and as early as 1814 the Russian Ambassador, Nesselrode, wrote to his master, the Emperor Alexander, that "the dominant party in America . . . is aiming at a complete revolution in the relations of the New World with the Old by the destruction of all European interests in the American

¹ A lecture delivered at King's College, London, on November 7th, 1917.

continent." This quotation will serve to indicate the extent to which ideas subsequently associated with the Monroe Doctrine had permeated the American mind before Monroe himself had even entered upon his first term of presidential office. It indicates that the Monroe Doctrine, like most historical ideas and institutions, grew out of circumstances which turned many minds in the same direction, and was not conceived of sudden impulse or made by a single act of creation. It was the offspring not of a man, but of a generation, and it grew out of the situation in which the people of the United States found themselves in face of the European Restoration after Napoleon's fall.

A similar declaration of political faith might have been precipitated even earlier, had Napoleon succeeded, and had Great Britain disappeared as a buffer between the mighty Emperor of the Old World and the infant Hercules of the New. Saved from that menace, which only took occasional form in Napoleon's words, the United States could afford to resent the British blockade and to cherish the inherited conviction that George III. was a greater danger to democracy in America than Napoleon himself. At any rate, the conflict between the two giants of the Old World promised respite, if not safety, for the New, and probably assisted the growth of a determination in America to preclude a similar contest between Legitimism and Revolution on its side of the Atlantic. But the Restoration made the danger greater if it did not bring it nearer. Legitimism came into its own again in Europe, but its own was not confined to Europe. The War of Liberation against Napoleon inured to the benefit of Bourbons, of Hapsburgs, and of Hohenzollerns; and although Great Britain refused to subscribe to the Holy Alliance, British association in the Quintuple Alliance with the three autocratic signatories to that document was enough to give British government a shady complexion in the eyes of distant observers, and to arouse American apprehension of a Europe solidly wedded to the principles of Legitimism and reaction. After all, there still sat on the British throne the king who had fought a seven years' war to prevent the birth of republican freedom in America.

Nor was the danger precluded by the Atlantic ocean; for nine-tenths of the American continents were still ruled or claimed as dominions by European monarchs, and the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine was precipitated by the struggle between the Bourbon King of Spain and the vast possessions in North and South America which had come down to him from the days of Philip II. The opportunity for their revolt had been provided

in 1807 by Napoleon's ejection of the Bourbon from the Spanish throne and the substitution of his brother Joseph Bonaparte; and the success of colonial liberation was facilitated by the British Fleet, which controlled the sea and prevented European intervention in the South American wars of independence. The struggles, however, were long, and the issue was still in doubt when the fall of the Napoleonic dynasts and the restoration of the Bourbons in Europe produced fresh complications. As between the Bonapartes and the revolted Spanish colonies our British attitude was clear enough; but the re-established Bourbons were our allies, and while sympathy with the colonists remained, overt action on their behalf became a delicate matter. Spain herself was divided in opinion; a Liberal but impracticable Constitution had been set up in 1812 to the accompaniment of Wellington's march and of the rising of Spain against the Bonapartes. The restored Bourbons had, however, little love for constitutions, and Ferdinand VII. was equally bent on re-establishing autocracy in Spain and on recovering the Spanish colonies. Fortunately, perhaps, he was a feeble king, who failed in the preliminary operation of restoring his authority in Spain. But his Liberal Ministers were hardly less incompetent, and the Constitution they endeavoured to enforce produced an anarchy which invited intervention by the brother Bourbon across the Pyrenees. It was one of the points of the Holy Alliance that kings were a band of brothers bound to render each other assistance against insurgent subjects. England was no party to that pact, and refused at the Congress of Verona to countenance joint action for this purpose. France, however, went on with the blessings of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The Duke of Angoulême crossed the Pyrenees in April, 1823. Spain failed to repeat against the Bourbons the history of her uprising against the Bonapartes; Madrid was occupied by French troops in July, Ferdinand was reseatd on his autocratic throne, and by the end of September Cadiz alone upheld the cause of the Liberal Constitution.

Louis XVIII. had apparently succeeded where Louis XIV. had failed, and the Pyrenees had been abolished in the interests of reaction and the Bourbons. The English mind was switched back from the Napoleonic wars to those of the Spanish Succession, from the needs of restoration to the fear of the Bourbon *pacte de famille*. But England could no longer look for assistance to the Hapsburgs, for Hapsburg and Bourbon were at one with each other, as well as with Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs, in their devotion to the Legitimist cause; and Spain at least was lost.

But if the Pyrenees had disappeared, Canning was resolved to maintain the Atlantic Ocean. Spain might be lost, but her colonies might be saved; the Old World might surrender to reaction, the New might be preserved for progress. As Angoulême's armies swept across the Peninsula in July, 1823, Canning sounded Rush, the United States Ambassador in London, on the possibility of joint British and American action to prevent the extension of Bourbon intervention across the Atlantic. It was a momentous crisis in the history of the world: if the Bourbons were successful, the Old World would be made solid and safe for autocracy, the New would be divided between antagonistic forces. If they failed, the New World would become united for republican independence, and the Old would be divided for future struggles between democracy and despotism.

England stood at the crossways, and the decision was not easy. George IV. was not much more enlightened than George III., nor Liverpool and Eldon than Lord North. How could those who had fought against North American independence intervene on behalf of South American insurgents? The paternal despots had, it is true, been inconsistent in their patronage of George III.'s revolted subjects, but the age of revolution which ensued might well deter Tories from the *riposte* of encouraging other sovereigns' rebels. The political hesitation was, however, overborne by commercial interests, and a policy of principle that paid in cash had irresistible attractions. We had a vested interest in South American independence more tangible than Liberal sentiment; and the passion for trade with Spanish colonies which had stimulated Elizabethan enterprise, Cromwellian imperialism, the *Asiento*, and the war of Jenkins' Ear, had been gratified through the independence of the Spanish colonies. Those new markets had enabled us to bear with comparative ease the financial strain of the Napoleonic wars, and Liberal sympathy with the insurgents was subsequently fortified by the robust fear that Ferdinand would close the door as tight as he could against British trade and bestow his preferences, if any, upon his Bourbon friends in France.

That England was out for trade rather than for political principle was a suspicion amounting to conviction in the American mind which prevented complete co-operation between Canning and Monroe. There was also a natural and traditional sentiment against assisting England to pay back her score against France for having abetted Lafayette; and Adams was convinced that Canning was bent on defeating the Bourbons rather than helping

republican independence. Foreign trade was less an American interest at that moment than the assertion of a political principle; and with back doors of their own open so wide in the prairie, the United States felt less need than England to insist that their neighbours' portals should stand ajar. They had already recognised the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies, and they wanted England to do the same. But although English legionaries in their private capacity rendered yeoman service to Bolivar and his assistant liberators, the English Government was not prepared for a formal breach with its monarchical allies, and was naturally shy of republican principle.

There was a deeper distrust in Canning's mind, a distrust justified by the future. He did not like the vague but rooted idea which already underlay and was to determine the coming interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine. It was the schismatic conception of a fundamental divergence between the Old World and the New. Whatever might chance to the Old, the New World was to be an America for the Americans. North and South the western hemisphere was to be a preserve for republican institutions, a refuge from despots and militarism, a home for peace, a vast oasis and stronghold of liberty and democracy, saved by two oceans from the infection of European exploitation and war. The New would not intervene in the Old, the Old must not interfere with the New; each should pursue its own courses, live its own life, fashion its own ideals. Some went further than that, for there were Jingoës even in this haven of pacifist liberty; and of this New World the United States was to be the arbiter, protecting its weaker brethren against the threats of European militarism, intervening in their disputes without accepting liability for their conduct, and proclaiming its will as international law so far as relations with Europe were concerned.

There was food for anxious thought in these pretensions. The British flag flew over more American soil than the Stars and Stripes, and Pan-Americanism contained the germs of a greater menace to the British Empire than Napoleonic dreams. It seemed to shut us in on this side of the Atlantic, and to set a term to the age-long westward drift of British peoples. Further and more disconcerting than this, it appeared to abandon England to a single-handed conflict with European reaction, to leave it stewing, so to speak, in the juice of a cauldron in which it was thought to be at home, but from which it was really seeking escape. Adams thought us, but we were not, of the spirit of the Holy Alliance. Politically, as well as geographically, England

hovered between the two worlds into which he wished to divide mankind. Cut off from the inspiration and the aspirations of the New, we might have succumbed to the Old; for outside the British Isles there was little political liberty. France was a Bourbon monarchy, Italy a collection of petty autocracies, and Metternich reigned supreme. There was hardly a British commonwealth over seas; Australia was a convict settlement, New Zealand belonged to Maoris, South Africa had but a handful of British settlers; while at home reform was tongue-tied by authority. The doctrine of two worlds, one released for progress, the other condemned to reaction, had nothing to recommend it to an Englishman of Canning's cast of thought. Only by maintaining the unity of the world could he maintain the bond between Great Britain and her colonies in America; and only through the same unity could he rely upon the New World to help him in restraining the reaction of the Old. He wanted a balance where Adams would have broken the scales.

Adams' view was natural enough. American colonists were few and weak compared with the populations of European States, and he cannot be blamed for not piercing the veil of the future and foreseeing a Europe which would look to America for deliverance. If Europe could not manage her own affairs the fault was hers; it was enough for America to make itself safe for Americans and democracy, and his ideas might seem large enough without expanding to comprehend another world. Moreover, there might be more chance of Americans being left alone if they forswore interference everywhere else; and the burden of self-defence was sufficiently onerous. The Bourbons were not the only branch of the Holy Alliance seeking to strike root in American soil. In 1821 Russia had claimed the Pacific coast of North America almost down to Vancouver and exclusive rights of trading along it; and the attitude of Russia was responsible for some of the feeling in America and the phrases in which it was expressed in Monroe's Presidential message in December, 1823.

That message to Congress was not in form the enunciation of a policy or a principle; it was a statement of facts relating to public affairs, domestic as well as foreign, and of the position adopted and arguments used by the administration in the conduct of its negotiations. To a considerable extent its drafting was the work of the President's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, a Puritan of New England, a high and dry republican, and a man of narrower views but more incisive mind than the President himself. To him was apparently due the harshness and

the dogmatism of some of the views expressed. But the Monroe Doctrine has been distilled from a Presidential message that dealt in a narrative way with various negotiations in language adapted to their different circumstances and never intended to be of universal application. Russian claims to monopoly along the North Pacific coast were obviously different in their character from Spanish claims to the allegiance of Spanish colonists, and still more so from Canadian claims to share in the expansion towards the West. Arguments to rebut the first were incongruous to the third, and no British government could ever have accepted the contention that "the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers." Possibly by "colonisation" was meant what we should call "exploitation"; for Adams had already expressed the view that "the whole system of modern colonisation was an abuse" and that "it was time it should come to an end," and he can hardly have meant that Canadians had any less right to colonise British Columbia than Americans Spanish California. It was left to the future to determine what the "doctrine" meant, and this passage, which primarily referred to Russian claims, was ultimately understood to mean that existing colonies might extend into the unoccupied lands around them, but that no European Power was to obtain a fresh basis for colonial expansion on American territory.

It must, however, be remembered that the whole Presidential message was coloured by the facts that colonial autonomy was then unknown, that colonisation therefore meant the extension on American soil of European authority and undemocratic methods of government, and that these in their turn were identified by Americans with the principles of the Holy Alliance. It was that "system" which aroused the jealous anxiety of American statesmen, and against its extension to their continent was directed the major premiss of the President's message. It was not that he grudged the territory, but that he feared the political infection. After disclaiming any attitude save the "most friendly sentiments of anxious and interested spectators in favour of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men" on the eastern side of the Atlantic, he proceeded :—

"With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by so much loss

of blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their dominion to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The counterpart of this policy of throwing the protection of the United States over democracy and republicanism in both the American continents consisted in the repudiation of all ideas of interfering with autocracy elsewhere. It was the western hemisphere and not the world that was to be made safe for democracy.

"Our policy in regard to Europe," continued the President, "which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its Powers, to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every Power, submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the Allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other Powers will pursue the same course."

The passage about colonisation, provoked by Russian claims on the Pacific coast, and the wider implications in the President's message were overshadowed by the immediate effect of his pronouncement upon the South American problem. Whatever might be the difference in point of view between the British and American Governments, and, however inconvenient the Monroe Doctrine might prove to be for the future relations between the two Powers, it was felt on both sides of the Atlantic that on the immediate issue they stood together, and their attitude was decisive. The project of a European Congress to discuss intervention in South America was dropped, and the most reactionary governments sought to follow the British example by developing trade in the newly-opened and independent markets. Ferdinand

alone renewed his ineffective protests. But there was secret dismay in the counsels of the Holy Alliance; the message gave great offence in Prussia, and Metternich renewed his prophecies of the calamities which the New World would bring upon the Old. Opinion was not by any means unanimous in Great Britain, and Canning repudiated the right of any nation to veto colonisation on the American continents. The future alone could settle the problems involved in that claim, and Canning could not foresee how the grant of self-government to our colonies was to reconcile their growth with American repugnance to the extension of the "political system" of the Holy Alliance. Apart from its effect upon the domestic fortunes of the British Empire, that Liberal policy was an essential ingredient in Anglo-American friendship; and the reaction of the Monroe Doctrine upon the cause of progress in Europe is an important but unexplored aspect of nineteenth-century history. Assuredly the co-operation of Great Britain and the United States in the liberation of South America weakened the Holy Alliance in Europe; and making the New World safe for democracy made the Old World less secure in its Legitimism.

The Presidential message achieved its immediate object, and content with this practical success the people of the United States allowed their interest in the "doctrine" to slumber until later crises sent them searching for a principle on which to base their later views. The doctrine had *ex hypothesi* no application to the relations of purely American States with one another, and disputes between the United States and the now independent Mexico over their frontiers were settled, uniformly to the advantage of the United States, by the time-honoured methods of war or diplomacy without reference to the President's message. But whenever the dispute was between an American republic and a European Power possessing territory in the western hemisphere, there was a tendency to revert to, and improve upon, the passage in which Monroe had seemed to veto colonisation, and against which Canning had protested. The doctrine came to the front again in the disputes over the Oregon territory and the delimitation of the frontiers of Maine. But the most resounding application of the doctrine was the veto imposed by the United States upon Napoleon III.'s adventure in Mexico. Feeling the need of an imperialistic foreign policy, and finding an opportunity during the American Civil War, the French Emperor abetted the candidature of the unfortunate Maximilian for an imperial throne in Mexico, and despatched a French expedition to support him against his rebellious subjects.

This was clearly a case of extending the "political system" of Europe to American soil, and the moment the Civil War was liquidated the United States stepped in with a reassertion of Monroe's doctrine. Once more the European Power had no choice but to submit.

Here there was no extension or even straining of Monroe's message, but the same cannot be said of some later appeals to the "doctrine." It was even at times expanded to mean a United States protectorate over the whole hemisphere, and in this way it came to be something of a bugbear to Latin American States. They were glad enough to avail themselves of the protection it afforded against intervention by great European Powers, but they naturally feared its implied menace to their own independence of the United States, and there have been moments at which South American politicians have dreamed and talked of a United States of South America, less as a safeguard against European colonisation or autocracy than as a measure of defence against the pretensions of the United States of the North. For such fears there was some justification from a wider point of view than the South American; for "spread-eagleism" is much the same in its fundamentals as Old World imperialism, and no country, not even the United States, is quite immune from the spirit we now identify with Prussia. The creation of the Panama Canal afforded a natural outlet for such sentiments. "I guess," remarked an American in 1913, "that the United States can do what it likes with its own property." "But what," he was asked, "about the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty?" "Damn the Treaty!" was the laconic reply, upon which no Prussian talking of Belgian scraps of paper could have improved.

There were, indeed, occasions upon which American orators claimed in effect that, so far as American affairs were concerned, the will of the United States was *ipso facto* international law, or rather that the whole American hemisphere was a unit, subject to the suzerainty of the United States, and therefore immune, so far as its other States were concerned, from the ordinary liabilities and responsibilities to international law. A South American republic, for instance, was not to be made accountable to a European Power for its debts or its conduct towards the subjects of that Power unless the claim seemed reasonable to the United States. When in 1895-6 an acute boundary dispute arose between Great Britain and Venezuela, the United States intervened and grounded its intervention upon the Monroe Doctrine. There was nothing in President Monroe's message to justify such an inter-

pretation : Monroe had declared it to be the true policy of the United States in 1823 to leave the parties to themselves, and no one suspected Great Britain in 1895 of harbouring any design to annex or colonise Venezuela. Still less, as Lord Salisbury pointed out, was there any ground in international law for an intervention of this nature by a third party in the relations between two sovereign States. Unless the United States would—and it would not—make itself responsible for the conduct of disorderly Latin American republics, it could not object to European Powers holding those republics responsible for themselves.

Law and logic were both on the side of Great Britain; but there was something greater than either on the side of the United States, though it did not justify the case as it was stated by Secretary Olney. The Americans had a pronounced and natural fear of militarism in all its forms, and the more it dominated Europe, the more they were determined to resist its introduction into America. But force was still regarded as the ultimate arbiter in all disputes, and unarmed American republics would have to yield, whatever the merits of their case, in their disputes with well-equipped European Powers. Hence, sooner or later, they, too, would be compelled to arm unless some other methods were found and enforced for the settlement of disputes. The United States had no standing by international law in the disputes between European Powers and American republics, but it had a legitimate and overwhelming interest in the settlement of those disputes by other means than war. If they were not, one American State after another would arm, and the New World would become as militarist as the Old. The United States did not intend any interference in these disputes beyond insisting that they should be settled by arbitration and not by force of arms; thus the temptation to militarism in the American continents would be averted, and the New World would avoid that danger to democracy which threatened it in the Old. There may have been no justification by the letter of international law for even this claim; but international law had not shown itself in militarist Europe to be worth the sacrifice to it in America of the principle of arbitration on which the United States had taken its stand; and before 1914 Europe had practically admitted that its disputes in the New World would have to be settled by new methods.

The New World had thus been made not only safe for democracy, but safe for peace; and had the assumption, on which the Monroe Doctrine rested, of a complete separation between the

New World and the Old been valid, that doctrine would have achieved complete success within the sphere it had marked out. But there is no limited liability in humanity's affairs, and the Monroe Doctrine failed to divide the world into two. The annihilation of space by steam and electricity broke down the natural and the artificial isolation of mankind. The two worlds became one, and neither could repose in its peace and its democracy indifferent to the other. The United States had grown too big, and the world had grown too small, to admit of the existence of two antagonistic systems of international conduct. It was impossible to have one hemisphere dominated by militarism and another trusting in peace, to settle Eastern disputes by the argument of force and Western disputes by the force of argument. For the nation accustomed to war regarded it as the final arbitrament wherever the conflict might arise, and the people which believed in arbitration also believed in its universal application. One or the other must become the general rule common to both the worlds; and inasmuch as no arbitration could compel the believer in war to abandon his weapons, the apostles of peace were driven to drawing the sword to disarm him.

The war is a civil war because the world has become a single community. That sounds like a paradox in the midst of this world-wide strife; but civil wars have often been the unconscious symptoms and the growing pains of unity. They are disputes over the articles of association, and they only arise when the association has been formed or is in process of formation. No civil war was ever fought between parties who had agreed to separate; and if the New World had found it possible to live without the Old, the United States would not have intervened. So, too, our Wars of the Roses were fought because England had become a nation and there was no room within it for both a Lancastrian and a Yorkist State; the significance of those two parties was not that they divided England, but that they united so many local factions into two national parties which struggled for control of the national State. Thus, too, the wars of religion in France changed Breton and Gascon, Norman and Provençal, from provincials into two national parties, and the triumph of one of them made France a nation. In the same way the American Civil War was a symptom of growing unity; it showed that the States were becoming too much united to speak with a double voice on such questions as slavery and the Constitution, and this war has shown that the whole world is too much one to have two halves governed by mutually-destructive principles.

We cannot escape our common fate by isolation, and the Monroe Doctrine has crossed the Atlantic, shedding its American limitations, to make the whole world safe for freedom. That was the cause that had brought other scions of our race across other seas earlier in the war; but there is a profound significance in the moving sight of this reunion of the Anglo-Saxon world. Liberty is the common bond; to some we gave it freely, others won it in our despite. But liberty has healed the breach which the refusal of it made; and the children of those old Pilgrim Fathers who went forth with tears bearing their precious seed, have come again rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them, sheaves in the shape of Metternich's "calamities" of judgment and retribution for the architects of ruin and the autocrats of war. And amid all the desolation of the conflict, the defection of false or feeble friends, and the deferment of hope, we yet may use of Freedom and her children the words which Shakespeare used of old-time England and her princes:—

"Now these her children are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
If Freedom to herself do rest but true."

A. F. POLLARD

THE PROBLEM OF DALMATIA¹

Of the secondary questions discussed at the Peace Conference between the Allies, none has been more difficult of solution than that of the rival Italian and Jugo-Slav claims in the Adriatic. This has been largely due to the manner in which the question has been handled in both the Italian and Jugo-Slav Press, where the principal champions on either side have not been moderate men from districts far removed from the debatable territories, but exiles from Dalmatia, embittered as all exiles are, and inflamed by the memories of half a century's municipal conflicts on the small stage of the Dalmatian coast towns. In Italy a further circumstance tended to envenom the discussion. The censorship, powerless in Milan but omnipotent in Rome, allowed only one view, that of Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, to be put forward in the Press of the capital, where its principal champions were Italians from Trieste and other "unredeemed" cities, who naturally embarked on the subject much in the same spirit that an Ulsterman would write about the Nationalists of Ireland, or a Bulgarian-Macedonian about the Serbs and Greeks of Monastir. For some time the Italian propagandists abroad were

¹ *La questione dell'Adriatico*. Da C. Maranelli e G. Salvemini. Firenze: Libreria della Voce, 1918. 8 lire.

Italia e Jugoslavia a cura d'un gruppo di scrittori italiani e jugoslavi. Firenze: Libreria della Voce, 1918. 8 lire.

La Dalmazia. Da Giuseppe Prezzolini. Firenze: Libreria della Voce, 1915. 1 lira.

La Dalmazia: Scritti di G. Dainelli, T. De Bacci Venuti, ecc. Genova: Formiggini, 1915. 2 lire.

Italiani e Slavi nell'Adriatico, di Attilio Tamaro. Roma: Athenæum, 1915.

L'Adriatico: studio geografico, storico e politico di X.X.X. Milano: Treves, 1915.

La question de l'Adriatique. Par Italicus Senator. Roma: Bertero, 1916.

Dalmazia e Italia, di Alessandro Dudan. Milano: Ravà, 1915.

L'Italia e i popoli jugoslavi, di "Civis Italicus." Roma: Nuova Antologia, 1915.

La question de la Dalmatie. Par Dalmaticus Genève: Georg et Cie, 1918.

La Dalmatie, l'Italie et l'Unité Yougoslave (1797-1917). Par Comte L. de Voïnovitch. Genève: Georg et Cie, 1917. 4 francs.

L'Ora della Dalmazia. Lettere di uno Slavo a un Amico italiano. Da X.X.X. [=Count L. de Voïnovitch]. Firenze: Aldino, 1915.

Les Races et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie. Par Bertrand Auerbach. 2e. éd. Paris: Alcan, 1917. 10 francs.

often chosen from this class, until it was found that those who "think that they shall be heard" for their violent language have usually an opposite effect upon Anglo-Saxons. Meanwhile, despite the Roman censorship, a group of writers, of whom Professor Salvemini was the chief, advocated in the weekly review, *L'Unità*, and in the first three books cited above, a friendly compromise with the Jugo-Slavs, and their efforts culminated in the espousal of their cause and the adoption of their arguments by the Milanese Press, which includes the *Corriere della Sera*, the most influential of all Italian journals.

Before reviewing the arguments on either side, let us first give the figures of the Dalmatian population. At the last Austrian census of 1910 there were in the whole of Dalmatia 610,669 Jugo-Slavs, 18,028 Italians, 3,081 Germans, and 14,888 of other nationalities, mostly soldiers. In other words, the Italians numbered not quite 3 per cent., and the Jugo-Slavs almost 95 per cent., of the population. Moreover, of the 18,028 Italians, more than half, viz., 9,278, were to be found in one Dalmatian town, Zara, so that in the whole of the rest of the country there were only 8,750 Italians as against 606,549 Jugo-Slavs. The figures of the last general election for the Austrian Reichsrath, for which manhood suffrage prevailed, tell much the same tale. Of the eleven members sent by Dalmatia to Vienna, none was Italian, but all were Jugo-Slavs, for even at Zara, owing to the unfair inclusion in that mainly Italian constituency of the overwhelmingly Slav islands of Rab and Pag (*italicé* Arbe and Pago) and the town of Biograd (*italicé* Zadaravčica), the Italian candidate, Sig. Boxich, was beaten, even though the Jugo-Slavs there permitted themselves the luxury of two rival Croatian candidatures, so that he should have been the *tertius gaudens*. At the elections to the local Dalmatian Diet, elected on the timocratic Prussian *Dreiklassensystem*, the Italians did rather better, obtaining six out of forty-two members; but out of eighty municipal councils only one, that of Zara, was in the hands of the Italians before the war. These figures, which have been impugned by Italian Dalmatians, were practically confirmed to the present writer, when he last visited Dalmatia a few years ago, by the editor of the Italian newspaper, *Il Dalmata*, of Zara. Thus, numerically and racially, except at Zara, which is preponderantly Italian, Dalmatia is a Slav country, and outside the coast towns the Italians are an infinitesimal minority. Even the extreme Italian Nationalist writers, though they put the numbers of the Italians higher, admit that the vast majority is Slav; but they regard that majority as a race on an

altogether lower plane of culture, little above the Hottentots or Red Indians—an argument which sounds strange in these democratic days when the vote of an illiterate peasant has as much weight at elections as that of the most learned professor of any of Italy's many famous universities, and which ignores the existence of the various Meshtrovitches, Bulitches, Voïnovitches, and Trumbitches, who have all sprung from the ranks of the Dalmatian Slavs, and despises the literature of Slavonic Ragusa.

Historical arguments have been also advanced to prove that Dalmatia should be annexed to Italy, because it belonged to ancient Rome, and later on to the Venetian Republic. Now the ancient Roman argument carries us a good deal farther than Dalmatia. If modern Italy be entitled to Dalmatia, because Diocletian built a palace and planted cabbages at Spalato, she should be equally entitled to Britain, because Severus and Constantius died in a palace at York. If we are to reconstruct modern Europe on the lines of the Roman Empire, the era of wars is only beginning, and the centuries that have passed since its fall have been in vain. The Venetian argument is more specious, for Venice has left her mark upon the walls and Italian dialect of the Dalmatian coast towns, and for several centuries occupied a portion of the country. But to assert that all Dalmatia was ever Venetian is, as Sig. Prezzolini shows, a grave historical error. It is true that after his Dalmatian expedition of 998, the Doge, Pietro Orseolo II., took the title of "Duke of Dalmatia," a title resumed by Vitale Falier in 1086; but then Kreshimir Peter, the Croatian sovereign, described himself as "King of the Dalmatians" in 1052, and, after the fall of the Croatian kingdom, the Hungarian monarch, Koloman, was crowned "King of Dalmatia" at Zaravecchia in 1102. From that time down to 1358 Hungary and Venice disputed between them the possession of Dalmatia, till by the treaty of Zara in that year the Venetians "renounced the whole of Dalmatia from the middle of the Quarnero as far as the confines of Durazzo." It was not till 1409 that Venice regained a foothold in Dalmatia, not till 1420 that the acquisition of Cattaro rounded off her Dalmatian possessions, which she retained till the treaty of Campo Formio ceded them to Austria in 1797.

But even during this latter period of continuous Venetian possession, Venice never owned even the whole coast. The Republic of Ragusa not only remained an exception, but survived Venetian rule in the rest of Dalmatia. True, Ragusa was under Venetian supremacy and governed by Venetian counts from 1124

to 1152, in 1172 and the following years, and from 1205 (with, however, occasional breaks) till 1358. But from that date till the end of the Ragusan Republic in 1808, "the Slavonic Athens" was never Venetian, and from the treaty of Karlovitz in 1699 onward was not even conterminous with Venetian territory, for the two Turkish enclaves of Klek and the Sutorina were then purposely inserted between them, so as to keep the two commercial commonwealths apart. Even down to our own time those two Turkish enclaves formed parts not of Dalmatia, but of the Herzegovina—territory, prior to 1908, "occupied," but not annexed, by Austria-Hungary. Thus the late Professor Freeman rightly said that "Ragusa stands out . . . as that one among the famous cities of the Dalmatian and Albanian coast where the lion of St. Mark is not to be seen." As for the other Slavonic republic of Dalmatia, Poglizza, "the Slavonic San Marino," was founded by Bosnian fugitives in 944, placed under Hungarian *Bans* about 1350, and did not come under Venetian protection till 1444, while retaining its curious autonomy till its destruction by Napoleon in 1807; and, as long as the Duchy, whose name is preserved in the modern Herzegovina, lasted, the coast at the mouth of the Narenta belonged to it. Thus, as the learned Dalmatian diplomatist, who writes under the pseudonym of "Dalmaticus," says (p. 49), "the sovereignty of Venice over Dalmatia, during the largest portion of this epoch, extended, with interruptions and uncertainties, over a mere strip of coast, which never reached a depth of more than five kilometres inland." It was not till the treaty of Karlovitz in 1699 that the Republic penetrated as far as the inland towns of Knin, Klis (*italicé* Clissa), Vrlika, and Sinj—the so-called *nuovo acquisto*; and it was not till the peace of Passarovitz in 1718 that she obtained the so-called *nuovissimo acquisto*, which made her at last mistress of Dalmatia, as we know it, except the two Slavonic Republics of Ragusa and Poglizza.

Nor was Venetian rule any more popular in Dalmatia than in the Ionian Islands, or, indeed, than that of Austria, who did very little for that country during her occupation of over a century. "Venice always treated us," writes the Dalmatian author of *La Question de la Dalmatie* (p. 52), "as persons of inferior race, as food for cannon; she kept Dalmatia, at all times and of deliberate purpose, in a state of servile ignorance so great that she reduced to degradation a population endowed by nature with the most precious moral and intellectual qualities." Abbé Pisani, the learned French historian of modern Dalmatia, takes

a similar view, and sums up the result of Venetian rule on the eastern shore of the Adriatic at the close of the Republic in the words, that there were "few countries more miserable than Dalmatia at the end of the eighteenth century." The only foreigners, as Dalmatians have told the present writer, who have ever done anything for this unhappy fringe of the Orient were the French during the first part of their nine years' brief occupation from 1805 to 1814. An Austrian historian has described Marmont and Dandolo as "the two most eminent administrators that Dalmatia has ever had"; and the Austrian Emperor Francis I., when he visited Dalmatia soon after its restoration to the Hapsburg Monarchy, genially remarked that it was a pity that the French had left so soon. France introduced the Serbo-Croatian language into the schools and the public offices, and democratised the country. Nor have contemporary historians of the movement for unity between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, like Count Voinovitch, forgotten that Napoleon I., by his creation of the "Illyrian Provinces," of which Dalmatia with the former Republic of Ragusa formed two, was a forerunner of Jugo-Slavia. But when the French Emperor began to regard Dalmatia as merely a nursery for tall soldiers, and endeavoured to enforce conscription, the tenacious natives rose almost to a man against the French. Never were the Dalmatian islands so prosperous as during the British occupation of Vis (*italicé* Lissa), Korcula (Curzola), Hvar (Lesina), and the Ragusan Archipelago between 1812 and 1815. An inscription at Curzola still preserves the memory of the British Governor, and it was a British naval commander who assisted the Montenegrins in taking Cattaro during that period—a feat not repeated in the recent war. As for the Austrians' administration, the contrast between what they had done for Bosnia and the Herzegovina since 1878 and what they had left undone for Dalmatia since 1814 led a witty Ragusan lady to express the desire that Dalmatia, too, had been "occupied." It was thanks, too, to Austrian methods that the hatred between the rival races was artificially encouraged, just as Abdul Hamid II. ruled Macedonia by playing off the various peoples which inhabited it against each other.

These historic facts account for the present phenomenon, that, while the interior of the country is almost wholly Slav, the Italian minority is almost exclusively found in the coast towns, and notably at Zara, the headquarters of Venetian influence. Moreover, the Slavonisation of Dalmatia is not, as sometimes represented, a new feature, but began as far back as the time of the

Emperor Herakleios (610-41) at least, as we know from Constantine Porphyrogénnetos. In 622 the biographer of Charlemagne, Eginhard, describes the "Sorabi," or Serbs, as "said to occupy a large part of Dalmatia." In the twelfth century Anna Comnena called the Serbian Kings of Diocletija "Exarchs of the Dalmatians,"¹ and Cinnamus described the Serbians as "a Dalmatian race."² Thus the Dalmatian Slavs are not newcomers, but can point to an occupation of thirteen centuries. Of the two pre-existing elements in the Dalmatian population, the Romans, as the Imperial historian adds, retired into the coast towns—then, as under Venice and now, the refuge of the Latin race—while the Illyrian aborigines were pushed southward into what is now Albania. Thus Finlay was, as usual, accurate in his remark that "the modern history of the eastern shores of the Adriatic commences with the establishment of the Slavonian colonies in Dalmatia" (i. 333). The Emperor Herakleios is the real author of the present Italo-Jugo-Slav "question of the Adriatic."

But the reason more frequently advanced for the Italian annexation of Dalmatia is neither racial nor historic, but strategic. On this point Professor Salvemini, Sig. Bissolati, the eminent ex-Minister who resigned on the Jugo-Slav question last December, and others of their school contend that all that is necessary for Italy's safety in the Adriatic is the possession of Pola, Valona, and some of the outermost of the three layers of islands which stretch along the Dalmatian coast, as well as the neutralisation of this latter and the autonomy of Zara. A very distinguished British general, who has an intimate acquaintance with the Southern Slavs, informed the writer that no military position is so difficult for a foreign garrison to defend as a narrow ledge at the foot of the mountains, a "face without a head," such as Dalmatia is, especially when the vast block of territory behind the mountains is of the same race as the population inhabiting that ledge. That was one reason why Count Andrassy urged the occupation of Bosnia. Now those who, like Sig. Bissolati, have fought against the Croat troops in the field, or those who saw the patriotic fury of the Jugo-Slav contingent from the United States on the Macedonian front, know well what excellent fighters these men are. Nor is it likely that they would fight alone. Besides the support which they would certainly receive from their brethen of the independent Jugo-Slav kingdom, they might obtain the aid of the Greeks, if Italian nationalism (as seems now improbable)

1 i. p. 57 (ed. Teubner).

2 p. 12 (ed. Bonn).

insisted on retaining the thirteen islands of the Lower Ægean, the so-called "Dodekánesos," occupied by Italy since the Libyan war in 1912, and assigned to her by Article 8 of the Secret Treaty of London of April 26th, 1915. Thus a difficult situation might be created for a Power, placed in such an exposed geographical situation as the Italian peninsula, with a hostile Jugo-Slavia and Greece on the east and south-east, and a perhaps not over-friendly France on the west and (through Tunisia) on the south-west. In order to guard against supposed danger from a large Jugo-Slavia, some Italian politicians have latterly shown a desire for the maintenance on the throne of King Nicholas of Montenegro and his dynasty, in order to prevent the union of the two Serbian States under the Karageorgevich family, as advocated by the Unionist ex-Premier of Montenegro, M. Radovich, and his friends. *Divide et impera* is the principle underlying this policy. What the real opinions of the Montenegrin people are on this question it is very difficult to say, for most news that reaches Western Europe from there from either side is "official" and "tendentious."

There come next the economic arguments, which, according to Sig. Borgatta, one of the essayists in *Italia e Jugo-Slavia*, are contrary to an Italian annexation, because Italy's commercial penetration into the Balkan peninsula, as Sig. Tittioni pointed out when he was Italian Foreign Minister before the war, depends upon the construction of trans-Balkan railways from the coast inland, and the construction of these depends again upon the attitude, friendly or unfriendly, of the Jugo-Slav population of the Western Balkans towards Italy. Dalmatia in itself is a very poor country, and such fertile strips as it possesses, *e.g.*, the Sette Castelli between Traù and Spalato, and the immediate neighbourhood of Ragusa, were, in any case, assigned by the Secret Treaty of London to the Slavs and are at present occupied by Serbian troops. Otherwise, Dalmatia, like the Herzegovina and much of Montenegro, is a land of stones, while Italy needs, above all else, coal for her rapidly growing industries.

These views were held by two of the famous four founders of Italian unity. Mazzini advocated an alliance with the Southern Slavs, and asserted that while "Istria is ours, from Fiume, along the eastern shore of the Adriatic as far as the river Boyana on the confines of Albania, descends a zone in which, amidst the remains of our colonies, predominates the Slavonic element." Cavour wrote in 1860 to Valerio that "in the cities along the coast there are centres of population, Italian by race and aspirations.

But in the country districts the inhabitants are all of Slav race, and to display the wish to deprive so large a portion of Central Europe of every outlet on the Mediterranean would be to make enemies gratuitously of the Croats, the Serbs, the Magyars." In 1848 that great statesman declared the cause of the Austrian Slavs, anxious to obtain their emancipation and reconquer their nationality, to be "just and noble," and prophesied that it was "destined to triumph." That eminent son of Dalmatia, Tommaseo, similarly foretold that Serbia would one day act as a magnet to the Southern Slavs, and in 1860 frankly confessed his disbelief in the possibility of Dalmatia henceforth serving as an appendage to Italy . . . because Italy has too many difficulties and too many dangers of her own without going to seek more on the other side of the water." These words might be carefully pondered to-day by those who conduct Italy's foreign policy. This very argument was another of the reasons for Sig. Bissolati's resignation.

The question of Fiume requires a separate notice. As Professor Salvemini has pointed out, Fiume is mainly Italian, containing (besides Magyars and persons of other nationalities) 24,212 Italians and 15,687 Slavs. But Fiume has an almost wholly Slav suburb of Sussak, which is to it as Battersea is to Chelsea, only the river that divides them is far smaller than the Thames. Consequently, Fiume *plus* Sussak together show a total of 26,602 Slavs and 25,781 Italians. Moreover, the *Hinterland* of Fiume is almost entirely Slav, and coast towns largely depend upon the country behind them. Thus Fiume to some extent resembles Zara, only Zara was, while Fiume was not, assigned to Italy by the secret treaty, nor, curiously enough, even mentioned in the negotiations which led up to it. Those who, like Baron Sonnino, regard the treaty as a sacrosanct document, can therefore scarcely claim Fiume without destroying the validity of that instrument; those who, like Sig. Bissolati, desire to abandon most of the Dalmatian claims of Italy contained in the secret treaty because they would conflict with the principles of nationality, upon which Italian unity was based, claim Fiume on the ground that the majority of its inhabitants—irrespective of Sussak—are Italians, but would solve economic difficulties by making it, like the Serbian zone at Salonika, a free port. A third party, "pleading," as lawyers say, "inconsistent defences," demands Dalmatia as far south as Cape Planka, because it is assigned to Italy by the treaty, and Fiume on the ground of nationality.

These arguments may be found set out in the books above-

cited. Professor Salvemini's work¹ is a complete manual of the whole question from the Mazzinian standpoint; he and others reiterate the same reasons in the second work, in which they have collaborated—*auspiciū melioris ævi*—with Dr. Trumbitch and other leading Jugo-Slavs. Sig. Prezzolini is of the school of Professor Salvemini. At the opposite pole is the similarly-named *Dalmazia* of a group of Italian Nationalists, among them such well-known Dalmatians as Professor Antonio Cippico, now of London University, and Sig. Dudan, the distinguished historian and publicist. From this volume those who run may read the gospel of Italian Imperialism, which Sig. Tamaro has also expounded with considerable research in his separate book. "Dalmaticus" has replied in a moderate tone, with great personal knowledge, to their statements; while Count Voïnovitch, in a pamphlet and a larger work, chiefly valuable for its account of recent Dalmatian political history, in which his family played a considerable part, but conceived in a more polemical tone, has put forward the Jugo-Slav case. Its author, a Ragusan Roman Catholic, who was one of the Montenegrin delegates at the London Conference of 1912-13, and had previously negotiated with the Holy See, is a cultured diplomatist, whose elder brother, the poet, was a prisoner of Austria during the late war. As for the last work on the list, its author is a Frenchman, who has written impartially on the racial questions of the Dual Monarchy, upon which his book, now in a second edition, is perhaps the best general manual. *Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus Regna Liburnorum* is a difficult task, which requires preparation rather than passion, common sense rather than rhetoric. Unfortunately, there has been too much of this on both sides, for (whatever be the solution of this question) the two races have got to live together as neighbours. For so history and geography have decided.

ANTENOR

¹ The second edition has been prohibited by the censorship.

THE STUDY OF RUSSIAN HISTORY¹

THE new Oxford volume on Russia marks a stage in our study of that country. This study is only now in course of being standardised. If we except the work of the late Mr. Morfill, Reader in Slavonic at Oxford, of whom one of the present writers, Dr. Forbes, is the most distinguished pupil, Russia did not twenty years ago engage the attention of any British university. As to Russian history, another of the present writers, Mr. Birkett, was, we believe, the first undergraduate of a British university to take his degree in this subject. Our later conception of Russian study is that we should not stop short at the language, but should systematically investigate the history, literature, and economics, not only of Russia, but of other countries; and in this volume we have a union of some of our first forces in different fields of Russian study. Among the effects of this union are the scholarly system of transliteration, a matter in which only recently uniformity and simplicity have been attained, largely by the efforts of Dr. Forbes, and the very helpful notes on the names, not only Russian, which occur in this book. We have yet to go further, and we are reaching the point where scholars who have specialised in the respective subjects connected with Russia will put forth independently their individual work with all the advantages which come from the possession of common standards of study.

This is the goal aimed at by those schools of Russian study which are now springing up at all our larger universities. The work of nation-study, first organised in connection with Russia at Liverpool and now extended to the other Slavonic nationalities at London University, responds to a demand felt very really by the community, to which it is for the universities to give the proper direction. Nearly all our shortcomings in our dealings with Slavonic countries, political, commercial, or others, have been due far more than anything else to a sheer lack of necessary

¹ *Russia, from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks*, by Raymond Beazley, Nevill Forbes, and G. A. Birkett, with an introduction by Ernest Barker. 1918. Clarendon Press, 8s. 6d.

knowledge, which alone is enough to make the most tactful diplomat guilty of the most fatal tactlessness and the most level-headed business man a baby in business. Errors of this kind have of late had to be paid for in terms of thousands of English lives, and unless the world is in future to be abandoned to German monopoly, there is nothing of which we stand in greater need than a supply of men, who know their work, for every relation of ours with foreign countries, and a standard of general information which will enable our public to understand who are our neighbours, what they can give to us, what they need of us, and what they care for. To such knowledge the first key is an intelligent and scholarly text-book of history written by Englishmen for Englishmen.

The authors of this volume have in their bibliography almost entirely confined themselves to works accessible in English. The list is a thin one, but that is because few trustworthy books of this kind exist. Wallace's great book of research on Russia is still the envy of other countries, and the remarkably successful revision of the early edition makes it more or less up to date. Dr. Williams' notable sketch of contemporary Russian culture and politics, *Russia of the Russians*, is also unique, and should have been mentioned in the bibliography. For text-books of history, the best that we have are the translations of Klyuchevsky and Rambaud; of both works, especially the first, the writers have wisely made the most free use. But our version of Rambaud is unnecessarily costly, and has not the life of the French original, nor does it include the quite recent additions by another writer which brings it down to our own times. Klyuchevsky was probably the greatest historian of the last generation; no historical work is more full of mind, of charm, and of simplicity; but the English version, which should have been a work of years, is curtailed and mutilated, and one could not divine from it that literary excellence of the original, which made the author an Academician in right of *belles lettres*. This poverty of ours in the matter of standard books only makes the present work more necessary.

The Oxford book opens with an illuminating introduction. Mr. Barker, in holding aside the curtain, voices what would impress a cultured and thoughtful Englishman about Russia, and at the same time sounds some of the deeper notes of Russia's story. He emphasises the moral conflict of Russian idealism with the German *Drang nach Osten*, "half militarist, half mercantilist, but almost wholly materialist." He foretells some of the dangers to the world which must follow from any lasting dis-

ruption of Russia. "Meanwhile, there is, as it were, a vacuum in the world, and we wait in suspense to see what will rush into the vacuum." He can still believe in a better future for Russia, as all Englishmen who have lived and worked there are curiously unanimous and persistent in doing. His attitude is characteristic of the best Englishmen that have had to deal with Russia—Viscount Grey, Sir George Buchanan, and many others: "At any rate we in England can only wish Russia well, whatever we may suffer to-day from her defection." "If ever they turn to us, we shall be proud to give freely and to help, in whatsoever measure we can, the building of a State so organised and so completed that it can be a full fellow-member with our own in the comity of the nations that we trust to see established." We shall inevitably be so called upon, for it is we that possess the medicine that Russia most needs; and for us, the preparation that alone can enable us to give our best is the closer study of her and of her requirements.

Professor Beazley, known in this and in other fields of historical study, opens the book with a short summary of the first Russia, that of Kiev, which he carries down to the consolidation of the Russian lands under John the Great. Too little space is given to this period, but it would have been difficult to do much more with it. One is certainly made to feel Russia, which is the first requisite towards understanding anything about her. This is less definitely so with regard to the Russian Church, whose influence is fully acknowledged but not explained, particularly the part taken by the Church in all the public life of the country and the sense of Christendom with which it gradually imbued the people. In illustration of this last we may take at random the two passages in "Nestor's" *Letopis*, in which he shows how all roads round Christendom branch from the watershed of the Volga and describes the championship of Slavonic letters by a liberal Pope. The section on Novgorod the Great is in parts rather loosely written; also it is not made quite clear that Novgorod's success and fall depended on her hold over her hinterland. In the story of the fall of Kiev there might have been some more lively reflection of the endlessness of the Christian struggle with the nomads from Asia, and of the hopelessness with which the society of that time viewed the coming end. The short description of the reign of John the Great is an admirable piece of work, written with the sympathy of the true historian for the great achievement of a peculiarly unsympathetic man and age.

Dr. Forbes, who takes the pen at this point, strikes from the

start a somewhat different note. It is not a question of intimacy with the subject; there might be more Russians than Englishmen who would take the same line, especially at the present time. There is never any lack of sympathy for the Russian people, for every opportunity is taken throughout to show up its wonderful patience and its wonderful powers of endurance. What one misses is that which Russians would call *gosudarstvennost*, an instinct of appreciation for the difficulties and problems of statesmanship. John the Terrible, Peter the Great, Catherine the Great (to give her back the title of which Dr. Forbes would deprive her) are statesmen, and must be judged as such. The writer himself, with the intimate knowledge which he has of the facts of Russia's history, several times gives the answer to his own criticisms. There is a certain faculty which is a study and a high art with many statesmen and is incumbent on any historian; he is called to put himself in the place of those whom he describes, and, only after looking round at all the sum of the perspective which environed them and especially at those sides of it which were emphasised by the society in which they lived, to say "they should not have done this, but that." Dr. Forbes, in a narrative whose sprightliness is sustained throughout, takes occasion after occasion for sallies at the expense of his subjects, which are sometimes very clever, but sometimes become even tiresome. Thus to describe Peter the Great as "without intellect" (p. 218) is, with any connotation or qualification which may follow later, hardly admissible. It is the dullest and grimmest part of the story of Russia with which Dr. Forbes has to deal; but for that very reason it makes special demands on the patience of the historian; and one feels that the writer would have felt himself happier with that earlier period when there was a history of the Russian people.

We have ventured to dwell on this point because it may seem somewhat to disfigure what is a scholarly and valuable piece of work, as is all that has come from this writer. In an eminently clear and readable form the reader obtains a mass of solid information, and the critic will only have few suggestions of detail to make. We are told, with an almost identical explanation of the term, that three different sovereigns were the first to assume the title of *samoderzhets* (αὐτοκράτωρ) (John III., p. 82, John IV., p. 105, Michael, p. 171), while there is no mention of a view entertained by many Russians that the word originally meant "independent," e.g., of the Tartar yoke. That "the (Orthodox) church had no authority over the Cossacks" (p. 117) is a state-

ment requiring at the least modification. Silvester and Adashev's virtual control of the whole of the executive (p. 120) was surely the proof that the fears of John IV. were not entirely unreasonable; also, if the Polish gentry broke the unity of Poland in his time, John, especially after his own early experiences, might not unnaturally sacrifice all for a maintenance of his autocracy, an issue of which he showed himself very conscious. Again, the suggestion of a general want of brains or of action only under impulse does not well apply to the sovereign who anticipated the attempt of Peter the Great to carry Russia to the sea. Passing to the Time of Troubles, of which there is an excellent sketch, Dr. Forbes does not make clear the danger to the Greek Church from the Polish connection or the championship of Orthodoxy, for instance, by Hermogen (p. 153). The story of Susanin should have received some mention.

Amidst so much that is valuable in this, the major and most difficult part of this book, one may perhaps single out the admirably clear description of the maze of treaties of Russia and her western neighbours, and of the events which led to the various partitions of Poland. The very useful maps are also principally included in this section. Two subjects, one of major and one of personal interest, suffer from coming at a joint between two sections. The first is the influence of the French Revolution over Russia; the second is the personality of the greatest of Russian generals, Suvorov.

Mr. Birkett completes the story. His touch is not at first very sure; but his mastery of his period becomes all the more perceptible as he proceeds, and there is nothing better in the book than his grasp of all the more recent part of his story, down to 1907. There are some important omissions. There is nothing on the proposals of universal peace by Alexander I. on his accession, which were characteristic of much else in later Russian history. Much more serious, there is practically nothing at all on the Russian treatment of the Jews, the economic situation which occasioned it, the restrictive legislation on the subject, and the manifold issues which it has raised for Russia in Europe. Mr. Birkett does not always stop to explain the significance to contemporaries of a striking event or of a whole unconscious process or tendency, a side of historical study—that of the perspective of the society described—which, I believe, will come to claim a much larger importance. The glorification of all that was not intellect in Russia and in Europe that followed on Napoleon's Moscow campaign, the crash of all the hopes of the

contemporary Russia caused by the murder of Alexander II., the endless and useless efforts of the Russian autocracy in its later days to maintain a conscious absurdity at home and to save its face before Europe, and (in the Epilogue) the final internal break up of the autocracy after the revolution of 1905, its complete loss of all moral or economic content, and consequently of the support, one by one, of all the most conservative elements in the country, including in the end the junior members of the Imperial family itself, the gradual elimination of all "heroism in reaction" until the Church was hidden by Rasputin, the filthy lay brother, the Throne by a German Empress, and the bureaucracy by the soapy renegade Protopopov—these are all shocks or processes of which the bearings cannot be seized from even the most conscientious and intelligent narration of facts.

As to detail, there is a very loose description of Prussia's attitude in 1805, with no mention of Haugwitz's mission to Napoleon (p. 358). The first mention of the importance of English commerce to Russia (p. 360) is not explained. The Russian generals can hardly be said to have had any plan at all in the summer of 1812 (p. 370), nor did the French find famine in Moscow (p. 371). The important battle of Krasnoë was not a rearguard action (p. 371), for the Russians had cut off the whole French Army, which had to fight its way past; all popular rising against the French had ceased after Smolensk, and, in fact, Kutuzov's reason for inaction was that he "did not wish to reach the frontier like a pack of fugitives," as he was henceforth in alien (formerly Polish) territory. Napoleon's march eastward in 1814 (p. 374) was not due to a misunderstanding, but a gambler's throw. There is an obvious misprint on p. 457 (Alexander I. for II.); also "sixteenth" for "seventeenth" century on p. 501. There is no explanation of the policy of Milyutin in Poland after 1863 (p. 496); the point is that he hoped to win the Polish peasants from their nobles for Russia and "Slavdom." The turning-point in Russian political tendencies in 1905 came not earlier than December (p. 536). The Second Duma (1907), though composed so largely of revolutionaries, was chiefly possessed by the desire to do nothing objectionable and to stay where it was (p. 544); for this reason something should have been said of the obviously "provocative" character of the Government's charges of conspiracy (p. 545). The Epilogue will no doubt be rewritten when materials from Russia are again available. The title of the book ("to the Bolsheviks") is misleading; for we are left with the National Coalition Government of Prince Lvov, and the famous "dictator-

ship of the proletariat"—that which makes a gulf between the Bolsheviks on one side and the Mensheviks and all decent society on the other—is never explained, not even as an article of political faith.

These are slight blemishes in a sound piece of work. Mr. Birkett has succeeded in incorporating in a readable form much of the best results of later Russian scholarship. He is particularly to be congratulated on his handling of the all-important economic issues connected with the problems of local government and the welfare of the peasants.

In the first two sections of the book, which deal with a Russia morally far distant from England, there are very useful reminders of the corresponding dates in our own and in continental history. The book is a valuable acquisition both for students and for general readers. It is also the best corrective for all who feel disposed to regard the present abnormal state of Russia as capable of lasting any considerable time. The book tells us about Russia. The newspaper can at present only tell us of Russia stretched on a sick-bed, and to no organism is that condition less likely to be permanent than to a people with the volume, the spirit, the resources, the looseness of organisation, and the infinite power of endurance possessed by Russia. *Vynoslivost*, the faculty of "lasting out," to which Dr. Forbes pays so just a tribute (p. 131)—that has been the saving of Russia under the Tartar yoke, in the Time of Troubles, and in the almost wholesale disorder of Pugachev. Those of us who know Russia can visualise far more easily the society, which temporarily seems to have vanished, and the superhuman sacrifices of the Russian Army than the German-made Bolsheviks with their miserable parody of peace and the millennium. Of Russia it is just now no more than sober truth to say that the things which are seen are temporal and the things which are not seen are eternal.

BERNARD PARES

NOTES AND NEWS.

AT the Annual Meeting of the Association held on January 10th-11th Professors Harte and Hearnshaw were elected Vice-Presidents, and Professor Bruce, of Cardiff, and Mr. F. S. Marvin Members of Council. Peace will, it is hoped, break the monotony of annual meetings in London, and arrangements are being made for the next at Leeds. The annual address, delivered by Dr. Burrows, Principal of King's College, has already been published in the *Contemporary Review*, and we hope to print Professor Firth's paper on methods of mitigating examinations in our next number. The rest of the Saturday morning meeting was devoted to a discussion of the relative emphasis to be placed in school teaching upon the national and the universal aspects of history.

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Dr. A. P. Newton moved: "That in history teaching in schools the main stress should be laid upon the general history of the English-speaking peoples and their relations to one another, and that the history of other peoples should be considered in relation thereto."

He pointed out that in most syllabuses for school examinations in history the student's whole attention was directed to English history, and that in many cases this was unduly political and constitutional in character. The circumstances which have led to the growth of the Empire overseas have been dealt with in a very fragmentary way, and the study of colonial history has been confined to certain events almost entirely of a military character in the history of America and India. In the study of the history of the nineteenth century the course of colonial history, which has been predominantly peaceful, has been overlooked, and pupils know very little of the great movements which have peopled many of the waste spaces of the world with men of British stock. In his view this movement of expansion should be regarded as one of the central themes round which the history of the last century should be taught; and where a syllabus for European History is to be studied the term "European" should be so interpreted as to include all peoples of European descent.

Mr. F. S. Marvin, while not denying the necessity of making the national story a leading element in the teaching of the young, and welcoming the wider outlook advocated by Dr. Newton, laid stress on the equally essential claim of universal history in any complete scheme. There seemed, broadly, to be three main stages in the normal apprehension of the past, the first, or childlike, in which striking, picturesque, and heroic figures or events appealed to the imagination, irrespective of their racial origin or chronological order; a second, or intermediate stage in which the mind was

first gaining its grasp of the social being. This must in the first place take shape in the national order to which he belonged. But the final shape was supreme and had hitherto received too little attention among us, viz.: the evolution of mankind as a whole, following through the ages closely similar steps in all civilized countries. The study of this was increasingly important to-day from the international standpoint, and the history of science was a very important and highly characteristic thread in this general movement.

After further discussion it was agreed that the question was not one which could be decided by putting it to a vote.

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A year ago we published an account, by Messrs. Somervell and Marten, of a symposium on History Scholarships held at Eton in September, 1917, at which certain recommendations (see HISTORY, ii., 228-9) were adopted. The following letter indicates the steps taken by Oxford colleges to meet Nos. ii. and iv. of those recommendations:—

All Souls' College, Oxford,
Nov. 20th, 1918.

DEAR MR. MARTEN,

I am now in a position to inform you how far we have been able to meet the suggestions made at the Conference held at Eton on the subject of Modern History Scholarships and Exhibitions. A very large number of Colleges have agreed that in future their Examinations shall be in the following subjects: (1) An Essay: (2) General Questions: (3) History, (a) Greek and Roman; (b) Mediæval (English and Foreign); (c) Modern (English and Foreign).

Of these History subjects candidates will be *expected* to take *one*, and *may* take *more*. N.B.—Although full weight will be given to historical knowledge, no candidate will necessarily gain by offering more than one of the alternative historical subjects.

As to subsidiary subjects and *viva voce*, it was agreed that they must be left to the discretion of each College. Nevertheless, a considerable number are in favour of a *viva voce* Examination for the selected candidates on the paper work, and are willing to allow candidates to offer subsidiary subjects such as composition in Ancient and Modern Languages, Mathematics, and Natural Science. It must be understood that the subsidiary subject need not be offered, and that it can only be taken with the approval of the particular College concerned.

I hope that these alterations may go some way to meet the objections which have been made to the present condition of things, and especially to standardise the Examinations.

Yours faithfully,

A. H. JOHNSON,

Chairman of the Faculty of Modern History, Oxford.

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The Regional Association is holding its conference and regional study meeting this year at Malvern, in collaboration with the Malvern Geographical Society, from Wednesday, April 9th, to

Wednesday, April 16th. A leaflet containing details of the programme has been issued, and copies can be obtained from the General Organising Secretary, Mr. G. Morris, 7 West Road, Saffron Walden.

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As an encouragement and an example, we are pleased to note that the Bristol Branch of the Association has recruited thirty-six new members this session, and that the total membership of the Association stands at a higher figure than ever.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Athenæum,
Pall Mall, S.W.1.

SIR,

May I, as a new member of the Historical Association, suggest the consideration in an early number of *HISTORY*, of the following question?

What is the historical evidence in favour of, or against, the theory of the "nation in arms," of which so much has been heard during the war? My own impression is that it is a retrograde movement, and that the tendency of modern civilisation has been to restrict warfare to professional armies instead of arming "the manhood of the nation."

The discussion of this question by an expert ought to be most interesting.

BARTON R. O. MILLS.

The Dyke,
Berkhamsted.

SIR,

Mr. Kenneth Kirk, who has been working a good bit among our soldiers in France, has written a book about his impressions, called *A Study of Silent Minds*. Among much valuable comment he makes the striking point that, whereas English people are specially interested in *persons*, and generally successful in dealing with them, we are, as a nation, singularly destitute of heroes enshrined in the national consciousness. "This," as Mr. Kirk says, "is not from any want of great characters in our story; we can boast as many noble names as any other nation. . . . It is because the method of the historical novel has never been systematically applied to the teaching of history in schools, with a view to arousing in the schools a true appreciation of our national problems, by giving him [the student] a living interest in our national heroes."

It has occurred to me that the problem thus raised might interest a good many of your readers, and that some of them might be willing to co-operate in a simple plan for doing something to combat the admitted evil. If anyone will take the trouble to send me a list of the dozen names—men and women—in English history which seem most worthy of special treatment in history-teaching, especially in

elementary schools, I will undertake to collate these and let you know the result of the plebiscite. It would, in fact, be a sort of national election following the political one. It would not be difficult, I think, to find schools willing to experiment by making a large part of their history-teaching turn on a selection of the great names thus agreed upon.

In selecting names—following another remark of Mr. Kirk's—while not, of course, excluding those of Scottish, Irish, or Welsh birth, I would suggest that only those be included who have played a part in the history of *England*. David Livingstone would thus come in, but not Wallace or Bruce. It is obvious that the list should include great names in every line of life—thought as well as action—with a special eye to those who will appeal to the imagination of the young. We want, of course, a modern Plutarch, and the list we should draw up might inspire him to get to work.

F. S. MARVIN.

BOOK WANTED.

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GOOCH, G. P., *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*.
Prof. W. J. Harte, University College, Exeter.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

IX.—GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND THE BRUT (*continued*).

IN the last number of *HISTORY* some account was given of the numerous versions of *The History of the Kings of Britain* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geoffrey asserts that his *History* is a translation of a "very ancient book in the British tongue" supplied to him by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. Now alongside of the many avowed Welsh translations of Geoffrey there is also an abridged version—the so-called *Brut Tysilio*—which claims to be, not an abridgment of Geoffrey, but a transcript of the book of Walter the Archdeacon. This claim has not been taken seriously by modern historians, for a number of reasons, amongst which must be reckoned the lateness and the corruptness of this type of manuscript. For this neglect of the *Brut Tysilio* Prof. Petrie reproaches the historians; he not only accepts *Tysilio* as Geoffrey's original, but even regards it as "based upon documents extending back to the first century A.D.," and as "the fullest account we have of early British history." The only excuse for this neglect of the *Brut Tysilio*, says Prof. Petrie, is an occasional allegation that the *Brut* is an abridgment of Geoffrey.

Prof. Petrie's complaint is certainly justifiable to this extent: if a document making such high claims to attention as does the *Brut Tysilio* is to be thus disregarded, those who disregard it might legitimately be expected to state their reasons. As I know of no place where these reasons are fully stated by any English student, it may be well to mention some of them.

The *Brut Tysilio*, as printed in 1801, and translated by Roberts in 1811, claims to come from the famous fourteenth-century *Red Book of Hergest*. But it does not come from the *Red Book* at all. The *Red Book* does, indeed, contain a *Brut*, but this *Brut*, which was printed²³ in 1890, is an avowed translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, concluding with his warning to the historians of his day not to intrude upon his field, since they have not access to the book of Walter the Archdeacon. The text of the *Brut Tysilio* as printed in 1801, and as translated by Roberts, comes from a MS. transcribed in the year 1695, and now in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. Of course, ancient and authentic documents are sometimes extant only in very late transcripts. Nevertheless, a treatise, supposed to be "based upon documents extending back to the first century A.D.," and claiming to derive its text from the *Red Book of Hergest*, may naturally be treated with some suspicion when its text is found to date from 1695.

Having once admitted this, however, we must likewise admit that it robs of any further value many of the obvious arguments against the *Brut Tysilio*. Thus, many of the proper names of Saxon

²³ *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. by J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1890.

kings in *Tysilio* are demonstrably corrupt forms of names given more accurately in Geoffrey²⁴; but it might be argued that this is due to the late and corrupt text of *Tysilio* used by Roberts for his translation. We must go deeper than mere questions of such scribal corruptions in the particular text used.

Professor Petrie selects the treatment of Cæsar's invasion in the *Brut Tysilio* for special consideration, and it is worth while to examine this closely, for it affords a good opportunity of studying the sources of Geoffrey and of the *Brut*, in a portion of the *History* which has not yet, so far as I know, been worked out. Professor Petrie claims for the story as given in Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* that in the matter of Cæsar's invasion it is

"in its main lines substantially in accord with Cæsar, but with frequent minor discrepancies and side-lights, all naturally due to opposite points of view. Such, however, entirely disprove copying, either from Cæsar or from any other Latin source. The passages of Cæsar which are most favourable to the Britons—the hard-fought landing against skilled horsemen, the brilliant chariot fighting later, the skilful relays in fighting and sudden dismounting, rendering Cæsar's cavalry useless—all these passages, which would have been golden to a British compiler, are never even hinted."

Professor Petrie's argument is, then, that since the avowed object of the account in Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* is to glorify the British, but since, nevertheless, this account omits everything which Cæsar himself says in praise of the British, therefore it cannot be derived from Cæsar. Nevertheless, it agrees with Cæsar in fundamental matters sufficiently to prove that it has some real historic basis, and therefore, Professor Petrie argues, "we are bound to refer this strongly British account to a British source."

But there is surely another possibility. The account may be drawn, not directly from Cæsar, but from some abstract of Cæsar which had already omitted all those things, creditable to the British, which would, as Professor Petrie rightly urges, have been triumphantly copied by a pro-British writer, had he known them. Such an account exists, for example, in the *History* written by Orosius in the fifth century, which became a school text-book in the Middle Ages, and was used by Bede for the early chapters of his *Ecclesiastical History*. Orosius had, of course, no object in glorifying the Britons, and he cuts down all that Cæsar tells us about the able way in which they met his first invasion into a bald statement that Cæsar (as is obvious from his own account) suffered heavily from the British resistance and from the weather. The statement of Orosius is copied word for word by Bede. In Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* it is expanded by details, some of which seem to belong to Cæsar's second invasion. Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* mention that a military tribune, Labienus, was killed in the fighting. Now Cæsar *does* say that in the second invasion a military tribune, Laberius, was killed. Orosius, and following him Bede, had both corrupted this name "Laberius" into "Labienus."

It is therefore no longer a question whether Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* might not have got the account from Orosius. Here is a mistake, which they share. One such error does not prove copying,

²⁴ Thus the "Ethelbertus" (correct) of Geoffrey appears as "Edelflet" in the Welsh text of *Tysilio* (p. 472 of *Myvurian Archaeology*, 1870) and "Edelfled" in Roberts' translation; "Osricus" (correct) in Geoffrey appears as "Offric" in the Welsh text (p. 474), and "Offrid" in Roberts.

but if we find many more they will afford evidence that the story in Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* is, partially at any rate, dependent on Orosius, through Bede.

Let us now pass to Cæsar's second invasion. Cæsar tells of his landing and how he advanced to the Thames, which, he says, can only be forded at one spot, and there with difficulty (a statement which was assuredly not true of the Thames in Saxon and mediæval times). This one ford the enemy had fortified by sharp stakes placed along the edge of the banks and under water. Now Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* tell us how stakes of iron were sunk under water to protect the passage up the Thames, apparently in the estuary, or at any rate below London, and how Cæsar, trying to sail up the Thames, impaled his boats upon these iron stakes, which both Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* tell us were of the thickness of a man's thigh.

Professor Petrie believes this account,²⁵ which turns the stakes at a ford to stakes closing the mouth of the Thames against shipping, to be due to a confused British tradition.

But there is another explanation. Orosius gives an account of the stakes at the ford, which agrees with Cæsar's. Bede copies verbally from Orosius, but he omits the clause which states that at this ford only could the Thames be crossed. But by this omission the whole passage is modified, and it is no longer clear that we are dealing with an attempt to ford the Thames. A careless reader of Bede's account might have supposed Cæsar to have rejoined his ships on the north coast of Kent and then to have attempted to sail up the Thames, where these stakes might have been placed under water in the shallower part of the river-bed (*totum sub aqua vadum*), to impale his ships. And it is demonstrable that there is some connection between the account in Bede and that in Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio*. Bede adds a note, derived, not from Orosius or from Cæsar, but from his own information: "The traces of these stakes can be seen unto this day; and those who observe can see that some of them are of the size of a man's thigh. . . ." There must be connection between Bede's *sudes ad modum humani femoris grossæ* and Geoffrey's *palis ad modum humani femoris grossis*.

But, according to Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio*, not only were the stakes the size of a man's thigh, but they were also made of iron. Here we have contact with the *Historia Britonum*, the later recension of which is connected with the name of "Nennius."²⁵ As to the date of the history which goes under this name there has been the utmost dispute. It underwent many revisions, and many dates between the seventh and the tenth century have been suggested. But, as there is a manuscript of it extant at Chartres²⁶ not later than the tenth century, that gives us a *terminus ad quem*. In this the story is told of Cæsar's ships sailing up the Thames and being impaled upon iron stakes. Here, again, it might be argued that we have a genuine, if mistaken, British tradition handed down from early times. But "Nennius" gives the name of the British

²⁵ To avoid ambiguity I am compelled to use the name "Nennius," even with regard to the pre-Nennian portions of the *Historia Britonum*, because the title *Historia Britonum* is often applied (e.g., in Giles's edition) to the *Historia Regum Britannicæ* of Geoffrey.

²⁶ Edited, with full discussion, by Duchesne, *Revue Celtique*, XV., 174-97. This MS. is fragmentary, but contains the passage in question.

king reigning at the time as *Bellinus filius Minocanni*. Now this otherwise unknown king comes from Orosius, who mentions *Minocynobellinus*, *Britannorum regis filium*²⁷ as living in the time of Caligula.²⁸ Orosius in his turn got *Minocynobellinus* out of Suetonius, who mentions (in the Dative) in his *Life of Caligula*, *Adminius*, son of the British king Cymbeline (*Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio*²⁹). The first syllable of Adminius having been lost, we are left with "*Minocynobellinus*, son of the British king," in Orosius: "*Nennius*" read *Minocynni Bellinus filius regis*, and so made a "*Bellinus*, son of *Minocannus*," ruler at the time of Cæsar's invasion.

Now all this is not consistent with the theory of a genuine British tradition. *Adminius*, son of *Cynobellinus*, is combined into the *Minocynobellinus* of Orosius, not by tradition, but by copying from a corrupt MS., and is again divided into the *Bellinus*, son of *Minocannus*, of "*Nennius*" by a further scribal error. And this *Bellinus* appears in Geoffrey, and, further reduced to *Beli*, in the *Brut Tysilio*.

We can, in fact, almost see Geoffrey putting his *History* together. It is certain that he knew Bede, and that he knew "*Nennius*." Bede tells us that the stakes were as thick as a man's thigh; "*Nennius*" tells us they were iron pikes. Geoffrey compromises by saying they were made of iron, and the thickness of a man's thigh. Bede makes Cassivellaunus the British leader; *Nennius* says *Bellinus*, son of *Minocannus*, was king. Geoffrey compromises by leaving *Cassivellaunus* king, but mentions *Bellinus* as one by whose counsel the whole kingdom was governed. And the *Brut Tysilio* agrees with Geoffrey. This portion of the story cannot, then, be genuine tradition when it gives us a hero *Bellinus* or *Beli* who is merely derived, by a series of scribal corruptions, from the King Cymbeline mentioned by Suetonius; and by putting together the words of "*Nennius*" and Bede, forges iron piles as thick as a man's thigh.

To return to Cæsar's narrative. Having crossed this ford, Cæsar tells how he continued his march, but was harassed by the chariots of *Cassivellaunus*. Nevertheless, he had the great advantage which an invader always has who comes upon tribes recently at war among themselves: the same advantage which Cortes had in Mexico. As soon as he got near the territory of the *Trinovantes* they surrendered, for *Cassivellaunus* had put to death the king of the *Trinovantes*; and the young prince of the tribe, *Mandubratius*, had fled to Cæsar already, whilst Cæsar was in Gaul. Cæsar had brought *Mandubratius* across with him, and now, having passed over the Thames, he was within reach of the *Trinovantes*. They welcomed *Mandubratius* as their king, and furnished Cæsar with hostages and grain. This was the beginning of the break-up of the confederation of *Cassivellaunus* against Cæsar. Cæsar took *Cassivellaunus*' stronghold, and the counter-attack which *Cassivellaunus* commanded the Kentish chiefs to make upon Cæsar's camp failed. *Cassivellaunus* came to terms, and Cæsar returned to Gaul.

²⁷ Lib. VII., cap. 5.

²⁸ Cf. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictatus*, pp. 272, etc.

²⁹ *Life of Caligula*, cap. 44.

Now all that Orosius tells us, is that the British harassed Cæsar, and that meantime

"Trinovantum firmissima civitas cum Andragio duce, datis quadraginta obsidibus, Caesari sese dedit."

This is the merest summary of Cæsar, except that *Mandubratius* is contracted into *Andragius*, and that a slight alteration (which had an immense effect) is made—Cæsar's *Trinovantes*, *firmissima civitas* is turned into *Trinovantum firmissima civitas*.

Bede repeats verbally the wording of Orosius:

"Interea Trinovantum firmissima civitas cum Androgio duce, datis quadraginta obsidibus, Caesari sese dedit."

But whilst the wording remained the same, the meaning of the Latin had been changing in the eight centuries intervening between Cæsar and Bede. *Trinovantes*, *firmissima civitas* meant in Cæsar "the strong tribe of the Trinovantes"; but *civitas* had come to mean "town," just as *dux* had come to mean "duke"; and in mediæval times this wording meant that the town Trinovant (*i.e.* London, "Troynovant"), with its duke Androgius, surrendered to Cæsar. Now this is exactly what Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* make it to mean. They tell us how Caswallon (Cassivellaunus) gave Trinovantum to Androgius, or, as the *Brut Tysilio* calls him, Avarwy; how the defeat of Cæsar was celebrated in London by sports, in the course of which a nephew of Caswallon was slain by a nephew of Androgius; how this led to a quarrel, which in its turn led to Androgius or Avarwy deserting to Cæsar's side; how through him Cæsar had the victory, but was compelled by Androgius to admit Caswallon to reasonable terms.

Professor Petrie thinks that this account cannot be based in any way upon Cæsar. It is far less favourable to the Britons, he says, than Cæsar's account. If the record of Cæsar's retreat was known to the author of the *Brut Tysilio* why, Professor Petrie asks, should he have said that Cæsar stayed in London? The explanation is to hand. The tribe of the Trinovantes (*civitas Trinovantum*) surrendered. In the course of centuries *civitas Trinovantum* has come to mean "the town of London." The Latin words had acquired a new meaning.

One other point of Professor Petrie's needs to be met. Before the invasion of Britain, Cæsar, according to Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio*, sends letters to Cassivellaunus demanding tribute. Cassivellaunus in his letter of reply is indignant that the excessive avarice of the Romans cannot suffer the inhabitants of an island so remote as this to live in peace. Professor Petrie, of course, does not claim that the letters are genuine, but he does claim that they contain an idea dating from the Roman period. "The later Romans," he says, "when there was little in the world left to plunder, impressed others by their power and tradition; but the plunder motive was the mainspring in the earlier time, and is here put forward. It is certainly not a mediæval view of Cæsar."

I do not think there is anything non-mediæval in making Cæsar's motive the levying of tribute. For a test of the mediæval, one naturally turns to Chaucer, who tells us how

"Julius the conquerour . . .
Wan al thoccident by lond and see,
And unto Rome made hem tributarie."

On the contrary, I should have said that if Archdeacon Geoffrey or Archdeacon Walter were constructing a letter of Cassivellaunus to Cæsar, there is nothing they would be more likely to do than to attribute avarice to the Romans. There was another Walter, also a Welshman, also an Archdeacon of Oxford, Walter Mappe, who wrote his *De Nugis*³⁰ some half a century later, in which he also told of how a Roman Emperor invaded this country. The reason of the invasion was that Roman visitors had received magnificent vestments and treasures here, "which when Rome saw, forthwith burst forth her innate avarice. Nor is this wonderful, for this name Rome is derived from avarice and from the definition thereof: R, O, M, A—*Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia*."

We are now, therefore, in a position to draw some conclusions on the question whether Geoffrey drew from the *Brut Tysilio*, or the *Brut* from Geoffrey, and what is the historic value of either with reference to Cæsar's invasion. There are several remarkable points in which Orosius, Bede, and "Nennius" agree with Geoffrey and the *Brut*. Nothing could be more probable, intrinsically, than that Geoffrey should draw from Orosius (through Bede, whom he quotes) and from "Nennius." But if the *Brut Tysilio* really be the book of Archdeacon Walter, upon which Geoffrey founded his *History*, and if it really be a chronicle, as Professor Petrie thinks, going back to the first century A.D., then it must be Orosius, Gildas, Bede, and "Nennius" who are borrowing from the *Brut Tysilio*. This British chronicle, till Archdeacon Walter showed it to Geoffrey, had been unknown. How can it, then, have been used by Gildas, Bede, "Nennius," and even Orosius, a Spaniard living in Africa in the fifth century?

But there is an even more overwhelming argument. It is that which was put forward by Zarncke more than half a century ago. In places where Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* agree in substance with Gildas or Bede or "Nennius," it will be found that Geoffrey often reproduces the exact phraseology of Gildas, Bede, or "Nennius."³¹ Now, if the *Brut Tysilio* be the book of Archdeacon Walter, and Geoffrey is merely putting it into Latin, how can this be? Is it conceivable that whenever Geoffrey came to a place where the *Brut* had already been copied by Gildas, Bede, or "Nennius," Geoffrey knew it, turned to the place in his Gildas, Bede, or "Nennius," and deliberately used the Latin phraseology which they had used? And all the time he is boasting of the unique authority which the book of Archdeacon Walter gives to his *History*. Why does he take such elaborate pains to make it look like a mere compilation from Gildas, Bede, or "Nennius"? Why should Geoffrey deliberately make himself look like a fraud, if he were really an honest man, in possession of a document of such unique importance?

And the remarkable thing is that "Nennius," Bede, Gildas, and Orosius all behave in the same way. We have seen that, according

³⁰ *De Nugis Curialium*, cap. XVIII. (ed. Wright, Camden Society, p. 87).

³¹ Thus "Nennius" says of Brutus "*in nativitate illius mulier mortua est. . . . Post multum intervallum ictu sagittae occidit patrem suum.*" Geoffrey gives: *edidit mulier puerum et in nativitate eius mortua est . . . patrem ictu sagittae interfecit*. See Zarncke, *Ueber das Verhältniss des Brut y Tysilio zu Gottfried*, in Ebert's *Jahrbuch f. romanische u. englische Literatur*, V. (1863), especially 259-60.

to *Tysilio*, Beli was commander-in-chief, "master of all their forces." If "Nennius" was really getting his information from *Tysilio*, why does he alter Beli into *Belinus Minocanni filius* simply in order to mislead us into thinking that he is borrowing from Orosius' *Minocyno-belinus*? If Bede got his information about the stakes being as thick as a man's thigh from *Tysilio*, why does he pretend that it is added from his own knowledge?

There is the further argument put forward by Ten Brink that there are passages in *Tysilio* which can only be accounted for as misunderstandings of Geoffrey. Speaking, for example, of Æneas wedding Lavinia, Geoffrey says that Æneas obtained the kingdom and Lavinia, and in the sentence immediately following speaks of the offspring of Æneas' son Ascanius. This might be read as meaning that Æneas obtained Lavinia, not for himself, but for his son Ascanius. And this is precisely the story which *Tysilio* gives us.³²

Finally, it is exceedingly probable that Geoffrey copied some details from his contemporaries—for example, from the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury,³³ published more than a dozen years before Geoffrey published his *Historia*. The *Brut Tysilio* includes some of these passages.

All this, of course, does not in the least show that Geoffrey may not have received some book of British history from Archdeacon Walter. We must remember that Archdeacon Walter was still alive when Geoffrey's assertion was made, and it has been argued that Geoffrey would not have made so express a statement in a book dedicated to Robert, Earl of Gloucester (and also to King Stephen), unless there had been some foundation of fact. It seems improbable, as a critic has rather quaintly put it, that "two ecclesiastics would stoop to unqualified mendacity in a matter not involving substantial benefit to themselves."³⁴ On the other hand, it might be urged that both Geoffrey and Walter were archdeacons, and that it was a moot point whether an archdeacon could be saved.

Apart from these ethical considerations, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson has urged the argument that the large part which Geoffrey's history represents Brittany and the Bretons as playing, is proof that Geoffrey was really drawing from a Breton document.³⁵ But, granting the existence of a Breton book, it is demonstrable that Geoffrey's *History* is no mere translation from that or any other source, but a compilation. And it is demonstrable that the *Brut Tysilio* is not the Breton source, because it contains so much of the information which Geoffrey drew from other sources, from Gildas, Bede, "Nennius," and apparently even from contemporary writers.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

³² Ten Brink, *Wace u. Galfrid v. Monmouth. Nachschrift*, in Ebert's *Jahrbuch*, IX., 262, etc.

³³ Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, p. 70.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³⁵ *Y Cymmrodor*, XLIX., p. 6 (footnote), 1906; see also *Academy*, April 11th, 1896. The "Breton" argument is not quite conclusive; possibly Geoffrey had some special interest in Brittany, which led him both (a) to attribute an Armorican source to his history, and (b) at the same time to represent Brittany as playing a prominent part in it.

A REJOINDER TO DR. CHAMBERS'S PAPER.

THE basis of Dr. Chambers's paper is the accepted system of verbal criticism, which is so valuable in dealing with the descent of MSS.; but is it equally applicable to the *Tysilio*-Geoffrey question? The conditions of this problem seem to me to render verbal criticism as a whole misleading, and to throw us entirely on substantive criticism of the subjects related. Here in *Tysilio* we have a record which is expressly stated to have been translated from the Breton (or Welsh) into Latin, and after many years again translated from Latin into Welsh; and this was done by a writer familiar with the other sources. His thoughts would naturally fall in with phrases in which the same facts were already known to him; he would naturally use those translations of names already familiar in kindred writers, just as a modern translator uses the English forms of foreign names of people and places. When this process has passed twice over the material, and it has suffered copying for five centuries, what value can we place on small verbal detail?

Again, it is useless to object that an error which is in common both in Orosius-Bede and in *Tysilio* proves that *Tysilio* was later. It is just as likely that Orosius-Bede drew from a British source already corrupted which became the Latin *Tysilio*. The order of derivation is not thus to be proved either way.

Nor, again, does it further the question to assume that the *civitas*, City of London, in *Tysilio* is a mistaken rendering of the *civitas* tribe in Cæsar. London was a city certainly in British times, and is correctly described as such in *Tysilio*.

The fact that *Tysilio* is stated to have been not generally known in the time of Geoffrey is no argument that Orosius-Bede could not have known it earlier. The immense destruction of Saxon charters and libraries by the Danish invasions is ample ground for expecting that the original authorities accessible to Orosius and Bede would not survive for six centuries later.

We must thank Dr. Chambers for having cleared up the error of Hodgkin about a reputed Armorican MS. By so doing we gain a fresh reason for *Tysilio* preceding Geoffrey, for in the great migration the numbers are 1,100 and 6,000 in *Tysilio*, while they are 11,000 and 60,000 in Geoffrey. Obviously it is far more likely that Geoffrey exaggerated by ten, rather than that *Tysilio* reduced the numbers of Geoffrey to a tenth.

That Geoffrey is a compilation is agreed on all hands. That the later writers may have had a considerable reflex action on the words of the double translation of *Tysilio*, and may even have led to some small traces of fresh matter, is highly probable. But that does not affect the substantive facts.

The theory of *Tysilio*'s dependence on Orosius-Bede does not seem borne out by any resemblance in the writers. For instance, in a few points:—

1. The storms in both expeditions are in Cæsar and Bede, but are unrecognised by *Tysilio* as causes of defeat, just as the Britons would naturally suppose that it was their resistance which repelled Cæsar.

2. In Cæsar and Bede there are two campaigns in successive

years; in *Tysilio* the first and second are two years apart, and the second is divided into a second and a third campaign.

3. In Bede there is no hint that Cassibellaunus attacked Cæsar's base; but Cæsar says that the messengers of Cassibellaunus stirred up Kent to attack the base; and *Tysilio* says that Cassibellaunus himself went to attack the base near Canterbury. Here *Tysilio* gives a highly probable version of Cæsar's account, which cannot have come from Bede.

The description of the stakes in the Thames gives further light on the sources. In Nennius and *Tysilio* they are of iron; this is good sense, as they were to pierce the ships, and iron was then common enough to be used for chain rigging by the Veneti. Bede jumbled them with some lead-covered wooden piles that he saw; but no one would put lead-casing on piles for temporary defence. Geoffrey goes worse by writing of stakes of iron and lead. Here *Tysilio* has evidently the right British version, and Geoffrey is later.

Thus there does not seem to be any chance that *Tysilio* was contracted from Geoffrey, and Geoffrey compiled from Orosius-Bede. The errors in facts of *Tysilio* are just what would be likely to arise in the course of traditional transmission for two or three generations; but they are not such as would arise by inflating the accounts of contemporary writers, or of those who directly copied such.

There remains a stubborn point unnoticed by Dr. Chambers. The geography of the voyage of Brutus is that of pre-Arab Africa, before 700 A.D. How could that reach Geoffrey, when not a single classical writer has the whole of the places there named? Further, the limits of Mauretania are those of the time before Claudius, and could not be copied from any writer after the first century. How could these limits be adopted by Geoffrey from mediæval sources? In this respect the source of the *Brut* legend is driven back to Roman times, and even to the first century; and this accords with the early date otherwise reached for the beginning of the *Tysilio* history, and for that therefore being the original of Geoffrey.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.

I MOST cordially agree with Prof. Petrie's warning as to the dangers of verbal criticism. It has not been realised how great, in the case of Geoffrey, these dangers are, owing to the corrupt condition of the only printed text. I think it will occasion surprise when I state that the received text of Geoffrey, that of Dr. Giles,¹ although claiming to be based upon a collation of nine MSS., is really reproduced from the text printed by Commelin in 1587. Commelin, in his turn, was largely influenced by the earlier editions of Badius Ascensius.

It is then conceivable that Commelin, believing that Geoffrey drew from Bede or Gildas, might have approximated the text of Geoffrey to that of Bede or Gildas, whom he also printed, and might thus have produced a false appearance of borrowing in Geoffrey.

It is conceivable. But in point of fact Commelin did not. After examination of the oldest MSS. of Geoffrey accessible to me, I am sure that the corruptness of the received text of Geoffrey (so far

¹ Caxton Society, 1844. This text was accepted by San Marte, Halle, 1854.

from creating any false appearance of indebtedness on his part) has tended to conceal, rather than to emphasise, his indebtedness. A critical text of Geoffrey, when it appears, will assuredly not exculpate Geoffrey from the charge of having compiled his "history" from Gildas, "Nennius," and Bede.

Other parts *may* have been compiled from the "ancient book in the British speech" which Archdeacon Walter is said to have brought out of Brittany. But the fact that the *Brut Tysilio* embraces the portions compiled from Gildas, "Nennius," and Bede renders very difficult the position of those who hold that it gives the substance of Archdeacon Walter's book.

We may assume that Archdeacon Walter's book included passages translated from these Latin authors, or even, as Prof. Petrie thinks, that Gildas, "Nennius," and Bede may have drawn from the original of the Archdeacon's "British book." But even then it is difficult to see why Geoffrey, if translating these passages from the Archdeacon's book into Latin again, happened so often to hit upon the exact phraseology and orthography used before him by Gildas, "Nennius," or Bede. I admit (what is often forgotten) that scribes tended to assimilate two parallel accounts, just as the Greek text of one Gospel may have an indirect influence upon that of another. But we have MSS. of Gildas, "Nennius," and Bede which are earlier than Geoffrey; and the MSS. of Geoffrey himself are so numerous and early as to offer us means of getting accurately at what he actually wrote. Besides, it is no matter of mere verbal criticism. Gildas, for instance, attacks four contemporary chieftains, and these appear in Geoffrey and in the *Brut Tysilio* as four successive kings of Britain, in the order in which Gildas laments their sins. Are we to believe that Gildas is constructing and attacking imaginary figures whom he got out of a British chronicle?²

There remains the point about the geography of the voyage of Brutus. As Prof. Petrie points out, quite truly, the geography is that of pre-Arab Africa, before 700 A.D. Geoffrey tells how Brutus and his followers reached the coast of Africa, and then passed "the altars of the Philistines," the "Salinæ," "Ruscicada," "the river Malva," Mauritania, and reached the Pillars of Hercules.

Prof. Petrie comments, quite justly:—

"The general character of these names selected is that of points well known to mariners, such as any seaman might readily give as stages of a voyage. How then do they come into the 'Brut' legend? They cannot have been stated by any seaman after A.D. 700, as the Arab conquest wiped out the old names and the old trade. . . . It is impossible to suppose a mediæval writer having enough geography at hand to compile such a mariner's list of six minor places in the right order, as they stood during the Roman Empire."

Hence Prof. Petrie argues an early date for the Brutus legend and for the *Brut Tysilio*.

But the six places do *not* occur in the text of the *Brut Tysilio*, as printed in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, 1801 and 1870. Three only are to be found there: "the altars of the Philistines," "Mauritania," and the "caves of mighty Hercules."³ It is true that all

² Note by Prof. Petrie. "There is no difficulty about Gildas having named them in the order of right of succession as paramount chiefs, the order in which they subsequently took the headship, as stated in *Tysilio*. F. P."

³ I am indebted to Mr. O. T. Williams for translations of passages from *Tysilio*.

six are to be found in Roberts's translation of the *Brut Tysilio*, but this is because Roberts has interpolated the three other places (Salinæ, Ruscicada, the River Malva) into his translation of *Tysilio*.

For Roberts, starting with the assumption that the *Brut Tysilio* was the original of Geoffrey's *History*, felt justified in inserting names and passages from Geoffrey into what he held to be Geoffrey's original. But we cannot thus emend the geography of the *Brut Tysilio*, on the assumption that it is the original of Geoffrey, and then argue that the *Brut Tysilio* must be the original of Geoffrey, because its geography, as emended, is so ancient.

But if the *Brut Tysilio* be not his original, whence did Geoffrey get this piece of ancient geography? Like so much else, he drew it from "Nennius." In "Nennius" the six places are given, and with a similarity of phraseology which could hardly be attained if both "Nennius" and Geoffrey were independently translating from some Celtic source. As stated above, it is not possible to suppose that "Nennius" copied from Geoffrey, for two at least of the MSS. of "Nennius" are prior to the date of Geoffrey's *History*: so it must be Geoffrey who is copying "Nennius." But in "Nennius" these places are mentioned, not as having been passed by Brutus in his travels, but as having been passed in his wanderings by a noble Scythian from Egypt, the ancestor of the Scottish nation. I agree that these six names, in the order Geoffrey and "Nennius" give them, constitute an accurate and early piece of geographical information: like other scraps in that extraordinary collection which goes by the name of "Nennius," they point to a date earlier than 700 A.D. But there is no evidence that the connection of this early piece of geography with the Brutus legend is earlier than the twelfth century, or is due to anything save Geoffrey's talent for compilation.

[Note by Prof. Petrie.—"This is no evidence that *Tysilio* is derived from Geoffrey, or that both may not have drawn from a source common to them and to 'Nennius.' If it is said that Geoffrey exactly copied 'Nennius,' equally both may have copied a common source. The internal evidence strongly is that this list of places from Egypt to Spain belongs to the Brutus legend (as in *Tysilio*), and not to a Scot or Scythian (as in 'Nennius'), for whom Egypt would not be a likely place.—F. P."]

The passages in "Nennius" and in Geoffrey run as follows:—

"Nennius," ed. Mommsen
(1898).

ambulaui per Africam
et uenerunt ad aras Fili-
stinorum per lacum Salin-
arum et uenerunt inter
Rusicadam et montes
Azariae et uenerunt per
flumen Maluam et tran-
sierunt per Maritaniam ad
columnas Herculis.

Geoffrey.

Sulcantes equora cursu triginta dierum uenerunt
ad Africam, nescii adhuc quorsum proras uerterent.
Deinde uenerunt ad aras Philistinorum, et ad lacum
Salinarum, et nauigauerunt inter Rusicadam et
montes Azare. Ibi ab incursione piratarum maxi-
mum passi sunt periculum: uictoriam tamen adepti,
spoliis eorum et rapinis ditati sunt. Porro flumen
Malue transeuntes, applicuerunt in Mauritaniam,
deinde penuria cibi et potus coacti, egressi sunt ex
nauibz et dispositis turmis uastauerunt patriam
a fine usque ad finem. Refertis uero nauibus petie-
runt columnas Herculis.

There can be no doubt as to the text of Geoffrey in this passage, for, though every one of the twenty-seven MSS. consulted⁴ shows

⁴ *Twelfth Century*: [A] Cotton Titus, C. xvii; [B] Harl., 225; [C] Arundel, 10; [D] Royal, 4, C. xi; [E] Royal, 13, D. ii; [F] Brit. Mus. Addit., 15,732.

variants, there is no case where the MS. authority is so far divided as to leave doubt regarding the correct reading.

Giles's text shows no less than eight variants⁵ in these few lines. All of them are certainly wrong; for most of them I have been unable to find any MS. authority whatever; only one (*locum*) has any serious MS. support.

These readings are all derived by Giles from the edition of Jerome Commelin (Heidelberg, 1587). Commelin claims to have collated a MS. belonging to "Paulus Knibius." But whilst some of the corruptions may have been due to following a late and bad MS., others are due to sixteenth-century editing. Thus the reading *Philenorum* (for *Philistinorum* of all the MSS.) is clearly the work of a scholar who knew that the locality was the "altars of the Phileni," not of the "Philistines." Much confusion has been caused by the early editors having thus introduced emendations into the text of Geoffrey. Mommsen, for instance, writes: "Geoffrey recognised that the altars of the Philistines [in 'Nennius'] signified altars of the Phileni." Such recognition would indeed have shown amazing erudition in a twelfth-century ecclesiastic; and it is surprising that Mommsen should have thought Geoffrey capable of it. But Mommsen's conscientious industry in collating MSS. had probably not prepared him for the pitfalls of an edition which, whilst professing to be formed "novem codd. msstis collatis," is in reality copied from a sixteenth-century paraphrase.

When we have detected and removed these humanistic paraphrases, we find Geoffrey following "Nennius" quite closely, just as he follows Bede in the passage about the stakes *ad modum humani femoris grossis*. The alteration to *instar femoris* in Commelin-Giles I have found in no MS. It is deplorable that we should be still depending for our text of Geoffrey upon the whim of a sixteenth-century printer.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

Thirteenth Century: [a] Royal, 13, D. v; [b] Cotton Nero, D. viii; [c] Cotton Titus, A. xxvii; [d] Arundel, 319; [e] Lansdowne, 732; [f] Arundel, 237.

Fourteenth Century: [a] Cotton Vesp., A. xxiii; [b] Harl., 4,123; [c] Royal, 13, A. iii; [d] Royal, 13, A. v; [e] Royal, 14, C. i; [f] Royal, 15, C. xvi; [g] Cotton Galba, E. xi; [h] Cotton Vesp., E. x; [i] Cotton Titus, A. xviii; [k] Harl., 4,003; [l] Harl., 5,115; [m] Arundel, 326; [n] Brit. Mus. Addit., 11,702; [o] Royal, 13, D. i; [p] Cotton Cleop., D. viii.

Fragmentary MSS. and MSS. of the fifteenth century are not reckoned; nor is Harl., 6,358, which is corrupt, and in this passage practically a paraphrase.

The variants are (omitting those which are peculiar to one MS. of the twenty-seven only) *lacum*] *locum* CDoe gl, *locum altered to lacum i. inter*] *infra* Fbabno. *Ruscicadam*] *russicadam* Adefdm. *nuscicadam* Bh. *Azare*] *zarec ed arare* Cn. *incursione*] *incursu eko. passi sunt*] *sunt passi eg. Malue*] *maule* Bh. *ex*] *e Fban. patriam*] *terram* CDaceg, omitted *d. uero*] *itaque* ba.

⁵ Apart from matters of spelling, Giles departs from the MSS. in these respects: *et* inserted before *sulcantes*; *Philistinorum* altered to *Philenorum*; *lacum to locum* (this has some MS. support, but the context shows *lacum*, "salt lagoon," to be right); *inter to intra*; *ibi to ubi*; *sunt* placed after *adepti* instead of after *ditati*; *ex* altered to *e*; *vastauerunt patriam* altered to *populati sunt regionem illam*, presumably to improve the Latinity.

Six of these misreadings come from Ascensius (1517) through Commelin: two are in Commelin only.

REVIEWS

Four Lectures on the Handling of Historical Material. By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, Professor of Modern History in the University of Allahabad. Longmans. 1917. 86 pp. 3s.

THE lectures that make this little book were worth reprinting. They are pleasantly written and are especially interesting because they often discuss Indian material, too little known in this country. They are also eminently readable and express clear thought in a lucid style. No careful reader need ever be in doubt as to the meaning of what he reads; and this is a great merit. As a result the faults of the book are as apparent as its virtues, and any reader of experience can tell at once whether a particular page is woven out of good wool from the virtuous sheep, or shows the hairy quality of the undeserving goat. And in consequence the reviewer can draw the line at once between the good and the bad. The simple truth is that where Professor Rushbrook Williams is speaking of the handling of materials, nearly all he says is useful, wise, and pointed, especially when he is discussing chronicles, historians, private memoirs, and the like. On the handling of archives, or what he would call official material, his touch is less certain, and his remarks much less valuable. But if he had confined himself strictly to the handling of materials, only a captious critic could have found much to blame. Unfortunately, he thought it needful to discuss the classification of materials, and then he attempts to deal with archives; the reader can only suppose that he has never been inside a Record Office in his life, or even looked at an inventory of the contents of one.

He gives us first a logical division of all documents into two classes, official and non-official; and each of these he again divides into formal and informal sub-classes. Logically, these classes are impeccable and unassailable. But for practical use any student will find them absolutely without value, and that because the men who drew up the documents to which they are to be applied had no such distinctions in their minds. The briefest examination of such a collection of papers as those preserved at Hatfield House will show that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a Secretary of State made no distinction between private and official papers, and that his correspondents were equally careless. Curiously enough, the author is well aware of this fact, but does not see that in consequence the suggested classes are not adaptable to the material to which he applies them.

The same criticism applies to the division between formal and informal documents. No document bears on its face any marks to show to which class it belongs. At one period a document may be informal; a document of exactly the same kind drawn up a century later may be purely formal; and in the intervening period it may be

partly one and partly the other. Professor Rushbrook Williams classifies as informal official "all official announcements, proclamations, and the like." Doubtless he is thinking of Napoleon's bulletins; but if we start with a proclamation from the Board of Agriculture on the subject of swine fever, we shall certainly treat it as a formal official document. The same lack of acquaintance with subject-matter vitiates the further classifications suggested in this book. We are told, for instance, that there are four principal species of formal official documents, and that these are the treaty, the charter, the grant, and the roll; and, finally, the writ is mentioned as a sort of after-thought. The whole class of documents dealing with public finance is passed over in silence. It is scarcely necessary to observe that Professor Rushbrook Williams does not know what a charter or a grant was, and that he supposes that the only rolls that existed as rolls were the plea rolls of the courts of law. The rolls of the chancery and the exchequer have no place in his scheme.

One small point is worth a few more words. On p. 18 the author deals especially with the documents that make up his class of charters and with the use that may be made of the names of witnesses. His words are: "Suppose that we are investigating the career of a given individual A, and that this individual is among the witnesses to a formal official document. We can be absolutely certain that A was present at the time and place mentioned in the document, and that he lent his hand to a transaction of the particular kind in question." This is an admirably clear statement of the matter, but it is not a true statement. If we limit ourselves to English documents it would be far truer to say that we can hope to be sure down to the middle of the reign of Edward II. or so, and that after that date we do not know what we ought to think about the matter. For instance, in most cases letters under the great seal are witnessed by the king himself. It is certain that he was not always present at the time and place mentioned in such letters, for the simple reason that letters are dated on the same day at places widely distant from each other. Again, in the case of private deeds we know that the principle fails. For instance, in the year 1377 John de Burgh executed three deeds on the same day at three different places, one in Nottinghamshire, and two in Yorkshire, and had them enrolled on the close roll of that year. Two of the deeds have the same witnesses. It is impossible to suppose that the dates affixed to these deeds are anything but the dates at which the deed was to take effect. It must be clearly understood that the dates of charters and formal documents in the fourteenth century have a legal and not a chronological meaning, and that they can only be used with caution for chronological purposes. The truth seems to be that the witnesses to a document are not those "who had seen it executed, but those who were willing to give it credit by their names." The best discussion of the question, that I know of, is to be found on p. 97 of Prof. Thayer's admirable book entitled *A Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at the Common Law*.

I have dealt fully with the faults of this book, because its good points make its faults dangerous to inexperienced readers, and in consequence there is little space left to devote to the pages which deserve praise; and this may make this review seem unjust. Let me conclude, then, by saying generally that the book is well worth reading whenever the author is dealing with historical material other

than official documents, and that even in the parts where he discusses these there are many useful hints and acute remarks which the cautious reader may collect with profit to himself.

C. G. CRUMP.

The Beginnings of Modern Europe (1250-1450). By EPHRAIM EMERTON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. Boston: Ginn and Co. 1917. 7s. 6d.

TEACHERS and advanced students of history will find much that is useful and attractive in Professor Emerton's interesting sketch of the later Middle Ages. The "topical method" of the book, in which each chapter treats of a special political theory, institution, or phase of social development, presupposes a considerable knowledge of the sequence of historical facts; but this can be easily supplied by the use of a text-book, and the plan in itself is suggestive, and brings out with point and force the guiding principles and vital factors in a somewhat confused period of transition. Professor Emerton calls his volume "The Beginnings of Modern Europe," and he is perhaps rather too much inclined to regard the period between 1250 and 1450 as a prelude to the Protestant Reformation and to modern history, and to exaggerate the differences between mediæval and modern society. It is certainly challenging criticism to write that "it is hardly too much to say that Frederic [II.] was the first modern man" (p. 27). As Hampe has shown, the determination to label Frederic II. as either the last of the mediæval Emperors or the first of modern Kings has done much to obscure the true significance of his career and the continuity of his policy with that of Roger II. Professor Emerton, again, seems hardly to appreciate the depth, diversity, and range of mediæval thought. The "ages of acquiescence" were also ages of original and daring speculation. On the other hand, the modern note in Professor Emerton's work is valuable in reminding us that even mediæval studies have their practical side. If comparisons between mediæval Europe and the United States, and the discovery of "bossism" and "rings" in thirteenth-century Milan and Venice, give us a slight shock at first, it is a wholesome shock, which throws new light on old facts. It is all the more to be regretted that Professor Emerton could not find space for more illustrations from the history of Great Britain. Though England's national development was "largely independent of Continental movements," she had her share in those movements, and it is her international fellowship rather than her insularity that British historians are now concerned to emphasise.

B. A. LEES.

A History of Everyday Things. By MARJORIE and C. H. B. QUENNEL. Batsford. 8s. 6d.

It is good news that a large edition of this attractive and relatively expensive book was sold out within two months of its publication. There is evidently a public for historical work if it is well done. That this is well done of its kind is clear to anyone who turns over its beautifully illustrated pages, or reads any part of its interesting and admirably clear description. There is probably no better account in English of the structure of mediæval buildings, for the

simple reason that an expert architect has never before set himself to reconstruct and explain to the lay public how the old castles, monasteries, and churches were built and used. This is Mr. Quennell's special contribution, and his wife gives us a series of charming drawings showing the dress, the games, and the daily occupations of the people of the time. We are accustomed, of course, to books illustrated by reproductions of old prints, old drawings on missals, and the like. The special quality of this book is that an accomplished artist, with full knowledge of the facts, has given us original conceptions of mediæval people in all sorts of interesting poses at work and at play, sawing wood, grinding corn, juggling, leading the performing bear about, wandering on the high road with beads and baby. It is a fascinating production, and the letterpress is well selected and strung together in a simple and telling way. For the monastic life good use is made of Jocelin de Brakelond's Chronicle, Chaucer, Froissart, the Liberate Rolls; all sorts of apt sources furnish quotations. The scene in the mediæval kitchen, for instance, of which a somewhat stately drawing is given, is paralleled by the account of the old negress in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* evolving a wonderful dinner out of chaos. The *Master of Game*, written by Edward Duke of York at the end of the fourteenth century, supplies ample and attractive accounts of the country and the game and the life of the hunter in France and England in the Middle Ages.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the specially feminine department of dress is excellently done. There are four full-page illustrations in colours, besides the numerous smaller black-and-white drawings scattered throughout. The whole book is a striking example of the success of a long-continued labour of love on a congenial subject, and everyone who possesses it will look forward eagerly to the second part, which is herein promised. This volume takes us down to 1499. Whether the sequel will conduct us to the door of the cinema and the communal kitchen, time will show.

F. S. MARVIN.

The History of an East Anglian Soke. By CHRISTOBEL M. HOARE (Mrs. Ivo Hood), F.R.Hist.Soc. Bedford: Bedfordshire Times Publishing Co., Ltd. 1918. £1.

EVERYONE who has had to write about social history has been conscious of the need of detailed studies of particular localities and forms of organisation, and is correspondingly grateful to those who supply it. The future student of manorial conditions will burn a candle in honour of the bulky volume compiled by Mrs. Hood. It has, if it is not ungrateful to say so, certain defects. Mrs. Hood has been, perhaps, unduly anxious to fit into her book every available scrap of information about every individual who has had any connection whatever with the soke of Gimingham, with the result that her pages are, if anything, overweighted with facts which are merely facts, and names which are names and nothing else. The book would be easier to handle if the matter had been more strictly classified according to subjects. As it is, really illuminating evidence as to agrarian developments must sometimes be picked out of a wilderness of information about nonentities who are interesting to no one except their descendants, and probably not to them. Occasionally the author makes comments which familiarity with rural

conditions in other parts of England would perhaps have caused to be expressed differently. There is nothing curious in "the tenement and not the tenant" being responsible for filling the office of "Wickner"; the imposition of obligations on the holding was the general rule with regard both to manorial offices and to the agricultural services of the peasantry. There seems to be some confusion between the survival of villein services and of personal villeinage; the long list of works due from copyhold tenants at Gimingham in the sixteenth century, which are set out in an interesting chapter on "The Last Survivals of Villeinage," could be paralleled from many other manors—for example, those of the Earl of Pembroke in Wiltshire, which were surveyed in 1567. I am not sure what exactly is meant by the statement that "we have even arrived at a period when land has been made a cause of social disruption." Can it be a reference to the Land Report of famous memory? And I am afraid that the remark that in the Middle Ages "the land was a force which bound all classes together in an indissoluble and inevitable fraternity of common interest, labour, and support" suggests an innocence which would not have survived attendance at a manorial court. At least the serfs saw more of the labour than the fraternity. But these are trifles. A book of the kind must be judged by the material which it presents for tracing the development, in all the concrete particularity of a single locality, of what down to the seventeenth century was the most widely spread and influential unit of social organisation. In this respect Mrs. Hood satisfies triumphantly the most exacting tests. She has collected an immense volume of evidence with an industry which is beyond praise. No future writer on the later history of the manor will be able to neglect her book.

A work of the kind cannot be reviewed in detail. The most valuable part of it to the student of agrarian history consists of the manorial documents which it contains. The principal of these are a rental of 1485, Ministers' Accounts, extracts from Court rolls subsequent to 1396 (the earlier rolls were destroyed in the revolt of 1381), a book described as "a sixteenth-century manor-book," which contains much miscellaneous information as to manorial customs and business, and a series of documents as to villeinage in the sixteenth century, which are largely derived from the records of the Duchy of Lancaster. The rental (which, like many rentals, is difficult to interpret, owing to the practice of the manorial authorities of treating the tenancy, not the tenant, as the fiscal unit) shows the great preponderance of "bond tenants"—by this date copyholders—over free tenants, which was the normal condition of things, though in some parts of Norfolk not so marked as it apparently was at Gimingham; the comparatively small size of most of the holdings—the largest group is under 5 acres, and the next largest between 10 and 20; and the great inequality between the holdings of different tenants—by the end of the fifteenth century there is little trace of any standard holding. From 1414 onwards the demesne lands of the manor were leased, not, apparently, in one block, but to several different tenants. This was usually the preliminary to more drastic changes: the demesne lands were naturally that part of the village on which experiments in husbandry could most easily be made, and they were frequently the place where conversion to pasture and enclosure both began and proceeded farthest. In Gimingham, however, there does not appear to have been any serious disturbance of

the type which was common in the sixteenth century, nor is there any evidence in Mrs. Hood's documents that the Gimingham peasants joined the movement under Ket in 1549 (*not* 1542, as stated in the text). This is, no doubt, explained by the fact that enclosure took place there piecemeal, and, as the Court-rolls show, through the action of the peasants themselves, a process which is significant of the very real elasticity underlying the apparent rigidity of manorial organisation, and which ought to be weighed in mitigation of the verdict that the village community based on small property was incompatible with agricultural progress. The actual fact is that there were two quite different types of enclosure: enclosure from above (in the sixteenth century mainly for pasture-farming), carried out by lords of manors and capitalist farmers; and enclosure from below (mainly for improved tillage), carried out by the small men; and that the encouragement of the latter would have averted a good many of the deplorable social consequences associated with "enclosing" at a later date. The decision of the Duchy Court in 1582 (pp. 330 sq.) is interesting as illustrating the Elizabethan policy of trying to prevent the ruin of the peasants by limiting the grazing rights of the large farmer. Perhaps the most curious documents are those bearing on a dispute between the farmer of the demesne and the tenants in 1552, as to the liability of the latter to work on the demesne. The tenants claimed that "they had not done the said works for the space of 200 years, but compounded for the same." The evidence shows that there was a concerted refusal to give personal service and a "stay-in strike" ("they did the said works very evil"). The decision of the Duchy Court was virtually in favour of the tenants, as they were given the choice of working or compounding at the rate of one penny for any day work. These survivals of demesne work as an incident of copyhold tenure do not, of course, prove the existence of personal villeinage in the sixteenth century. That it did exist in Gimingham is shown, however, by the fact that, under a Commission issued in the reign of Elizabeth, forty-four bondmen on that manor were enfranchised. From the inventory of their property it is evident that some of those who were still legally villeins were very prosperous people.

It will be seen that Mrs. Hood's book contains material which is of the utmost interest to the student of manorial development. In addition, there is much matter, with which we have no space to deal, which is of importance for social history in general—for example, as to the local chantry, the village gilds, and the property of the churches in the socage at the time when they were visited by Edward VI.'s Commissioners. It is much to be desired that the records of other manors should be explored with equal patience and thoroughness.

R. H. TAWNEY.

A Social History of England. By F. BRADSHAW, M.A. Oxon., D.Sc. Lond. Clive. 1918. 5s.

THE author of this book states that it is intended "to supply within reasonable compass a text-book suitable for use in colleges and upper forms of schools, and dealing with such matters of social and economic history as are not to be found in the ordinary history text-books." Mr. Bradshaw does not advance any new ideas, and his treatment of the subject is conventional—the political framework

of reigns and periods is not suitable, in our opinion, for the exposition of industrial history—but the material is, on the whole, well-arranged, the narrative, though sometimes unduly compressed, is clear and interesting, and the digest of the views of economic historians will be found very useful by students.

We have noticed a number of statements which should be revised in a future edition of the book. To begin with, it is incorrect to say that "the relations of the lord with the cultivators of the soil [in Roman Britain] were practically the same as those of a mediæval lord of the manor with his serfs" (p. 13). The *colonus* was not identical with the *villanus*. "In its original form [boeland] was not land at all" (p. 19). Maitland did not state his famous theory in this extreme form. In many cases boeland was undoubtedly land, and not merely rights over land. Again, commendation did not necessarily involve land (p. 21); it might be personal and not territorial. The *geneat* of the *Rectitudines* was not an "unfree tenant" (p. 31). He corresponds to the sokeman, and the *gebur* to the villein, of Domesday Book. "William the Conqueror did not introduce feudalism into England" (p. 36), but he introduced the system of knight service as it existed after the Conquest. "The serf could not be sold apart from the estate on which he lived" (p. 42). The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, however, states that "Lords may transfer their ascriptitii where they please, and sell or otherwise alienate them." "In theory the lord's power over his serf was absolute" (p. 51). Bracton tells us that "the power of lords over villeins is restricted by civil right, so that life and limb are under the king's protection." The term villein was not used "for all the population who did not hold, theoretically at least, by military service or as clergy" (p. 43). It did not comprise, for example, the *liberi homines* and *sochemanni*. Similarly, it is wrong to identify "unfree tenure" with "non-military tenure" (p. 45): socage tenure was neither military nor frankalmoyn, yet it was a free tenure. The *chevagium* paid by serfs who left the manor was not invariably "a small one" (p. 51); it might be a large amount. The statement that "not till Elizabeth's reign [did] the law guarantee the barest sustenance to the impotent poor" (p. 64) overlooks the law of 1536. "No one could be arrested at the fair for any former crime or debt" (p. 87). This statement, although it has also been made by Miss Mary Bateson in *Borough Customs*, is incorrect. There is clear evidence in the rolls of St. Ives's Fair that men were arrested for debts contracted by themselves or their fellow-townsmen on other occasions. On p. 95 Mr. Bradshaw writes: "Cloth made in the eastern counties was being exported from Ipswich when Domesday was compiled." The export of cloth is mentioned, not in the Domesday Book of the Conqueror (*i.e.*, the eleventh century), but in the Domesday Book of Ipswich, a custumal of a much later date. The date of the Pilgrimage of Grace is 1536, not 1539 (p. 113). The Statute of 1504 did not "transfer the supervision of the craft guilds from the municipal authorities to the judges" (p. 120). The authority of the civic magistrates was not set aside, but was supplemented by the supervision of the State. Capitalistic production did not "appear first in the cloth trade" (p. 122). It existed in the tin-mining industry, for example, even before John Kempe set foot in this country. On p. 204 Mr. Bradshaw implies that the prohibition of the export of wool took place after the Revolution, but the prohibition had been

in force since the Restoration and earlier. Elsewhere (p. 247) we are told that "the landed interest objected to plans for importing Spanish or Irish wool." The Act of 1698 expressly permitted the importation of Irish wool into England and Wales, and Spanish wool was largely used in the manufacture of the fine broad cloth for which the West Country clothiers were renowned. "The power loom," we read, "was slower in coming into use [in the woollen textiles] than in the case of cotton textiles" (p. 248), owing to the shortage of raw materials. Machinery was used in the worsted industry, a very important branch of the woollen textiles, almost as early as in the cotton industry, and the belated introduction of the power loom in the manufacture of cloth was due to technical difficulties. The statement that Kay's "fly shuttle" "enabled a weaver to do twice as much work as before and weave a wider cloth" (p. 261) does not convey an accurate notion of Kay's invention. The spring shuttle enabled a single weaver to work the broad loom, which had hitherto required two workmen, one at each end; but it can be shown on technical grounds that the cloth was not woven in the same amount of time, nor of course was the width of the cloth extended. The account of the inventions omits all mention of the combing machine, though the petition presented in Parliament against Cartwright's invention states that it affected 50,000 wool-combers. It is hardly correct to say that "the earlier mechanical inventions were mostly designed for the cotton trade" (p. 261): Kay's fly shuttle, Paul's machine for spinning thread by rollers (the basis of Arkwright's machine), Paul's carding machine, possibly Cartwright's power loom, and certainly his combing machine, were all "designed" for the woollen industry.

Writers on economic history devote very little space to the domestic system, yet it was the basis of industrial life in England for four centuries. And the account given of it is usually quite inaccurate. "Early cases of capitalist employers, such as John Kempe and Jack of Newbury, probably never were entirely unrepresented in English industry, but in the seventeenth century, at any rate, the domestic system prevailed" (p. 248). But the domestic system *was* a capitalist system. The West Country clothier and the East Anglian wool-comber were capitalists, and the weavers, spinners, and combers were their hired workmen who served for wages. Conditions were different in the North, but production here was on a much smaller scale. Confusion has arisen from the fact that the clothiers were not, as a rule, factory-owners like John Winchcombe, but the determining test of a capitalist system is not whether a man works under his employer's roof or his own, but whether he owns the product of his labour or not. Judged by this test, the domestic system in the West and East of England was undoubtedly a capitalist system, since the weaver was a wage-earner, and worked on his master's material. The attempt to contrast the "domestic worker" with the "employee of a capitalist" overlooks the fact that domestic workers were, as a matter of fact, also employees of capitalists. Mr. Bradshaw repeats the statement that weavers "were accustomed to eke out their industrial earnings in many cases by tilling a patch of ground" (pp. 156, 249). There is good reason for believing that weaving was not compatible with farming. A weaver who did much tilling would find his hands too roughened for the delicate operation of tying broken threads in the

loom—a very important part of the process of weaving. It is true that Yorkshire clothiers had plots of land, but they served mainly to pasture the horse on which the cloth was carried to market.

E. LIPSON.

The British Navy. By L. COPE CORNFORD. Pp. xiv + 202. Macmillan. 1918. 2s.

Fighting for Sea Power in the Days of Sail. By H. W. HOUSEHOLD. Pp. x + 226. Macmillan. 1918. 2s.

BOTH these books have been written with the same object, namely, to arouse on behalf of our fighting fleet the interest of boys and girls. But the two authors approach their subject from different angles. Mr. Household, after introducing his readers in a preliminary chapter to the "seventy-four" (the typical fighting ship of the second half of the eighteenth century), unfolds a panorama of big fleet actions such as the Battle of the Saints, the Glorious First of June, and the Battle of the Baltic. Between these greater pieces he intersperses pictures of single-ship actions, frigate duels, and "cutting out" affairs, such as *Indefatigable* v. *Droits-de-l'Homme*, *Nymphé* v. *Cléopâtre*, *Phœnix* v. *Didon*, and the recapture of the *Hermione*. The narrative is pleasantly diversified by well-chosen quotations from contemporary pens, the Four Days' Battle, for example, being largely constructed from the Diary of Mr. Samuel Pepys. There are diagrams, for the most part "adapted" from bigger books; and some of these are unexceptionable. Unhappily, Mahan's versions of Martinique and the Glorious First of June are included. The latter was thus described by its originator: "Assuming . . . correctness, it was a mere mental diversion, in result rather confusing than illuminative to a student" (*Sail to Steam*, p. 305). The former is altogether wrong. Mahan issued a correct version in *Major Operations*, but left the faulty diagram in *Sea Power* uncorrected.

Mr. Cope Cornford's book may best be described as a collection of essays. They are charmingly written, and, if carefully studied, should go far to remove many wrong opinions held in inland counties relative to the country's first line of defence. From the first chapter, in which he explains why those who man his Majesty's ships detest the appellation "sailors," and why everyone who comes aboard salutes the quarter-deck, the author takes his reader in hand, kindly and patiently endeavouring to show him the ropes. We have an excellent thesis on the different units of the modern battle fleet; another on the work which the Navy has done during the present war; and a third expounding in most welcome fashion the unselfish and incomparable work of our seamen during a hundred years of peace. Several of the big battles, such as St. Vincent and Quiberon, are graphically described, but not so much for their own sake as to illustrate particular aspects of maritime policy. Thus Copenhagen is utilised to drive home an admirable survey of the meaning of "Right of Search." Many are the wise lessons taught by this little book, and the abiding spirit of a "Service" which never ceases to serve is illustrated finely by some types of British admirals, including Lord Beresford and Sir Gerard Noel.

GEOFFREY CALLENDER.

SHORT NOTICES

THE editors of the handy and cheap series entitled *The Heritage of India* have chosen their subjects admirably, to judge by the volume on Asoka, belonging to the group *Biographies of Eminent Indians* (Calcutta: The Association Press, London: Milford, 1s. 6d.), in which Dr. J. M. Macphail has compressed into eighty-eight pages a clear and useful account of the ruler whom he describes without exaggeration as "one of the most impressive figures in the history of royalty." The story of Asoka, like the majestic traces of his palace and the rocks and pillars of his graven edicts, has, fortunately, kept its historical outline, notwithstanding the legends that Buddhist tradition has heaped upon it. It has a certain grandeur, which it owes partly to the personality of the famous convert to Buddhism, and partly to the fact that his vigorous life and rule fell within the earlier epoch of one of the most momentous developments of Indian thought, and his mission was to rule men according to the Buddhist doctrine. Dr. Macphail's work includes a useful chapter on early Buddhism, in which he deals with the religion before and during the time that it received the very practical support of Asoka. Partly (perhaps chiefly) by that support Buddhist doctrine and practice had (to consider only one point) a strong influence on the social history of India. The subject is treated with care and appreciatively by the author, who writes with the sympathy which is stated to be one of the only two "tests" (the other being scholarship) which all contributors to *The Heritage of India* series are required to pass. The modern missionary spirit is, we think and hope, well illustrated by this attitude of the editors of a series excellently planned for popular reading.

M. H. B.

THE little sketch, by Professors H. van der Linden and P. Hamelius, of *Anglo-Belgian Relations* (Constable, 1918, 2s. 6d.) has been published at an opportune time, for in its way it is a contribution to the discussion of peace problems of the immediate present. In broad outline it sketches the connection between the two countries, and shows very clearly what an important part the southern portion of the Low Countries has played in English foreign policy. The book has a secondary object in proving the existence of Belgium as an entity from the early Middle Ages onwards. This has helped rather to confuse the narrative, at least in the first chapter of the book, which is a general survey introductory to the later chronological treatment of the subject; but, despite this disadvantage, the average reader will get from it a comprehensive idea of Anglo-Belgian relations. The problem of condensation is the hardest one that any historical author has to face, and there are blemishes here which can be traced obviously to this cause. There are not a few passages which presuppose an historical knowledge more profound than is to be found in the average reader, and in places inaccuracies have crept in, which, given more space, would probably have been avoided. For instance, the following passage can hardly be accepted as a true summary of the relations between the English Crown and the Dukes of Burgundy during the fifteenth century: "The alliance began during the reign of the Lancastrian King Henry IV.; it suffered interruption under his son, Henry V., and his grandson, Henry VI., to be formally renewed in 1456 by the

Yorkist King Edward IV." Again, on pp. 52-54, a good deal of confusion and some inaccuracy are the almost inevitable result of trying to explain the break-up of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance in the reign of Henry VI. in so short a space. The marriage between the Duke of Brabant and Jacqueline of Hainault was never annulled by the Pope, and the phrasing on p. 54 seems to suggest that Duke Philip the Good broke the English alliance before Jacqueline's marriage to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. There are scattered about the book a good many such inaccuracies, as well as omissions which give an inaccurate impression, and there is no doubt that a good many of these might be corrected in a second edition without making the sketch unduly long. Indeed, room might be found by omitting the passages about Froissart and Shakespeare. It is true that literary connections have an important bearing on international relations, but it is impossible to build much on the fact that Froissart was a welcome visitor in England, or that "in *Henry V.* there is a passing reference to John the Fearless, whose brother fell at Agincourt." Most readers will be mainly interested in the last phase of these Anglo-Belgian relations, and we cannot but think that chap. vii. might therefore have been expanded to show more clearly the part played by British statesmen in 1830, and the motives which inspired them. Despite blemishes, however, this little book is full of interest, and should be read by all who wish to understand the position of Belgium as a barrier country, which has consequently had far more than its share of wars and rumours of wars. K. H. V.

MR. NICHOL SMITH has collected together a series of contemporary *Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century* (Clarendon Press, 6s.), including some sixty of those men who then loomed largest in the public eye. Most of these characters are brief; all of them are self-contained, and, as their avowed object is to delineate the mind and the passions, as well as—and in many cases even more than—the physical characteristics, the value of such a collection to a teacher of seventeenth-century history can hardly be exaggerated. Of course, it must at once be admitted that a contemporary, still more a personal friend, may view a man's character with a prejudiced eye; but a Macaulay or a Froude often does no better, and the value of word-pictures such as these lies in their being at first hand, for, no matter how earnestly documents may be studied by a modern historian, there is something about a man who lived two hundred years ago that he can never grasp with any certainty, something that can be sensed only by those who knew him in the very flesh. Mr. Smith has made his selection skilfully, and, though there are very few extracts included that are not well known—Clarendon and Burnet bear the weight of the book upon their shoulders—on the other hand, the only character of any importance that one misses is the admirable one of John Bunyan contributed by his anonymous friend to the "Continuation" of *Grace Abounding*. Not the least interesting portion of the book is the scholarly introduction, in which the author traces the origin and development of the art of character-writing, and seeks to show that, though there were undoubtedly some Continental, and especially French, influences at work, yet in England the character was, to a great extent, the perfectly spontaneous result of writing contemporary history on classical models. E. R. A.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

EASTERN EXPLORATION, Past and Future. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, vi+118 pp. Constable. 2s. 6d.

FOLK LORE in the Old Testament. By Sir J. G. Frazer. 3 vols. 569+571+566 pp. Macmillan. 37s. 6d. (p. 633, 1918.)

ISRAEL'S SETTLEMENT in Canaan. By C. F. Burney. xi+104 pp. The British Academy. 3s. 6d. (p. 124.)

STUDIES in Early Indian Thought. By Dorothea J. Stephen. viii+176 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 6s. (p. 79.)

EDUCATION in Ancient India. By N. N. Mazumder. vii+128 pp. Macmillan. 2s. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 11.)

THE OXYRHYNCHUS Papyri. Pt. xiii (Ephorus, etc.). Ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. 235 pp. Egypt Exploration Fund. 25s. (p. 146.)

GREEK POLITICAL THEORY: Plato and his Predecessors. By E. Barker. xiii+403 pp. Methuen. 14s.

THE PHILOSOPHY of Plotinus. By W. R. Inge. 2 vols. Longmans. 28s. (p. 101.)

DICTIONARY of the Apostolic Church. Vol. II., Macedonia—Zion, Indexes. Ed. J. Hastings. xii+724 pp. Clark. 25s. (p. 656, 1918.)

PAUSANIAS: Description of Greece. Trans. W. H. S. Jones. Vol. I. (Books i. and ii.). xxviii+457 pp. (The Loeb Classical Library.) Heinemann. 7s. 6d. (p. 78.)

TEMAIR BREG: The Remains and Traditions of Tara. By R. A. S. Macalister. (Proc. Roy. Irish Acad., vol. xxiv.). Hodges, Figgis. 4s. 6d. (p. 96.)

THE PICTISH Nation. By A. B. Scott. xxv+561 pp. Foulis. 25s. (pp. 16, 45.)

THE PATRIMONY of the Roman Church in the Time of Gregory I. By E. Spearing. xix+147 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 6s.

ROME: A HISTORY. By Elizabeth O'Neill. x+344 pp. Jack. 5s.

HENRY II. By L. F. Salzman. viii+267 pp. Constable. 7s. 6d. (p. 29.)

HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT in England and France. By F. H. Cripps-Day. 150+cxviii pp. Quaritch. 25s. (p. 67.)

SURNAMES of the United Kingdom (Etymology). By H. Harrison. Vol. II., pt. 21, completing the work. 24+pp. 321-332. The Morland Press. 2s. 6d.

BLESSED GILES OF ASSISI. By W. W. Seton. vii+94 pp. British Society of Franciscan Studies, Vol. VIII. (p. 65.)

PARLIAMENT AND THE TAXPAYER. By E. H. Davenport. 256 pp. Skeffington. 6s. (p. 104.)

THE TURKS of Central Asia. By M. A. Czaplicka. 242 pp. Full bibliography. Clarendon Press. 15s. (p. 131.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY of Writings in English relating to Bohemia and the Czechs. By T. and A. S. Capek. New York: F. H. Revell Co. \$1.50.

SWITZERLAND. By C. F. Cameron. viii+320 pp. Jack. 5s.

ENGLISH Liturgical Colours. By W. St. John Hope and E. G. C. F. Atchley. xii+274 pp. Bibliography. S.P.C.K. 25s. (p. 616, 1918.)

CHAPTER ACTS of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, 1536-47. Ed. R. E. G. Cole. xxv+223 pp. 12s. 6d.

VISITATIONS of Religious Houses, Vol. II., 1436-49, Pt. i. Ed. A. H. Thompson. lxix+218 pp. 23s.

WILLS. Vol. II., 1505-30. Ed. C. W. Foster. xxviii+300 pp. 15s.

Horncastle: W. K. Morton, for the Lincoln Record Soc. (p. 20.)

HELPS FOR STUDENTS of History. Ed. C. Johnson and J. P. Whitney.

1. Episcopal Registers. By R. C. Fowler.
2. Municipal Records. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw.
3. Medieval Reckonings of Time. By R. L. Poole.
4. The Record Office. By C. Johnson.
- 6d. each.
5. The Logic of History. By C. G. Crump. 8d. S.P.C.K.

HENRY VII. By Gladys Temperley. viii+453 pp. Constable. 7s. 6d. (p. 106.)

GALILEO. By W. W. Bryant. 64 pp.

FARADAY. By J. A. Crowther. 72 pp.

A. R. WALLACE. By L. T. Hogben.

(Pioneers of Progress Series.) S.P.C.K. 2s. each. (p. 628, 1918.)

A HISTORY of the Church in Scotland. Vol. II., 1546-60. By A. R. Macewen. viii+199 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d. (p. 53.)

THE MARATHA People. By C. A. Kincaid and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasius. Vol. I., to the death of Shivaji. iv+294 pp. Milford. 16s. (p. 64.)

ANNESLEY OF SURAT and his Times. By Arnold Wright. 357 pp. Melrose. 10s. 6d. (p. 27.)

CALENDAR of the Madras Records, 1740-44. By H. Dodwell. Madras: The Government Press.

THE DIARY of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Vol. VI. (to 1750). Ed. H. Dodwell. Madras: The Government Press. 5s. 6d.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY of Ireland in the 18th century. By G. O'Brien. 446 pp. Maunsell. 10s. 6d. (p. 147.)

NEW YORK as a Municipality, to 1731. By A. E. Peterson. Columbia Univ. Press (Longmans). \$2. (p. 68.)

THOMAS CORAM. By H. F. B. Compston. 123 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, 1918, p. 479.)

DOCUMENTS of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915. Ed. W. P. M. Kennedy. xxxii+707 pp. Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press (Milford). 21s. (p. 38.)

SELECTED SPEECHES and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917. Ed. A. B. Keith. 2 vols. (World's Classics Ser.) xvi+381+vi+424. Milford. 4s. (p. 634, 1918.)

A HISTORY of the United States. By Cecil Chesterton. xix+251 pp. Chatto and Windus. 6s. (p. 105.)

THE DECLARATION of Independence, Articles of Confederation, and Constitution of the United States. Ed. J. B. Scott. xxiii+94 pp. Milford. 4s. 6d.

LABOUR and Industry in Australia, 1788-1901. By Sir T. A. Coghlan. 4 vols. viii+vi+v+5+2,449 pp. Milford. £3 13s. 6d. (p. 90.)

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION in English History. By P. A. Brown. xiv+232

pp. Crosby Lockwood. 7s. 6d. (p. 120.)

LOS ULTIMOS Virreyes de Nueva Granada: Francisco Montalvo, Juan Samano. Madrid: Editorial-America. 3.50P. (p. 590, 1918.)

LUXEMBURG (1780-1914). By Ruth Putnam. xiv+484 pp. Putnam. 10s. 6d. (p. 144.)

THE CONGRESS of Vienna, 1814-1815. By C. K. Webster. xii+174 pp. For the Historical Section of the Foreign Office. Milford. 4s. 6d. (p. 51.)

THE CENTURY of Hope (1815-1914). By F. S. Marvin. vii+352 pp. Clarendon Press. 6s. (p. 157.)

LAMARTINE. By H. R. Whitehouse. 2 vols. xiii+463+ix+527 pp. Fisher Unwin. 42s. (p. 95.)

RICHARD CORDEN. By J. A. Hobson. 416 pp. Fisher Unwin. 21s. (p. 1b.)

TRADITIONS of British Statesmanship. By A. D. Elliot. xi+231 pp. Constable. 10s. 6d. (p. 3.)

THE OLD CAPE HOUSE: Chapters in the History of a Legislative Assembly. By R. Kilpin. xvii+200 pp. Cape Town: Miller. 11s. 6d. (p. 650, 1918.)

GERMANY. By Sir A. W. Ward. Vol. III., 1871-1890. With two supplementary chapters. xvi+437 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 12s. 6d. (p. 119.)

LA MISSION du Comte de Saint-Vallier. (à Berlin, 1877-81.) Par E. Daudet. Plon. 4.50f. (p. 26.)

LA POLITIQUE Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Par J. Larmeroux. Tome II., 1908-1914. Librairie Plon. 10f. (p. 592, 1918.)

WATSON PASHA (1844-1916). By S. Lane-Poole. vii+252 pp. Murray. 7s. 6d. (p. 75.)

FOREIGN CORPORATIONS in American Constitutional Law: A Contribution to the History of Juristic Persons. By G. C. Henderson. xix+199 pp. Harvard Univ. Press. 6s. 6d.

MODERNISM. By M. D. Petre. xvi+249 pp. Jack. 6s. (pp. 1, 20, 33.)

POLITICAL PROPHECIES. By the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. 30 pp. Clarendon Press. 1s. (p. 117.)

CURRENT HISTORY AND POLITICS.

THE OUTBREAK of the War of 1914-1918. A Narrative based mainly on British Official Documents. By C. Oman. 146 pp. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 6d. (*The Times*, Feb. 15.)

BETRACHTUNGEN eines Unpolitischen. Von T. Mann. Berlin: S. Fischer. 15mk. (p. 635, 1918.)

L'IMPÉRIALISME ÉCONOMIQUE Allemand. Par H. Lichtenberger et P. Petit. Flammarion. 4f. (p. 601, 1918.)

LA GUERRE Libératrice. Par A. Millerand. Colin. 2.40f. (p. 644, 1918.)

THE BRAZILIAN Green-Book: Diplomatic Documents, 1914-17, issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Authorised English Version. Intro. A. Boyle. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

NELSON'S HISTORY of the War. By John Buchan. Vol. XXI. 390 pp. Vol. XXII. 280 pp. 2s. 6d. each.

"THE TIMES" DOCUMENTARY HIS-

TORY of the War. Vol. VII., Naval, Pt. 3. vii+509 pp. £1 1s. (p. 14.)

THE GRAND FLEET, 1914-16. By Viscount Jellicoe. Cassell. 31s. 6d. (p. 92.)

THE NAVY in Battle. By A. H. Pollen. vi+371 pp. Chatto and Windus. 12s. 6d. (pp. 610, 660, 1918.)

TOPOGRAPHY and Strategy in the War. By D. W. Johnson. xi+211 pp. Constable. 10s. 6d. (p. 121.)

FORTY DAYS in 1914. By Major-Gen. Sir F. Maurice. xi+213 pp. Constable. 9s. (p. 75.)

FIVE YEARS in the Royal Flying Corps. By J. T. B. McCudden, V.C. xvi+348 pp. The "Aeroplane" Publishing Co. 7s. 6d. (p. 42.)

L'ANNÉE DE VERDUN. Par J. Reinach. Charpentier. 3.50f. (p. 10.)

WAR and Revolution in Russia, 1914-17. By Gen. Gourko. xvi+347 pp. Murray. 18s. (p. 593, 1918.)

RUSSIA in Upheaval. By E. A. Ross. xviii+354 pp. Fisher Unwin. 12s. 6d. (p. 39.)

THE PRELUDE to Bolshevism: The Kornilov Rebellion. By A. F. Keren-sky. 318 pp. Fisher Unwin. 16s. (p. 74.)

THE BOLSHIEVIKI and World Peace. By L. Trotsky. New York: Boni and Liveright. (p. 63.)

PROBLEMS confronting Russia. By Baron Heyking. xvi+210 pp. P. S. King. 10s. 6d. (pp. 652, 1918; 58, 84, 1919.)

ITALY'S GREAT WAR. By M. Alberti and Others. Ed. H. N. Gay. 267 pp. Fisher Unwin. 5s.

SCENES from Italy's War. By G. M. Trevelyan. xv+240 pp. Jack. 10s. 6d. (p. 103.)

SECRETS of the Bosphorus, 1913-16. By H. Morgenthau. xi+275 pp. Hutchinson. 8s. 6d. (p. 651, 1918.)

L'OCCUPATION Austro-Bulgare en Serbie. Par Novakovitch. Berger-Levrault. 3f. (p. 601, 1918.)

FERDINAND IER, Tsar de Bulgarie. Par Ernest Daudet. Attinger, 4f. (p. 10.)

BULGARIA: Problems and Politics. By G. C. Logio. ix+285 pp. Heine-mann. 10s. (p. 159.)

LA ROUMANIE et la Guerre. Par S. Serbesco. Colin. 5.25f. (p. 10.)

AVEC L'ARMÉE ROUMAINE. Par M. Sturdza. Hachette. 3.50f. (p. 15.)

BRITISH CAMPAIGNS in the Nearer East, 1914-1918. By E. Dane. xv+331 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d. (p. 52.)

THE LONG ROAD to Baghdad. By Edm. Candler. 2 vols. xiii+294+vii+311 pp. Cassell. 35s. (p. 80.)

L'AFRIQUE du Nord et la Guerre. Par P. Perreau-Pradier et M. Besson. Alcan. 4.55f. (p. 601, 1918.)

GROTIUS: Annuaire International pour l'Année 1917. The Hague: M. Nijhoff. (p. 50.)

CONDITIONS of Armistice with Germany. Signed Nov. 11th, 1918. With Map. H.M. Stationery Office. 5d.

THE LEAGUE of NATIONS. By the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts. 71 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 1s. (The Times, Jan. 10th.)

THE LEAGUE of NATIONS. By M. Erzberger. Trans. B. Miall. vii+328 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d. (p. 90.)

THE LEAGUE of NATIONS and its Problems. By L. Oppenheim. xii+84 pp. Longmans. 6s. (p. 118.)

A SOCIETY of States. By W. T. S. Stallybrass. 176 pp. Routledge. 1s. 9d.

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E. J. D.

HISTORY

JULY, 1919

GREEK RELIGION AND THE SAVIOUR KING. •

THE method of Procrustes, the fabled highwayman of Attica, was doubtless expeditious, but its very simplicity might reasonably have awakened suspicion amongst his imitators. Students of Greek religion, however, seem to have felt but few scruples : if their material was recalcitrant, they too resorted to violence. Thus the meteorological school, with Max Müller at its head, saw everywhere only personifications of natural phenomena or of the heavenly bodies, especially of the sun ; the shade of the Emperor Aurelian must surely have rejoiced at this whole-hearted worship of Sol Invictus. Later, the astral mythologists, under their leader, Carl Fries, have re-applied with but slight modifications the mid-Victorian method, and even the tennis-ball, as it speeds across the net, is held to mirror the voyage of the sun through the heavens, and so pays unconscious homage to the triumph of astral mythology. Others have sought the master-key which shall force all locks in etymology, and have recked nothing of the martyrdom of language. Yet, again, others, with Miss Jane Harrison for high priestess of the mysteries, have had eyes only for peasant gods and vegetation deities, chthonic powers dying yearly to celebrate an annual resurrection ; here, too, the master-key does wonders, and Salome, bearing in her dance the severed head of the Forerunner, renders unsuspected tribute to the Year-Spirit. But one who is no professional locksmith cannot share this touching faith in the master-key, and asks for a wider and more human synthesis. As an attempt to meet this need we may welcome Professor Herschel Moore's new study of *The Religious Thought of the Greeks from Homer to the Triumph of Christianity*¹ and take it as a text for some remarks.²

¹ Cambridge : Harvard University Press ; London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. vii., 385.

² Of modern English books for the general reader on Greek religion may be mentioned L. R. Farnell's *Greece and Babylon, A Comparative Sketch of Meso-*

Professor Moore's book gives the reader at once more and less than its title promises: while, on the one hand, it includes an account of the Oriental religions, *e.g.*, of Isis-Serapis and of Mithras, and an analysis of the development of religious thought in the New Testament, on the other it omits any references to the popular religion of the Greeks with its archaic ritual, its superstitions and strange primitive survivals. It is on these ritual observances that much modern research has been concentrated. Thus Professor Samter, in beginning his lately-published book on *The Religion of the Greeks*,³ lays down the principle that "the study and description of the religion of the Greeks, as with that of any other people, must start from their rites": cult-usage is the key to understanding, for cult-usage survives, even when the meaning of the rite is no longer understood by the worshipper. Professor Samter's first four chapters are devoted to Fetishism, gods in animal form, "*sondergötter*," and the worship of the Dead: only in his fifth chapter do we reach the Homeric religion. Professor Moore begins his book with Homer and Hesiod. Now, in support of this treatment of the subject, it can be urged that what is distinctive and of real value in any religion is not that from which it starts—those primitive conceptions which are common to peoples in their childhood—but that to which it attains—the flower of its development: we have had in many recent works more than enough of possible analogies to Greek usage drawn from remote and barbarous tribes; but it is surely also true, as Wilamowitz-Moellendorf has written in his brilliant sketch of the history of Greek religion,⁴ that if one would understand the faith of the Greeks, Homer is the worst possible point of departure, for the Homeric poems already represent a developed mythology. This difficulty is only increased if, as does Professor Moore, we date the composition of the Homeric poems as late as 800–750 B.C., for by so doing we exclude any consideration of the links which unite the Minoan world to that of the northern invaders. These connecting links are admittedly hard to trace, but it cannot be without significance that all the great centres of the Greek religion were formerly hallowed places to the men of

potamian, Anatolian, and Hellenic Religions, Edinburgh, 1911, and his Hibbert Lectures on "The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion," London, 1912; James Adam's *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1909; J. E. Harrison's *Art and Ritual*, London, [1913], and Thomas Whitaker's *The Neo-Platonists*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1918 (especially c. iii.).

³ E. Samter, *Die Religion der Griechen*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1914.

⁴ "Geschichte der griechischen Religion. Eine Skizze," in *Reden und Vorträge*. Dritte Auflage, Berlin, 1913, pp. 169–198.

the earlier faith. No one who has read them can forget those pages in *Homer and History* where Dr. Leaf has sought to sketch the beginnings of Greek religion at the time of the fusion of the races.⁵ It is from Professor Moore's failure to attempt this work of reconstruction that we feel that his book has lost its first chapter, that we are launched on a stream of which the higher reaches are unexplored.

But of Hesiod's *Works and Days* we have an admirable treatment. In the Homeric age there was little, if any, connection between morals and religion. In Homer the sense of social obligations is much more keenly realised than is that of religious sanctions: "the Homeric concept of sin touches our moral ideas at hardly more than three points"—disregard for an oath, failure to honour one's father and mother, and disrespect for the stranger and suppliant. But in Hesiod, a man of deeply religious nature, there is the passionate conviction that Justice is enthroned on high, that the Gods are moral powers and avengers of moral guilt. Justice is not merely that human virtue which distinguishes man from the lower animals; that it is, but it is also the chief attribute of Zeus, personified as his daughter and constant attendant: and crime bringing with it the stain of moral guilt can be purged by the God alone. One could have wished for a fuller treatment of this divine purification, this possibility of escape from the undying blood-feud. For in this cry of Hesiod for justice on earth and in this possibility of purification the early state saw its opportunity: it came to give the justice which bribe-devouring nobles denied, it came to secure to the offender the boon of Heaven's pardon⁶; and thus were laid the foundations of the fifth-century religion of the Πόλις, the city-state. The laws of Draco, unmentioned by

⁵ Walter Leaf, *Homer and History*, Macmillan, 1915, c. vii., "The Fusion of Races." It is easy to exaggerate the break with the Minoan past, as von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf does when he writes, "Die Griechen des Mutterlandes haben wirklich von vorn angefangen; man kann es am besten an der Malerei des geometrischen Stiles erkennen. So ist es geraten in dieser Betrachtung von Kreta abzusehen" (*op. cit.*, p. 171). With this, contrast D. G. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, Oxford, 1909, pp. 32 *sqq.* For first attempts to study these connections, *cf.* Sir Arthur Evans, "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi. (1901), pp. 99-204; L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 93 *sqq.*; Sir Arthur Evans's Presidential Address to the Hellenic Society, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxii. (1912), pp. 277 *sqq.*; H. R. Hall, *Ægean Archaeology*, London, 1915, pp. 147 *sqq.* This continuity has been illustrated by the results of recent archaeological research: for Asia Minor *cf.* Hogarth's *Ionia and the East*, and for Sparta *cf.* Arnold J. Toynbee, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxiii. (1913), pp. 246 *sqq.*

⁶ *Cf.* A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1915, pp. 94 *sqq.*

Professor Moore, are indeed themselves an important part of the religious thought of the Greeks.⁷

We miss also any discussion of the part played by Delphi in the early history of Greek religion, when in an age of enterprise and adventure, of nascent capitalism and labour unrest,⁸ the Pythian Apollo preached the virtue of moderation and of self-control—of that *σωφροσύνη* which Mr. Sheppard has called “the true religion of the Greeks.” “Know thyself”: i.e., know that you are only a man, the creature of a day, and walk humbly before the Lord thy God—for the Lord thy God is a jealous God.⁹ It is true that we are very ill-informed as to the part taken by Delphi in this preaching of the just measure; but it would seem that we may fairly attribute to the priests of Apollo something more than a mere “authorisation of a lay morality,” (so Sam Wide¹⁰), for this insistence on moderation would appear to be traditional at Delphi: witness how Delphi toned down the excesses of the Dionysus cult and “hellenized” its orgiastic rites. This question of the early influence of Delphi is, however, but part of a larger problem: how was it that the Delphic priesthood through the oracle of Apollo won among Greeks and barbarians alike its position of authority—a religious supremacy which amongst the Greeks remained unshaken even when the oracle’s political authority had been weakened by Apollo’s failure to support the national cause in the Persian War? Think for a moment what Delphi meant to Herodotus (Professor Moore’s remark that Herodotus is “wholly sceptical,” p. 124, is simply inexplicable). How was that influence gained? It is at least plausible to suggest that in some degree it may be due to the fact that the Greek was conscious that Delphi stood for something of high value, something itself in the truest sense Greek, that ordered self-mastery which is glorified alike by writers of prose and poetry, by a Herodotus as well as a Pindar or a Sophocles.¹¹ In this age of enterprise and high adventure, in Ionia, just where the contact

⁷ Cf. Gaetano di Sanctis, *Artis*, 2nda edizione, Torino, 1912, c. 5, “Draconte e il Diritto criminale.”

⁸ For a consideration of the part played by labour unrest in the rise of the tyrants cf. Ure, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxvi. (1906), pp. 131–142.

⁹ “Die menschliche *σωφροσύνη* wird in der altgriechischen Frömmigkeit das Komplement zu dem göttlichen Neide.” Sam Wide: “Griechische Religion” in Gercke and Norden’s *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*. 2te Auflage. Leipzig, 1912. Bd. II., p. 199.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ We need a fuller and more mature treatment of the history of the Delphic Oracle than that given in *The Delphic Oracle* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1918) by T. Dempsey.

between the Minoan and the Greek worlds was closest—surely born of a fusion between the two peoples—came the early spring-time of Greek art and thought; here, unfettered by any traditional authority, the Greek thinker, starting from a presupposition—an article of faith, if you will—that the Universe was one, left the realm of polytheistic belief behind him, and was led on towards pantheism or monotheism.¹² But the science and metaphysic of Ionia was too impersonal for common folk, and while the doctrine of *σωφροσύνη* was part of the official religion of Greece, it was from the Thracian north that there came the deeply personal cult of Dionysus: man's soul stepped forth from the trammels of the body (*ἔκστασις*) to be filled with God (*ἐνθουσιασμός*); elsewhere, Orphic sectaries and Pythagoreans met this same need for a personal religion, and formed communities on a religious basis, where they could practise discipline and asceticism and thus win purification: the after-world was no longer the shadowy Hades of the Homeric poems—it became a Paradise or a Hell.¹³ Professor Moore has a well written chapter on "Orphism, Pythagoreanism and Mysteries." This is followed by a chapter on "Religion in the Poets of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.," for the place held by the prophet in the religious development of Israel was in Greece taken by the poet and the philosopher.

We pass to fifth-century Athens—to Athens, the seat of Democracy after the triumph of the Persian War. It would have formed an effective contrast to have compared the oligarchic ideal of *noblesse oblige*—that religion of the aristocrat—the *καλοκαγαθία* of which Pindar was the perfect representative,¹⁴ with the imperial faith of the city-state, which was the real religion of Athens.¹⁵ It is the great paradox of Athens in the fifth century that at the very time when the temples of the Gods were being rebuilt with a splendour undreamed of by men of an earlier age, the Gods themselves would seem to count for little. Orphism declines: the religion of men is imperialism.¹⁶ Why try to escape from a world of such richness, such fulness of life? "Who could look

¹² For this Ionian metaphysic cf. the brilliant account given by John Burnet: *Greek Philosophy: Part I. Thales to Plato*. Macmillan, 1914, c. i.

¹³ On this subject cf. Professor Moore's Ingersoll Lecture, 1918: "Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the Early Christian Centuries," Harvard University Press, 1918.

¹⁴ Cf. the admirable study of Pindar by Ed. Schwarz in his *Charakterköpfe aus der antiken Literatur*. I. 2te Auflage. Leipzig, 1906, pp. 14 sqq.

¹⁵ For this "patriotische Religiosität" cf. Sam Wide, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6.

¹⁶ Have not the famous words *φιλοσοφούμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας* been cited as the ancient equivalent of "Muscular Christianity"?

upon Periclean Athens as a Vale of Tears?"¹⁷ And all this wealth of many-sided opportunity comes to men through the city-state: read the funeral speech of Pericles yet again: no mention of the Gods¹⁸—not even of Athena—no comfort for the bereaved in an after-life of reunion: the speech is a religious hymn to the glory of the self-sufficing city-state.

But the mood of morning confidence fades, and after the great plague—is there any comparative study yet written on the effect of great pestilences upon the psychology of peoples?—after the plague and during the long strain of the Peloponnesian War rationalism and superstition—twin corrosive acids—work their will upon men's unquestioning loyalties, and philosophy in Plato and Aristotle (c. v.) reaches its crowning achievement. Henceforth, religion joins hands with philosophy, and even Christian apologists, like Aristeides and Athenagoras, can call themselves philosophers. One of the valuable points in Prof. Moore's book is the way in which he shows how Plato, gathering up in himself tendencies formerly widely separated from each other (cf. the influence of Orphic doctrine upon Plato), becomes the great watershed from which derive the streams of the later philosophies.

There follow two chapters on the "Later Religious Philosophies" and "The Victory of Greece over Rome." These seem less satisfactory, and this is the more to be regretted since, from many points of view, the Hellenistic period is of paramount importance. What is the outstanding characteristic of man's religious outlook in the Greek world after Alexander's death?—is Professor Bury's well-known dictum, "a failure of nerve," an adequate explanation?¹⁹ The historian of religious thought must at least face this question. Even Professor Moore's account of the particular schools of thought seems inadequate: he fails to show, for instance, that the third century produced a new type—that of the wandering teacher, the missionary who carried philosophy to the common man; he does not once refer to Bion, of whom Mr. Tarn has recently drawn a living picture.²⁰ Yet, "Bion is the lineal ancestor of that long line of wandering teachers who were to attain to such importance in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, and who were to lead a pagan revival side by

¹⁷ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹⁸ It may be objected that this is inaccurate; Pericles does make one casual mention of sacrifices (§ 38), but "note how it is sandwiched in amongst athletics, architecture, and commerce." Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 201, n. 1.

¹⁹ Cf. Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 103-154, "The Failure of Nerve."

²⁰ William Woodthorpe Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 233 *seq.*

side with the growing advance of Christianity."²¹ It is yet more strange that in the chapter on "The Victory of Greece over Rome" there should be no mention of any of the philosophic works of Cicero, or any attempt to estimate Cicero's debt to Greek thought. But a far graver omission is the failure to treat of the deification of men, and the growth of the whole circle of ideas which are connected with such titles as Euergetes, Epiphanes, and Soter.²² For any history of Greek religious thought in the Hellenistic age some outline of the subject is essential, though it must, of course, be recognised that the problem has only recently been correctly stated, and that a wide field of work remains open to the student. The prejudice against the whole idea of deification has been so strong that until the last few years most writers tended to dismiss the matter as an unhealthy aberration of the human mind, of interest only in the sphere of morbid psychology. One example of the change of view may be instanced: Mr. Hogarth, in writing his biography of Alexander the Great, rejected the entire story of Alexander's claim to divine parentage as being unworthy of his hero, but in 1915 he recanted, and made some important suggestions as to what this sonship of Ammon meant for the ruler of the world.²³ This world empire of Alexander passed indeed with him who had conceived it, but the universal element of the dream remained—the "œcumenical idea," as Professor Bury has

²¹ Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Antigonos von Karystos," *Philologische Untersuchungen*, iv. (1881), *Excurs*; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, Macmillan, 1904, pp. 334-383. For the interest of the whole question in its relation to the literary forms adopted by early Christianity, cf. R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*, Göttingen, 1910, and particularly Eduard Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig, 1913. See also Shirley Jackson Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, Chicago, 1914, pp. 278 *sqq.*

²² Amongst the many modern studies on the subject cf. E. Bevan, "The Deification of Kings in the Greek Cities," *English Historical Review*, xvi. (1901), pp. 625 *sqq.*; Eduard Meyer, "Alexander der Grosse und die absolute Monarchie," in his *Kleine Schriften*, Halle, 1910, pp. 283 *sqq.*; J. Kaerst, "Der hellenistische Herrscherkult," in his *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, II., 1te Hälfte, pp. 374-426 (Leipzig, 1909); W. S. Ferguson, "Legalised Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome," *American Historical Review*, xviii. (1912), pp. 29 *sqq.*, and his *Greek Imperialism*, c. iv., London, 1913; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Reden und Vorträge*, Dritte Auflage, Berlin, 1913, pp. 186 *sqq.*; Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915 (especially the bibliography and notes on pp. 241-244); Cuthbert Lattey, "The Diadochi and the Rise of King Worship," *English Historical Review*, xxxii. (1917), pp. 321-334, and above all in the present connection Paul Wendland's study, "Σωτήρ" in *Preuschen's Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, v. (1904), pp. 335-353, and Hans Lietzmann's admirable study of the sources, *Der Weltheiland*, Bonn, 1909.

²³ "Alexander in Egypt and some Consequences," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, ii. (1915), pp. 53 *sqq.*

called it,²⁴ was born : that dream rendered possible the Stoic conception of a world-citizenship, and thus it is that we experience no surprise when the divine ruler is hailed, not merely as saviour of the Greeks or of the Romans, but as Redeemer of the whole race of man : *ob haec per orbem terrarum deo proximus, nihil non venerationis meruit et vivus et mortuus*²⁵ : ἅπαντα ἡ οἰκουμένη . . ἐν φθέγγεται, συνευχομένη μένειν τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα τήνδε τὴν ἀρχήν· οὕτω καλῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ κορυφαίου ἡγεμόνος συγκροτεῖται.²⁶

It may be hoped that in a second edition Professor Moore may enlarge his treatment of the Hellenistic period, and may give further bibliographical references : thus Wendland's masterly book, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (2nd edn., Tübingen, 1912) is by no means easy reading, and as an introduction to the thought-world of the post-Alexandrine age, the student might with advantage be referred to such works as J. Geffcken's *Aus der Werdezeit des Christentums* (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1909), Adolf Bauer's *Vom Griechentum zum Christentum* (Leipzig, 1910), or S. Angus's *The Environment of Early Christianity* (London, 1914). Professor Moore's last two chapters on "Christianity," and "Christianity and Paganism" would for any useful discussion need a far fuller treatment than could be given here ; of the work as a whole it will suffice to say that both students and teachers will find it really helpful, and if certain omissions have been pointed out that is because the book could, with slight alteration, be made still more serviceable.

The mention of the Saviour-King leads naturally to a consideration of *Virgil and Isaiah*, a study of the fourth eclogue by Mr. T. F. Roysds,²⁷ a writer already known to lovers of Vergil by his book on *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1914). The question has often been discussed whether the Roman poet knew of the kindred prophecies of the Jewish seer : are the similarities of the picture to be explained either by direct or indirect contact? Have East and West met? Professor Mayor, as is well known, answered that question in the affirma-

²⁴ In a paper read to the Ancient History Circle of University College, London (1918) ; cf. F. Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage*, 1901 (= *Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte herausgegeben v. H. Grauert*, i., 2-3), and U. Wilcken, *Ueber Werden und Vergehen der Universalreiche*, Bonn, 1915 ; J. Kaerst, *Die antike Idee der Oekumene*, Leipzig, 1903.

²⁵ Eutropius, viii., 4.

²⁶ Aristides, *Speech in Praise of Rome*, § 29 ; cf. Ludwig Hahn, *Das Kaiser-tum*, Leipzig, 1913, cc. ii. and iii.

²⁷ Oxford, Blackwell, 1918, pp. xiii., 122.

tive,²⁸ and he is followed by Mr. Royds. Now it should, of course, be admitted, that the subject is at least open to discussion : we do not need to wax furious over the very idea that the Roman should be the debtor of the Jew, and to cry with Jahn "Wann wird endlich das jüdische Spukgebilde verschwinden? Man kann diesen greulichen Unsinn gar nicht oft genug bekämpfen!"²⁹ This is anti-Semitism in one of its most flamboyant transports. But on the evidence of the poem itself it is surely very difficult to accept Professor Mayor's view, and the difficulty is only accentuated by Mr. Royds's attempt to turn the eclogue into biblical English—his version only serves to bring into clearer relief the Roman character of the Pollio. The absence of direct reference in Roman writers to the Jewish sacred books is indeed very remarkable. It is usually stated that there is only one direct quotation from the Hebrew scriptures in Roman profane literature—the often-discussed Genesis citation in Pseudo-Longinus *On the Sublime*, §9.9, and even that citation does not preserve the text of the Septuagint.³⁰ It is true that Charles N. Smiley³¹ has discovered a quotation of Exodus 3. 5 in the anonymous treatise *περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων* (Spengel : *Rhetores Græci* III., p. 145, 6f.), but internal evidence proves that this work must be at least as late as the second century of our era. This striking silence of the profane writers presented itself as a problem to Lactantius, and he found the answer in the ordering of Providence; the passage is one of great interest : "Unde equidem soleo mirari quod cum Pythagoras et postea Plato amore indagandæ veritatis incensi ad Ægyptios et Magos et Persas usque penetrassent ut earum gentium ritus et sacra cognoscerent—suspiciabantur enim sapientiam in religione versari—ad Judæos tantum non accesserint penes quos tunc solos erat et quo facilius ire potuissent. Sed aversos esse arbitror divina

²⁸ In the *Expositor*, April, 1907; reprinted in *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, London, 1907, pp. 87 sqq. "Sources of the Fourth Eclogue."

²⁹ *Bursian's Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. 148 (1910), p. 71.

³⁰ Cf. Max Radin's valuable study, "Roman Knowledge of Jewish Literature," *Classical Journal* (Chicago), xiii. (December, 1917), pp. 149-176 at p. 153. The text of the *περὶ ὕψους* reads ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἄνθρωπος, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε κατέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων "εἶπεν ὁ θεός" φησί· τί; "γενέσθω φῶς καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ καὶ ἐγένετο." The Septuagint (Genesis I. 3) reads καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· γεννηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. The authenticity of the *περὶ ὕψους* passage has often been contested, but probably without reason. For the most recent discussion of the question cf. H. Mutschmann, *Hermes*, lii. (1917), pp. 161-200, in answer to Konrat Ziegler, *Hermes*, l. (1915), pp. 572-603.

³¹ In the *Classical Journal* for February, 1918.

providentia ne scire possent veritatem, quia nondum fas erat alienigenis hominibus religionem dei veri iustitiamque notescere. Statuerat enim deus adpropinquante ultimo tempore ducem magnum caelitus demittere qui eam perfido ingratoque populo ablatam exteris nationibus revelaret."³² The present writer would concur with the argument of Max Radin's careful study of the fourth eclogue, with his judgment that the difference between Vergil and the Jewish scriptures—"a difference so thoroughgoing"—is more marked than the similarity,³³ and with his conclusion that "we are not called upon to go beyond classical sources" for our explanation of Vergil's imagery.³⁴

But if we have not in the fourth eclogue a case of direct contact between East and West, we may heartily agree with Mr. Royds that the spirit of Vergil is one with that of Isaiah. Both, in a period of warfare and national disaster, looked to the birth of a human child who should be inspired by Heaven to become a Saviour and a Prince of Peace, who should inaugurate a Golden Age. Thus, in the dark days of the Great War, just as M. Huvelin found a respite from care in his Livy, Mr. Royds, like Mr. Warde Fowler, has discovered comfort in his Vergil. It would be very easy to criticise his little book unfavourably—no note is taken of any of the numerous foreign studies which have appeared in recent years upon the fourth eclogue,³⁵ save for a mention of one French article: the essay is wanting in any clear logical arrangement—these and other criticisms, however, are really beside the point. For Mr. Royds has not attempted to write a learned work: he has read the fourth eclogue with loving sympathy, and then sat down "'procul discordibus armis' (save for an occasional aeroplane droning high overhead) at the quiet limit of three converging counties—Cheshire, Shropshire, and Flintshire"—to chat to the reader of what he has found in Vergil's poem, and the reader cannot break away from the simple human attraction of that *causerie* on the spirit of prophecy, the spirit of

³² Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.*, iv., 2, recensuit Brandt, Wien, 1890; *Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.*, xix., pp. 277-8.

³³ Max Radin, *op. cit.*, p. 163, "The puer, the innocuous lions, the serpent have created an impression of close relationship largely because of the strong emphasis that Christians have always laid upon these symbols."

³⁴ This was the conclusion of Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, "Virgil," p. 148.

³⁵ For bibliography of modern work up to 1907 see Camillo Rivalta, *De IV. Vergilii Ecloga. Dissertatio*, Faenza, Montanari, 1907 (*cf.* A. Beltrami in *Rivista di Filologia*, etc., xl. (1912), pp. 303-313), and for subsequent years P. Rasi's annual "Bibliografia Virgiliana" (beginning with the year 1908) in *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, N.S. ii. (1909), pp. 81-111, and following years.

him who promises to the men of his own day a present salvation with such sure confidence that later generations, seeing their own hopes and their own faith mirrored in his words, have claimed him for themselves, and have made alike of Isaiah and of Vergil prophets of *their* divine Saviour, the Christ-child, so that in Christian thought Jew and Roman are united in a common devotion.³⁶ Mr. Royds, in the view of the present writer, is justified in his contention that the historical "puer" of the fourth eclogue was the child to be born to Octavian, and not the son of Pollio³⁷; but this is inessential: what is essential is that Mr. Royds holds firmly to the humanity of the "puer," for if this position is lost to the eschatologists, and with it the human charm of the last four lines of the eclogue,³⁸ then all is lost; but for those who believe that Isaiah looked to a human child whom a Jewish mother was to bear in his own day, for those who feel that Vergil's "puer" was in the poet's mind to be incarnate in human flesh, though son of Jove,³⁹ for them Mr. Royds will not have written in vain.

NORMAN H. BAYNES

³⁶ Cf. A. Mancini, "Sull' Interpretazione e sulla Fortuna dell' Ecloga IV. di Virgilio," *Memorie of the Turin Academy*, II. Serie, Tomo LV., *Scienze morali storiche e filologiche*, pp. 337-382, and references in Ella Bourne's article, "The Messianic Prophecy in Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," *Classical Journal*, xi. (April, 1916), pp. 390-400.

³⁷ With Skutsch, Wendland, and the writers of *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (London, 1907), as against Marx, Cartault, Stampini, Pascal, Mancini, Beltrami, and Lietzmann. At least the "puer" is not Octavian himself, as Stumpo and Kukula hold, the latter being compelled to suggest a transposition of the closing lines, placing them between ll. 25 and 26.

³⁸ In line 62 we should surely read "qui non risere" with Quintilian and treat the passage as "Ammentlatein, Volkslatein" with Th. Birt in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* for Feb. 23, 1918. P. Rasi's view that Quintilian read a dative sing. as a nominative plural seems improbable. *Rivista di Filologia*, etc., xlv. (1917), pp. 190-196.

³⁹ This is, it would seem, quite simply the meaning of Jovis Incrementum; see Tenney Frank's interesting epigraphic study, "Magnum Jovis Incrementum, Ciris 398 and Verg. Ecl. iv. 49," *Classical Philology* (Chicago), xi. (1916), pp. 334 sqq., and cf. W. H. D. Rouse, *Classical Philology*, xii. (1917), p. 308, "The common phrase *auctus filio* would seem to show that *incrementum* is most naturally interpreted as 'child,' an increase to the family."

INDIAN HISTORY.¹

STUDENTS of Indian affairs are painfully conscious of the cold indifference with which their subject in all its departments is regarded by the British public. The very name of India seems to frighten people, so that, except when some great calamity or catastrophe, like the Mutiny or a grievous famine, occurs, it is nearly impossible to rouse the readers of the United Kingdom to take interest in an Indian subject. Discussion of things Indian is almost confined to circles the members of which either have shared in some department of the administration or are concerned with missionary work. Indian history, especially, is unpopular. The genius of Macaulay and the extensive use of his essays in schools keep alive the memory of Clive and Warren Hastings, but highly educated men and women are not ashamed to confess that they know nothing of Akbar, Aurangzeb, or the Marquess of Hastings. Such indifference did not always exist. A century ago books about India found a ready circulation in Great Britain and passed quickly through many editions. For instance, Malcolm's *Memoir on Central India*, a solid work, which nobody in the class of general readers would now think of opening, reached its third edition in 1832. That success was obtained from a purely British public, because no one then dreamt of the huge Indian public of readers which has come into being in the current century. I do not propose to discuss the reasons for the change and for the extreme apathy concerning India, past, present, or future, which now affects the British general reader.

But it is desirable to dwell for a moment upon the amazing enthusiasm of the readers of Indian birth in the study of every subject which concerns the history of their country in the widest

¹ *A History of the Sikhs*. By J. D. Cunningham. New edition, revised. Edited by H. L. O. Garrett. lii+429 pp. 1918. Milford. 8s. 6d.

An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, a Summary Account of the Political Career of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad, surnamed Babur. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. xvi+187 pp. 1918. Published for the University of Allahabad. Longmans. 7s. 6d.

A History of the Marāthā People, Vol. I. By C. A. Kincaid and Rāo Bahadur Parasnis. iv+294 pp. 1918. Milford. 16s.

And other works.

sense. That enthusiasm is displayed in the formation of numerous societies for the prosecution of research in each province of the Empire of India and by the publication of endless books, pamphlets, and lectures, written both in English and in sundry vernacular languages. Quite a considerable historical literature in Bengali is growing up, comprising original works and translations. While the efforts of many writers naturally are crude and immature, not a few authors have learned how to apply the rigorous methods of Western science to their investigations, and have succeeded in producing treatises deserving all the honour due to sound and conscientious scholarship. The intimate knowledge of Indian languages, religions, and social conditions possessed by natives of the soil gives them an advantage which no foreigner, however learned, can hope to rival. When that innate advantage is combined with the habits of trained scholarship the result is eminently satisfactory.

The rapid growth of an unlimited reading public in India, while it encourages indigenous talent, also provides an ample circle of readers and buyers of good work by European or American authors, who no longer address merely a small Anglo-Indian coterie, but enjoy the privilege of addressing an ever-increasing public among three hundred millions of people in every corner of the Indian Empire. That development imposes new duties upon authors of histories. The old books intended only for the eye of European readers are no longer adequate to meet the requirements of the new public. Elphinstone and his followers were content to draw their material chiefly from the works of Muhammadan chroniclers, while the story of Hindu India was buried in darkness which seemed to be impenetrable. Without in any way disparaging the excellent performances of the older European historians, we must acknowledge that their methods are now out of date, and that their treatment of the long Indian story no longer satisfies the appetites of thousands of students. The history of ancient and mediæval India prior to the sixteenth or seventeenth century is usually distasteful to the European reader, who will not trouble to master the pronunciation of outlandish names or to explore the development of a peculiar civilisation rarely influenced by the Greek, Roman, and Hebrew ideas which lie at the base of European culture.

The attitude of the modern Indian student is widely different. To him the India of the distant past is an enchanted land teeming with attractions. Visions of the India of the future as a proud nation ready to take its place as an equal among the great powers

of the world fill his imagination and cast a glamour over antiquity. That dazzling glamour, although it may sometimes blur the features of objective truth, serves as a beacon to tempt and guide him into the rugged paths of laborious research. As I have said elsewhere, when quoting the words of a sympathetic missionary, "the fact that 'the heart of India is passionately set on self-expression as a nation' should be frankly recognised. Although anything like complete national unity is unobtainable, the sentiment which reaches out towards that goal is legitimate, ennobling, and worthy of encouragement 'within the Empire.'"

For some years past almost every book written by Indian scholars has been more or less consciously or avowedly inspired by that sentiment. Examples—a few out of many—are *The Fundamental Unity of India*, by R. D. Mookerji (1914), a learned and well-written little book; *Local Government in Ancient India*, an equally erudite treatise by the same author, about to appear as the first-fruits garnered by the new University of Mysore; and *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, by R. C. Mazumdar (1918). These books and numerous others, while making valuable contributions to genuine history, have been composed with an eye to present conditions and problems. The tendency, consequently, is to idealise the past and to minimise inconvenient facts which mar the ideal picture. Indians, being proud of their country's past, are eager to seize upon every argument that can be used to show that their ancestors were capable of memorable achievements in all the fields of human activity. The claims made are sometimes extravagant, as might be expected, although in large part they are sound. The merits of ancient Indian philosophers, poets, grammarians, and architects are recognised sufficiently and do not need exposition, but few people are aware of the extraordinary progress made by the early Hindus in mechanical arts, especially metallurgy, as evidenced by the production of high-class steel, the welding of great masses of iron, and the casting of gigantic copper images by the *cire perdue* process. It is needless to pursue the subject further, because the claims of Hindu science and craftsmanship are not in danger of being overlooked. The necessity for taking note of such matters greatly complicates the task of the modern historian, who is required to penetrate much deeper below the surface of events than his predecessors were expected to do.

The strong tendency to see the past of India through rose-coloured spectacles which characterises all recent history* books written by Indians and some written by Europeans, among whom

Mr. Havell may be named as conspicuous, is apt to divert the historian's attention from the primary duty of impartiality. That duty is also threatened by another danger arising from the partisanship or the timidity of authors. Every interesting chapter of Indian history has become a matter of polemics, and the temptation to avoid offence to one section or other of opinion interferes seriously with the imperative obligation of the honest historian to present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth without fear or favour. Racial, religious, patriotic, and political sentiments all contribute towards the infringement of serene, fearless impartiality. That criticism likewise applies to certain European as well as to Indian authors, and it need not be said that the fault is common all over the world. Students of English history are familiar with the different colouring of the narratives of Whig or Tory writers, while vehement passion may still be aroused by the names of men and women who died centuries ago. But the circumstances of India are such that the dangers of one-sided histories may be regarded as, perhaps, more urgent than similar perils elsewhere. The story of her past, if full of attraction, is also full of horrors and crimes. The Muhammadan, the Hindu, and the Englishman alike will find some things for which each may feel sorrow or even shame. But the historian who realises the sacred obligations of his high calling will do his best, regardless of labour, to find out the truth, and when he believes that he has found it, will tell it in plain words, uninfluenced by hostility and undeterred by abuse.

The scientific investigation of Indian history has not yet made much progress. Although I have attempted to give an outline of the whole long story in a single compact volume, the impossibility of performing the undertaking in a thoroughly satisfactory manner must be admitted frankly. Few periods have been so adequately explored in detail as to admit of the preparation of completely trustworthy summaries. The amount of preliminary spade work still needed is enormous. My personal experience, especially in the case of Akbar, has shown how slight is the foundation for many current opinions. Special disquisitions or monographs are required for almost every section of the history before a general survey can be executed with tolerably complete success, and the field for research is unlimited.

These general remarks suggest that it may be useful to indicate some few of the many objects to which research may be profitably directed.

"Prehistoric history," if the convenient "bull" may be par-

doned, offers an immense field for exploitation. The mass of material already available is enormous, while plenty more awaits discovery and record. One small department, "The Copper Age in India," is in itself sufficient for a volume. The notes for its treatment are in my possession, but I cannot hope to deal with them. The commonly accepted notions of the movements of the Indo-Aryans demand reconsideration in the light of tradition as interpreted by Mr. F. E. Pargiter and other scholars. The exploration of the really ancient sites in India, such as Taxila, Ujjain and the neighbourhood, Sārnāth, and many others, so well begun by Sir John Marshall, promises an endless vista of historical discoveries. The excavations at Taxila, which are especially promising, already have yielded substantial results. They have settled the disputed question concerning the succession order of the great Kushān or Indo-Scythian monarchs of the early centuries of the Christian era in North-Western India and justify good hopes that the chronological problem of those kings will be solved shortly. When that shall have been done, one of the most obscure periods of Indian history will become clear and intelligible.

Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has lately shown that early Tamil literature contains distinct notices of invasions of the far South in Maurya times. Much progress has been made in the interpretation of the Asoka inscriptions and of the equally precious *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra*, but the task is by no means completed.

Coming down to much later times, and passing over a multitude of minor topics, we may note that a series of monographs is required to elucidate the chronology and detailed history of the Khiljī and Tughlak Sultans of Delhi. The same remark applies to the Bahmanī dynasty of the Deccan and the Hindu peninsular empire of Vijayanagar. In the Mogul period the narratives of the reign of Jahāngīr and of that of Shāhjahān prior to the war of succession need to be rewritten in the light of critical examination of the original authorities, Indian and European. Such a critical examination of the life and reign of Aurangzeb is being ably conducted by Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

It might be supposed that innumerable books had exhausted the possibilities of the British period, but this is not the case. An interesting monograph might be devoted to the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto I. (1807-13), including a full account of the conquest of Java and the Mauritius. The only* separate Life of Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck (1828-35) is the small volume in the "Rulers of India" series by Mr. D. Boulger, which

is good as far as it goes, but inadequate. Indian critics do not accept Macaulay's view of the Bentinck administration, and a full, impartial history of it is wanted. Generally speaking, the accepted narratives of the British period are open to extensive revision. Unused material, printed and manuscript, is more than abundant.

None of the three books named at the head of this article can claim to add much to the existing store of knowledge, although all of them possess considerable merit. The reprint of Joseph Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (1849-1853) is welcome, and should find many readers. The author was a man of singularly independent mind, a quality which got him into trouble with masterful Lord Dalhousie. The first editor, the author's brother Peter, justly observed that "what Gibbon calls 'truth, naked, unblushing truth, the first virtue of more serious history,' should alone direct the pen of the historian; and truth alone influenced the mind and guided the pen of the author of this book." That rare quality of fearless veracity in thought and expression gives permanent value to the work of Cunningham, which will always keep its place as a check upon the statements of less candid authors. Mr. Garrett's annotation is usually sufficient and accurate.

In *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century* Professor Rushbrook Williams offers "a summary account of the political career of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad, surnamed Babur." Stress should be laid upon the word "political," because the author has chosen to work out most laboriously the details of Babur's long-continued struggles with rival chieftains in Central Asia, while touching only lightly on the delightful personal story of the most romantic figure in Asiatic history. His work consequently suffers from a certain dryness, and is not to be compared for readable quality with Stanley Lane-Poole's charming little volume (1899), the gem of the "Rulers of India" series. It is a pity that Professor Williams did not give himself a freer hand. His narrative is a scholarly, useful summary of the original authorities, printed and manuscript, translated and untranslated. The plates, reproduced for the first time from two unpublished manuscripts, are novel and interesting.

Certain small points may be noticed. The author calls the Khāndēsh Sultans "Farrukhi," deriving the name from the Persian *farrukh*, meaning "good fortune." The name really is "Fārūqī," from the Arabic root *faraqa*. The founder of the family "claimed descent from the Caliph Omar,

called 'al Fārūq,' or the 'Discriminator,' because on the day when he publicly confessed his conversion the truth of Islam was 'discriminated' from falsehood" (*Aīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II., 226 n). The name of Rānā Sangrām Singh is disguised throughout as "Singrām," and the contracted form "Sanga" generally used is not mentioned. Mr. Williams adopts Mrs. Beveridge's view about the barrier of 700 *arābas*, or "vehicles," used by Bābur at the battle of Pānīpat, maintaining that only "waggon's" are meant. Lane-Poole gives good reason for believing that the line included "gun-carriages" as well as "waggon's" or "carts." Bābur, who was not quite forty-eight years of age when he died, should not be dubbed "the old emperor." The book might have been closed appropriately by a description of Bābur's tomb, based on the accounts of Masson and Havelock. A kind correspondent has lately sent me a detailed plan of the enclosure drawn by a Muhammadan gentleman of distinction. The author quotes from Ahmad Yādgar a passage which proves that Bābur did not always, as he is generally supposed to have done, observe faithfully the vow to remain "dry" for the rest of his life, which he took when in mortal peril from the hosts of Rānā Sanga.

Mr. Kincaid seems to cherish the hope that his *History of the Marāthā People* will supersede the classical narrative of Grant Duff, but that purpose will hardly be attained. In the first volume now published, coming down to the death of Sivājī in A.D. 1680, the author is far too nervous about the risk of giving offence to his Marāthā friends, and consequently does not present "truth, naked, unblushing truth." The attempt to whitewash the chieftain for his treacherous assassinations of Afzal Khan and the Rājā of Jauli fails completely in my judgment. While Mr. Kincaid and his coadjutor, Mr. Parasnis, have succeeded in unearthing certain fresh details, and have reproduced some notable illustrations, including a portrait of Sivājī's father, their work is far inferior to that of Grant Duff in authority and impartiality. The preliminary outline of the history of the Deccan is unsatisfactory.

VINCENT A. SMITH

HOW TO MITIGATE THE EVILS OF EXAMINATIONS.¹

IN 1918 Mr. P. J. Hartog published a book on *Examinations and their Relations to Culture and Efficiency* (xviii + 145 pp., Constable, 3s. 6d.), with a preface by Lord Cromer. They discuss the value of examinations as a test of knowledge and capacity, the defects of the various methods of marking in vogue, the fallibility of examiners, and other topics in which we are interested. There is not much direct reference to examinations in history. but there is one suggestion of Lord Cromer's which is of interest to us. "Would it not be possible," he asks, "to reduce school examinations in history to a minimum by allowing those who had attended a history class in a secondary school, to the satisfaction of a duly qualified teacher, to be exempted from any kind of school-leaving examination in history? Of course, it will be said that the standards of different teachers would be different, but are we not inclined to sacrifice on the altar of equality the very efficiency of the teaching that examinations are intended to test?" (p. 25). Lord Cromer goes on to illustrate the difference between a lesson from a good teacher given to pupils who were not going to be examined in history, and a lesson by a bad teacher given to others who were. We shall all agree with his conclusion that the first possesses a real educational value and the second does not. A good teacher is more valuable than a good examination. It follows, therefore, that the important thing is to secure that those who teach history in schools should be qualified by their knowledge and their special gifts to do so. We all know that at present many persons teach history in schools who do not possess these qualifications. And therefore the first object of our Association is to improve the teaching of history in schools.

The defect of our present system of historical education is that the examination is regarded as more important than the teacher, so that it hampers the good teacher and prevents him from using his knowledge and his special gifts to the best advantage. The first step to be taken to mitigate the evil of examina-

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Association on January 11.

tions is to alter the relations between the teacher and the examiner so as to make the teacher a sort of partner of the examiner. In the universities historical examinations are conducted by a committee of the teachers—to which one or more persons not concerned in the teaching are added. In the examinations devised by Oxford and Cambridge for members of those universities the defect is that the independent element is too small, and the teachers whose pupils are being examined are too powerful. But in the examinations which Oxford and Cambridge devise for schools the defect is that the teachers whose pupils are examined have no share at all, and the external element is not merely too strong, but absolutely predominant. I regard this as unfair to the teachers and detrimental to the study of history.

One of our members, Dr. Fotheringham, has made a suggestion which seems to me very important. "If examinations in history are to be retained," says he, "at least half the questions should be communicated to candidates beforehand. The proper test of proficiency in a language is the power to deal with an unseen passage, and of proficiency in mathematics the power to deal with an unprepared problem. Quite the reverse is the case with history. The present methods tend to produce the cramming of text-books supplemented by vague essay writing. A far more careful study would be encouraged by communicating the questions to the candidates. If I had a free hand, I should not hesitate to introduce this method with my own pupils. I wish it could be allowed as an experiment."

I agree with Dr. Fotheringham, and I think the experiment might easily be made. For instance; in the Locals and in some other examinations it is customary to divide a history paper into two parts, one part dealing with a limited period of English history and the other with English history as a whole. I think the questions on this special period, which is to be studied in some detail, might be advantageously communicated beforehand, while those on English history as a whole might remain simple memory tests as they are now.

At present the whole examination is reduced to a test of memory, and the rigid uniformity of the examinations for schools prescribed by Oxford and Cambridge prevents any experiments from being tried or any new methods adopted.

Consider, again, the reason for which history is taught in schools. Its purpose is to fit boys and girls for the duties of citizenship by giving them some knowledge of their own country, and it is also intended to develop their intelligence and their

imagination by interesting them in the past. At best the boy or girl can only carry away from school a small amount of historical knowledge and a limited number of facts. The real test of the value of the teaching given is the question whether it creates an intelligent interest in the subject. Does the boy or girl carry away from school some intelligent understanding of the past of the country and some interest in it? Unless the teacher makes them want to read he achieves nothing permanent, because the facts and dates are soon forgotten, and are of no great value *per se* even if remembered. They are only pegs to hang further knowledge on.

An examination of the existing type shows well enough the number of facts and the amount of elementary knowledge which a candidate possesses, but does not adequately show whether the teacher has achieved the more important part of his work. Unless he has taught his pupils to read history because they are interested in it, he has achieved nothing lasting.

The person best able to ascertain that is the teacher himself, and I think that an honest report by the teacher on the work done during the term, in and out of school, ought to be taken into account in estimating the merits of a candidate, as well as the marks assigned by the examiner. One should supplement the other: the co-operation of the teacher and the examiner is necessary to estimate fairly the results of the teaching.

Let us now turn to the university examinations for an Honours or Pass degree in history—the examinations which the teachers go through to qualify themselves for their task.

The object of teaching history in the universities is first of all, I suppose, to fit young men and women for the higher duties of citizenship, in which it merely continues the work of the schools; and in the second place to train them for teaching or writing history. The work done is tested by an examination at the end of a two or a three years' course. At present the examination does not give general satisfaction, and there are continual proposals for altering it. Some people complain that certain subjects are left out, and ought to be put in; others say that too much is required already, and that the work ought to be lightened. How it is to be lightened they never can succeed in agreeing.

There is one way in which it might easily be lightened. That which makes the burden heavy is not merely the amount of the work, but the character of the test. In the Modern History School at Oxford a candidate is required to prove his knowledge of six different subjects at the same time: English political his-

tory, constitutional history, European history, political economy, political science, and what is termed a special subject.

The strain of which candidates complain is the difficulty of getting up six subjects to the same level at the same moment. If the examination were divided into parts, which could be taken at different times, the burden imposed on candidates would be very much lightened. The principle of taking an examination in instalments is applied in the Pass examinations; there is no reason why the same principle should not be applied to Honours examinations. We have had another example of it lately in Oxford. The cadets training for commissions took the various subjects they were required to learn in a regular order, and were examined in them not all at once, but in succession, first in one subject, then in another. Apply some system of this kind to our Honours examinations. Let a candidate take one or two of his six subjects a time, or all six at separate times during his two or three years' course, obtaining for each as he takes it certain marks which are duly registered by the examiners. At the end let the examiners add these marks together as they do now, and estimate his class accordingly. All that is necessary is a proper system of book-keeping.

However, the burden on the candidate is aggravated not only by the system of testing a man's knowledge in six subjects at once, but by the method of testing it employed. In our Modern History School the test is nearly indetical in all the ten papers. A man is practically asked, "What do you remember about this or that?" and is expected to arrange the facts he remembers in the form of a short essay. The only variation is that he is sometimes asked to explain a passage of a document detached from its context. This, though not entirely, is for the most part, a test of memory too. In examinations in other subjects the test of knowledge is, as a rule, much more varied in its character. In a language examination a man is asked to translate from a foreign tongue into English, to compose in a foreign tongue, or to translate English into it, to explain the grammatical construction of the foreign tongue, and to write essays on questions connected with its literature or its history. No doubt these are to a great extent tests of memory also, but they are not all of them tests of the same kind or of the same degree of difficulty. It is comparatively easy to recall the meaning of a word when the word is before you; it requires a greater effort to recall the precise date of an event or the exact order of a series of events.

I do not underestimate the value of a well-trained memory or

the advantage of carrying in the mind a collection of exact historical facts. In both respects candidates benefit by the present method of examination. But it is unnecessary to spend ten papers in testing the possession of these qualifications; it might be achieved by half the number, and the rest of the papers might be devoted to testing other qualifications. Therefore, while retaining some papers of the existing kind, we should substitute for the rest papers of another kind.

There are two regulations in the natural science examinations at Oxford which ought to be imported into the examinations in history. One is: "The examination in each subject shall be partly practical." The other is: "Permission for the use of books by candidates in any part of the examination shall be at the discretion of the examiners." As to the second of these regulations—the use of books in examinations—it is as easy to introduce it into examinations in history as it is desirable. In most Honour examinations in history some text, or volume containing a collection of texts, forms part of the work set, and is the subject of a separate paper. Stubbs' *Select Charters* is the best example of this kind of collection. When a book of this kind is set a candidate should be allowed to bring his own copy of the book into the examination room and to use it in answering questions. For original documents are set not simply in order that a student may learn by heart the facts they contain, but in order that he may learn how to use such documents, how to interpret them, how to digest them, how to compare them, and how to put them together. So the examination should not be designed to ascertain what use he can make of his recollections of the documents, but what use he can make of the documents themselves. Even with the documents in his hand the student would require training and practice to answer questions upon them properly, and in the process of acquiring familiarity with them he would acquire as adequate a knowledge of their contents as he gets in the conventional way. But the documents should be regarded not as opportunities for a new memory test, but as if they were the materials which a science student uses in the practical part of his examination, when he proves by experiment that he knows the right way of working.

The special subjects which usually form part of an historical examination should be dealt with in a somewhat similar fashion. A special subject generally means a short but important period of history to be studied in half a dozen selected authorities. The theory is that candidates get up the period from their authorities,

and that they are taught to criticise and analyse the authorities and how to employ them. The principle on which this subject is included in the examination is quite sound. A student of history ought to learn how history is written, not merely to acquire a certain number of definite facts. An historian's task is first to learn where the documents are which contain the facts, next to extract the facts from the documents, finally to put the facts he has extracted together. To prove that a student knows how to do this, he should be required to produce some piece of practical work on the period specified, a bit of narrative, a biography, an inquiry into a problem, and so on. This work should be done at leisure, outside the examination room, with the aid of the authorities set and any other authorities the student likes to use. A dissertation or thesis of this kind forms part of the Honours history work in the University of Manchester, and I think in some other new universities. But in the old universities the method of examining in a special subject is this. The examiner says to the candidate: "Produce in three hours four or five little essays of four or five pages each on passages taken from the authorities or incidents in the history of the period, using for the purpose only your hazy reminiscences of the authorities." Thus what ought to be a genuine piece of practical work is converted into a worthless imitation of the real thing because it is used as a test of memory instead of a proof of training, or a test of capacity.

In conclusion, the one way to mitigate the evil of examinations in history is to reduce the burden imposed on the candidates and the restrictions imposed on the teachers by diminishing the amount of memory work demanded, and so giving teacher and pupil more freedom.

C. H. FIRTH

NOTES AND NEWS

To those who have for many years been pleading for the recognition of naval history by British universities the establishment of a chair in that subject at Cambridge is a source of peculiar gratification; and it sets a precedent which there is reason for thinking that other universities will soon follow. That Cambridge should have been enabled to lead the way by the munificence of Lord Rothermere is appropriate enough, for Cambridge has enjoyed almost a monopoly in the production of naval historians. The late Sir John Laughton, who was certainly in his day the leading authority on the subject, was a Cambridge man, and so is Sir Julian Corbett, the most eminent of living naval historians, the first volume of whose naval history of the war awaits only official sanction to be published. Other Cambridge men have made notable contributions to the study of naval history. The chair has been filled by the appointment of Dr. Holland Rose, well known for his biographies of Pitt and of Napoleon, and for his volume on the *Development of the European Nations*, 1870-1900.

* * * * *

Other branches of history are receiving attention at other universities. The recently-established chair of Byzantine Greek and History at Oxford has not yet been filled owing to the war, but no doubt an appointment will soon be made. Meanwhile in London Sir Bernard Pares' selection to fill a chair of Russian History has been followed by the appointment of Mr. Arnold Toynbee to fill the new chair of Modern Greek History; a chair of Imperial History has been established mainly through the benefaction of the Rhodes Trustees; and a Readership in the History of the Roman Empire has been created for Mr. Norman Baynes. Elsewhere in Great Britain universities are making new posts for teachers of history or filling up old ones, sadly hampered in the process by the deplorably inadequate salaries they are able to offer compared with other and lower educational authorities.

* * * * *

On the other hand we have to note our losses by the death of Sir John Mahaffy, Archdeacon Cunningham, and Dr. Figgis, and

by the resignation of Professor Tait. The Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, was full of years, having been born in 1839; and it is forty-five years since he published his most popular volume on *Greek Social Life from Homer to Menander*. He was one of the doughtiest antagonists of the view that Greek history ended, to all the practical intents and purposes of education, with the death of Alexander, and did much of his best work on the succeeding centuries which made Greek culture the transformer and transmitter of Christianity to the Western world. He was also a vehement advocate and practitioner of the art of bridging historical distances and of elucidating, enlivening, and sometimes distracting the study of ancient history by parallels drawn from modern politics.

* * * * *

Archdeacon Cunningham, who was ten years younger than Mahaffy, requires a special mention in this page, since he was from the first a Vice-President of the Historical Association. He was also from 1910 to 1913 President of the Royal Historical Society. He was one of the pioneers of the study of economic history in England, and his standard work on *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* passed through four editions, in spite of its being anything rather than a popular text-book. In later life ecclesiastical interests tended to dominate his activities, and he was appointed Archdeacon of Ely in 1907. But his learning made him perhaps the most solid of the supports which Mr. Chamberlain secured in the realm of scholarship for his policy of Tariff Reform.

* * * * *

Dr. Neville Figgis belonged to a very different type of mind, although, like Cunningham, he was a Cambridge man, an ecclesiastic, and, indeed, Cunningham's curate at Great St. Mary's from 1895 to 1898. His premature death at the age of fifty-two is a great loss to the study of the history of political ideas, to which he made notable contributions by his *Divine Right of Kings* (1896), *From Gerson to Grotius* (1906), and *Churches in the Modern State* (1913). He assisted in editing Lord Acton's *Lectures and Essays*, but perhaps he owed more to F. W. Maitland than even to Acton. After teaching at Cambridge he was Rector for six years of Marnhull, Dorset, but then found a less conventional and therefore more congenial home at Mirfield. Latterly he enjoyed great repute as an occasional lecturer in American universities, and his health never recovered from the suffering he endured when his ship was torpedoed in 1916.

Professor Tait's resignation of the Chair of Ancient and Mediæval History is a great loss to the University of Manchester ; but it is to be hoped that his release from arduous professorial labours will bring gain to the study of mediæval English history, in certain aspects of which Professor Tait has, and has had, no rival.

* * * * *

Turning from these matters of regret we may note a somewhat novel development in its history school upon which the University of London is embarking. Like Cambridge and Manchester, but unlike Oxford, that school embraces ancient as well as modern history, and it has now placed Oriental history upon a similar footing. Hitherto in British universities Oriental studies have been confined for the most part to archaeology, language, and literature ; and British administrators in the East have deplored the effects of the lack of knowledge of Oriental history. There was also the natural objection of Oriental students attending British universities to take a history school from which the history of their own civilisation was excluded. Henceforth the London history school is to comprise three branches : (1) Ancient and Mediæval, (2) Mediæval and Modern, (3) Oriental History, with special reference to the history of India. The last is made to include British history since 1714 and either mediæval or modern European history, the idea being to maintain a common element in all the branches with facilities for specialising in any one of them. The need for the scientific study of Oriental and especially Indian history is indicated in the article we print by Mr. Vincent Smith ; and to some extent it has found expression in the School of Oriental Studies.

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The other chief element of novelty in the scheme is the combination of ancient and mediæval history. Hitherto historical students have concentrated either upon the classical or upon the mediæval and Teutonic sources of modern civilisation, to the serious detriment of its understanding. By requiring the ancient historian to study mediævalism, and the mediævalist to study classical history, and by bringing the study of Greek and Latin down to its confluence with modern conditions at the Renaissance, it is hoped to provide a fresh and fruitful historical synthesis. Some attempt is also made by means of optional and special subjects to provide for the study of the Colonial history of other European countries besides our own, and of American history since 1783. The comprehensive ignorance of this last great branch of history on the part of historical students has been one

of the gravest defects in English education. Finally, candidates are to be provided in the examination room with texts of the documents they have been studying for their special subjects, and with dictionaries for the translation of the paper they have to take in languages. These provisions may help to meet some of the criticisms Professor Firth makes of the examination system in our present number.

* * * * *

In our next number we hope to begin supplying a long-felt want by initiating the publication of a list of theses and other post-graduate historical work produced in British universities. The *American Historical Review* has for some years done this service for American students and universities, and the time has come for a similar step on this side of the Atlantic, particularly since an increasing number of post-graduate students from the United States and British Dominions are resorting to British universities and inquiring where they can best pursue their historical investigations and receive the guidance they need. It is also in the interests of students at home as well as abroad to have some means of knowing what work has already been done and so avoid the risk of useless repetition.

* * * * *

A meeting was held at the offices of the University of London on February 24th to discuss the possibility of establishing a course of nineteenth-century world-history for the Higher School Examination. The proposal was also discussed at a meeting of the London Branch of the Historical Association on May 17th; and while it was considered to be a suitable subject for that examination, considerable doubt was expressed as to its immediate feasibility on the grounds of inadequate text-books, defective school libraries, and lack of training on the part of teachers. It was also felt that an indispensable preliminary to the study of world-history in the nineteenth century was some acquaintance with the earlier history of civilization from prehistoric times onwards. Teaching on these lines should, however, be developed; and it was also suggested that teachers who believe in the possibility of introducing a course of nineteenth-century world-history should send their names to the Secretary of the Association, Miss Curran, with a view to further action.

* * * * *

We are glad to note the formation of a fresh branch of the Historical Association for Cheltenham and Gloucester. The inaugural meeting was held at the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, on

June 11th, when Dr. Gee (Dean of Gloucester) was elected President; Miss Miller, of the Ladies' College, Secretary; and Mr. W. R. Carles, formerly Consul-General at Tientsin and Peking, Treasurer. It is pleasant also to be able to note that the number of members who have paid subscriptions to the Association as a whole for 1918-19 is nearer fifteen than fourteen hundred, an increase of nearly 50 per cent. over the number two years ago.

* * * * *

We are asked to announce that the Woodbrooke History Summer School is to be held from August 1st to 11th, and that the general subject for discussion is to be "Recent Developments of European Thought." They include philosophy, religion, history, education, literature, physics, biology, economics, art, and music; and among the lecturers are Professors A. E. Taylor, J. A. Smith, C. H. Herford, W. H. Bragg, C. S. Sherrington, A. E. Zimmern, Dr. A. J. Carlyle, Messrs. G. P. Gooch, F. S. Marvin, J. W. Headlam-Morley, C. Delisle Burns, A. Clutton Brock, and Ernest Walker—an extraordinary galaxy of talent to have brought together. The Secretary is Mr. Edwin Gilbert, 54 Woodbrooke Road, Bourneville.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND THE *BRUTS*.

SIR,

MAY I point out that Prof. Petrie (p. 41) seeks to eliminate the most important of the criteria whereby his contentions respecting the age of Tysilio can be disproved? These criteria are scribal errors. I would like to deal with one of them.

Julius Cæsar, Orosius, Bede, and Tysilio severally and respectively name the prince of the Trinovantes Mandubratius, Andragius, Androgius, and Avarwy. In the first place, how can "Avarwy" equate "Mandubratius"? In the second, is "Avarwy" Brythonic? If it does not equate Mandubratius, and is not Brythonic, a somewhat difficult task lies before Prof. Petrie. I have a superficial knowledge of old Welsh pedigrees and of scribal errors. With regard

to the former, in my "Old Welsh Genealogies," in Stokes and Meyer's *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie*, Bdd. I., II., III., I analysed 1,242 briefs of pedigrees preserved in Welsh manuscripts. So far I have not met with any such name as Afarwy or Avarwy or Auarwy. I feel sure it is not Brythonic, and that it did not find its way into the *Bruts* from any Brythonic source or tradition. It is four removes, scribally and phonologically, from the Mandubratius of Julius Cæsar. If Tysilio's authority really was of the first century, as Prof. Petrie maintains, the undoubtedly Brythonic stems *mandu* and *brat* would be recognisable in the Middle Welsh form of the name. We need not concern ourselves with the punning metaphony in vogue among mediæval Welshmen—sc. *man* + *du* + *brad*.

It is demonstrable that Tysilio did not know the name of the prince of the *Ciwed* called Trinovantes by Julius Cæsar. The form—*auarwy*, namely, equals **anarwy*, **andrwy*, and it never had a substantive existence apart from the scribal errors *u::n* and *d::a*. As regards the endword *wy*: Oudocæus and Iunapēius (names of sixth-century bishops of Llandaff) would rightly become Euddog-wy and Iunab-wy in Middle Welsh. But Auarwy + **Andrwy* can only point to Andrageius, and Auarwy shows the late phonological adaptation of *wy* for *gwy* = *gē*. (Welsh *wy* for Latin *ē* is quite in order: cp. "eglwys" for *ecclesia* and "swyf" for *sebum*.)

But how could we get **Andrageius* instead of *Mandubratius*? There is only one answer—by a succession of scribal errors made by writers who were not Brythonic. The downward history is:—
>*cū mandubratio*>*cum andubratio*> **andurabtio*> **anduragtio*>**andrageio*>**andragwy*>*anarwy*.

Displacement in the extension of *r*-strokes is common; *g::b* occurs even in late Brychan of Brecknock documents wherein we actually find *grichan* and *grittones* for *Brichan* and *Brittones*; and *e::t* is also found. Cp. *eusilid* for *Tusilio*, Modern Welsh *Tysilio*; see my "Indexes to O. W. Genealogies," VIII d, in *Archiv*, III. 183. Conversely, cp. *betbla* [with *e::l*, *b::d*] for *Bledla*, in Bede's "Chronica Maiora," ed. Mommsen, c. 487, from a twelfth century MS.

The conclusion I have come to is that no Brythonic writer could have found any pre-existent scribal form of "Afarwy" until "Mandubratio" had become **Andrageio*. Prof. Petrie will object that I have merely extended and analytically applied that system of verbal criticism which he has already asserted to be misleading. But he rests a part of his argument on the likelihood that Orosius and Bede drew from a British source already corrupted which became the Latin *Tysilio*. This postulates the forms *Andragi*, *Androgi*, **Andrage*, in various MSS. written in Brythonic before A.D. 400, as regards **Andrage*, *Andragi*, and before A.D. 730 as regards *Androgi*. Can "substantive criticism" deal with such a problem?

ALFRED ANSCOMBE.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

X.—THE BATTLE OF FLORES, 1591.

THE heroism of Sir Richard Grenville in the battle of Flores on the last day of August, 1591, is at once so memorable and so magnificent that plain prose can hardly hope to do it justice. It is a theme for song, and in his poetry Lord Tennyson has enshrined it most worthily in felicitous phrase. At the same time, there is little doubt that his stirring ballad is too often accepted as substantially correct, and it may therefore be well to re-examine it in the light of the few original authorities that survive.¹

1. On the score of naval etiquette, the opening of the poem is unfortunate. No fleet can be properly heralded in terms of its second-in-command. The English squadron which had come to the Azores to ambuscade the Spanish treasure from the West Indies was under the supreme control of Lord Thomas Howard, whose flag was carried by a "super-*Revenge*" called *Defiance*. The command would have devolved upon Grenville if anything had happened to his chief, but Grenville's share in the British plans and dispositions was what Howard cared to allow him. The chief island in the Azores group was at the time Terceira, but the English squadron, being too weak to approach it, had retired to the unimportant island of Flores, which they could frown into submission by their menaces. It should be understood that the ambuscade-trap was a double one. Howard occupied the Azores, and the Earl of Cumberland cruised off the coast of Spain; if the flota escaped the first trap it was expected to tumble into the second. The Spanish replied by fitting out a squadron at Ferrol, which they dispatched to the Azores to bring their precious flota through the danger zone. Cumberland got wind of this and sent a pinnace, the *Moonshine* (Captain Middleton), to warn Howard of the fate that threatened him.

2. Howard's opening speech is pure Thucydidean without the knack that Thucydides had of getting hold of the truth. The English commander-in-chief had been well chosen. Though a member of the ducal house of Norfolk, like his kinsman, Howard of Effingham, he was a thorough-going, practical sea-commander. I will not call him a seaman, or a mariner. He was not a disciple of Drake and Hawkins, or even such as the Earl of Cumberland; but he had learnt to trust the maritime specialists on board his ships, and give effective voice to their counsels. During the week of battles in 1588 he had, as commander of the *Golden Lion*, drawn

¹ (1) Raleigh's pamphlet, first published anonymously in 1591; afterwards incorporated, with corrections, by Hakluyt.

(2) The narrative of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (at the time of the battle resident in the Azores); *Itinerario*, Amsterdam, 1595; translated into English, 1 vol., folio, 1598.

(3) Sir William Monson's account. His *Naval Tracts* are not exactly contemporaneous, and should be rated no more highly than the expanded jottings of other memoir-writers, unless the points with which he deals came under his own observation.

upon himself the favourable opinion of most men. If there was any adverse criticism, it lay in this: that he was a little too venturesome, a little over-bold. But all admitted that his gun-practice was exemplary. When he was singled out for the Azores command he was rightly regarded as a man of initiative and the hardest hitter of the fleet.

On receiving Captain Middleton's news he appears to have acted with a seaman's promptness and vigorous judgment. His ships were unhealthy, chiefly owing to the gravel ballast which caught the drippings of the upper decks. He had removed his sick men to the island, and was employing the healthy to bring aboard clean shingle from the beach. This was an onerous task, and the vessels were all topsy-turvy. Obviously, it would not do to be caught by the Spaniards in this condition. He launched his tender and sent her round the fleet with orders brief and succinct. "Bring your sick men from the land. Put your ships in order. Shape a course to N.E. Be smart and handy, and beat the speed of the flagship if you can."

In obeying these orders some ships were at an evident disadvantage, owing to the length of their sick-list. The *Revenge* was unfortunate enough with 50 per cent. out of health; but the most unfortunate was the *Bonaventure*. Indeed, she was so short of men that, unless Howard had reinforced her with twenty additional hands, she could hardly have hoped to see England again. There was no time to call a council of war, even if one had been necessary, and there is no tittle of evidence to show that Grenville made any protest. He had more than half his men in good health. In a race to comply with the Commander-in-Chief's orders he ought to have beaten the *Bonaventure* hollow.

Lord Thomas Howard had in all about sixteen ships. Of these, six were battleships, and each battleship had an attendant victualing vessel. That made a dozen; and then there were four or five pinnaces. Which ship was first away history does not relate; but, about the same moment, fourteen of the sixteen English vessels *deliberately shifted their berth*. They did not run away. They did not bolt. They did not do anything the least degree cowardly. Remembering his experiences in Armada year, Lord Thomas Howard, with a master's grip of the situation, seized the windward position. Think of the strong man armed keeping his house! He hears of the approach of an unwelcome caller. He immediately rushes to the top of the front staircase. Why? In order to use his boot to advantage and kick the intruder from the top to the bottom.

3. We may feel quite sure that what Tennyson felt in the nineteenth century Grenville felt in the sixteenth—a desire to rescue his country's sick from Hunnish devilries and show them all the tenderness that circumstances allowed; but all the English ships followed the injunctions of the Commander-in-Chief, and there is no existing evidence to show that any of the captains failed in the duties that humanity imposed. The contrast between the behaviour of Grenville and that of his brother commanders lay, not in delicacy of feeling, but in an inexplicable failure to leave the roadstead before the Spaniards arrived. Why was this? Raleigh has no direct excuse to offer. He simply says: "Sir Richard Grenville was the last that weighed to recover the men that were upon the island." Of course, there is ambiguity in this sentence. Indeed, it may have been

the ambiguity that led Tennyson astray. The Poet Laureate knew that the *Revenge* was a quick sailer. He may have argued that Howard ordered Grenville to bring off, not merely his own sick, but all the sick on the island. But though Raleigh in this particular sentence allows himself some ambiguity, there is no doubt whatever about his figures. At the opening of his narrative, where he assesses the extent of the prevailing epidemic, he says: "In the *Revenge* there were *ninety* diseased." And later he adds: "In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and *four score and ten sick* laid in hold upon the ballast."

But although Raleigh offers no direct defence, he does give, by way of apology, the idea that there was no time to do anything. "The Spanish fleet," he says, "were now so soon at hand as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors." But this is specious and will deceive nobody. If the English were taken unawares, all suffered from the same handicap. And the *Bonaventure*, though her sick-list was admittedly longer, had not the speed of the *Revenge*. Raleigh perhaps had no intention of throwing dust in people's eyes. He may merely have meant: "You must make allowances for my cousin, and remember that there was little time."

How much time was there? No certain answer can be given to this question. But it must be remembered that the work of putting the ships in order and bringing the invalids from the islands, however quickly accomplished, must have consumed many hours. Moreover, all witnesses agree in commending Middleton of the *Moonshine*; and if, as Raleigh avers, the Spaniards trod on Middleton's heels, all reason for eulogistic unanimity disappears. Again, the Spanish Commander-in-Chief, as we know, adopted the gentle art of camouflage. In order to fall on Howard's squadron unawares, he resolved to disguise himself as the flota expected from the Indies; and with this end in view he passed beyond the Azores; and then, after circumnavigating Flores, returned to his goal from the westward. This subtle manœuvre ought to have allowed Captain Middleton ample time to reach Flores well ahead of him. In this connection it is interesting to note what Monson says. Monson commanded a ship in Lord Cumberland's squadron, and therefore, in a sense, lent a hand in the attempt to convey a warning to Lord Thomas Howard. We may take it that all who were serving with Cumberland would be naturally anxious to know if the *Moonshine* succeeded in the task allotted to her; and, as Lord Thomas Howard and the bulk of his fleet survived the engagement, there was nothing to debar them from finding out. In this particular it seems to me, then, that Monson is worthy of credence; and, as we should expect, he is the one witness who is quite specific. He says: "*The day after this intelligence was received from my Lord of Cumberland the Spanish fleet was discovered by my Lord Thomas.*"

What, then, was the cause of Grenville's delay? I think the only reasonable hypothesis is afforded by the hero's character. Readers of *Westward Ho!* who have taken Kingsley for gospel will have visualised Grenville as the embodiment of an austere, religious, dignified grandee. Linschoten tells us that his tavern gossips in Terceira informed him that Grenville, after drinking wine, would swallow the glass and chew the pieces till the blood ran out of his mouth. Which is the truer picture?

There is no reason to suppose that Grenville ate tumblers any

more than that Napoleon ate babies; and yet it is open to doubt whether Linschoten's caricature does not give us a truer peep at the man than Kingsley's anachronistic vision of the prototype of the English Broad Churchman Militant. Mr. Gladstone may not have been a giant with an immense collar and an immense nose who hacked down trees like a Canadian lumberman. But his features were pronounced. He did wear large collars, and he certainly cut down trees. So with Grenville. He was a wild, ferocious, untamable creature: ungovernable in his acts and unrestrained in his speech. There is one authentic story of him that is worth more than all that Kingsley wrote. Grenville met a Spanish galleon and fought her to the death. Both ships received punishment, but the Spaniard hauled her flag down. So great was the damage which his ship had sustained above-board that Grenville had no boat with which to take possession of his prize. Thereupon he knocked some sea-chests together and paddled himself across in them. He reached the Spaniard; but, as he did so, his conveyance sank at her side.¹

Here we have illustration of that swashbuckling propensity that charms our senses while it staggers our sense of wisdom and propriety. And when to this story we add the fact that on the way out to the Azores Sir Richard had impenitently disregarded his superior's injunctions relative to the capture of prizes, we have, I think, sufficient to explain the wilful negligence and scorn of the enemy which left the *Revenge* in the roadstead at Flores when fourteen other slower-gaited ships had taken new formation according to orders.²

4. Flores is an island of roughly oval shape, having an extreme length from north to south of eleven miles, and being separated by an interval of about ten miles from the little island of Corvo to the northward. It is nowhere stated where Lord Thomas berthed his ships, but modern surveying shows that the only possible anchorage can have been on the western side and about the middle. Again, none of our authorities state the direction of the wind; but the prevailing breeze in the Azores during August and September is from the north, and the Spaniards, we know, approached from between Flores and Corvo, and had no difficulty in running swiftly into the roadstead. We may take it, then, that when Grenville weighed anchor he shaped a course N.E. to join Lord Thomas who was lying off Corvo, and that his course and that of the advancing Armada promised to intersect one another, the Spaniards being to windward of him, and Lord Thomas being to windward of the Spaniards.

Tennyson rightly emphasises the fact that Grenville had the choice of two alternatives. The Spaniards had won the first round of the fight and cut him off from his friends; but there was no reason why he should put his head in the lion's mouth. The *Revenge* was a fast sailer, and was ahead of the Spaniards on a southerly course. She could therefore easily show them a clean pair of heels. Like the other fighting units, she was attended by a victualler, and the victualler was slow. Yet the *George Noble* (as this ship was called) turned instantly south and escaped without difficulty. The master of the *Revenge*, who was no

¹ Holinshed, *Chronicle*; Hakluyt, *The Second Voyage of Sir Walter Raleigh to . . . Virginia*; "Everyman Edition," VI., 138.

² Camden supports this opinion.

coward, as his ten wounds afterwards bore witness, counselled Grenville to adopt a similar course. But Grenville rejected the proposal. If he had been more of the professional seaman he would have seen nothing derogatory in foiling by superior tactics the tactics of his foe. But as a soldier the navigator's counsel seemed to him to savour too much of flight, and he refused manfully to turn his back.

We can well believe that Grenville's decision would be greeted with a round of British cheers. But Linschoten tells us a different story. When the master exhorted Sir Richard to set the mainsail, Sir Richard "threatened both him and all the rest that were in the ship that if any man laid a hand upon it he would cause him to be hanged. And so by that occasion they were *compelled* to fight." To which evidence we may add what Monson says: "Sir Richard . . . would by no means be persuaded by his master and company . . . nay, so headstrong, rash and unadvised he was that he offered violence to all that counselled the contrary." There is at least no doubt that Grenville's decision was recklessly wild. Even Raleigh can only comment sadly: "The other course had been better."

To continue the *Revenge* on her course with resolute intention to cut a passage to Lord Thomas Howard through the very press of the Spanish fleet may not have been warfare as understood in 1591, but it was certainly magnificent. The Spaniards were in two battle squadrons, the Biscayan division leading, the Seville division bringing up the rear. So far as his own ship was concerned, Grenville's chance of prevailing was equal to that of a strong human hand interposed between the anvil and the sledge. At the same time, it must be remembered that the *Revenge* was the strongest and lordliest weapon of sea-warfare afloat. In a single-handed duel with her such a ship as the *San Philip* would not have had a ghost of a chance. The "1,500 tons" was a Spanish reckoning; by English dockyard measurements this unwieldy carrack would have been reduced to less than half her figure. In sailing qualities she was a slug compared with the *Revenge*; in hitting power she was like a corpulent chef standing up to a middle-weight champion. Her lightly built upper works, with their tiers of small guns, were derided by Englishmen as cumbersome and useless top-hamper. On this occasion, however, they served the cause of Spain, for, as the *Revenge* ran under her side, they becalmed her and brought her to a dead stop.

5. The first round of the encounter now began, viz., the *Revenge* *versus* five Spanish vessels. We are given no details, but can easily understand, as all the authorities briefly suggest, that the affair was miserably one-sided. The heavy guns of the *Revenge*, magnificently handled, played havoc with the inferior craft that thus hardily stood up to her. There is no occasion to magnify the might of the *Revenge*, or to belittle the strength of her antagonists. But the *Revenge* surpassed them as manifestly as a British *first-rate* in after days surpassed more ordinary ships; and a first-rate manned by Englishmen could in the eighteenth century always be trusted to hold her own against half-a-dozen inferior craft.

The *San Philip*, misliking her entertainment, made haste to change her position. What became of the other four ships cannot be said with certainty, though it would appear that one of Raleigh's later paragraphs should properly be taken here. "The admiral of

the hulks (*i.e.*, the flagship of the armed merchantmen) and the *Ascension* . . . were both sunk by the side of the *Revenge*. One other recovered the road of St. Michael and sank also there. A fourth ran herself with the shore to save her men." Linschoten's evidence agrees in general with this, though he puts the *Revenge's* antagonists at seven or eight. In either case the picture is convincing enough. The *Revenge* fought with at least five, and perhaps as many as seven, ships, and defeated them all, sending two to the bottom, two ashore, and the rest flying for their lives. Herein lay the advantage to England of devising a battleship, so built, so manned, and so armed, that her equal was not as yet to be found.

6. At this point Tennyson asks us to believe that the remaining forty-eight Spanish ships threw themselves into the fighting-line and emulated the conduct of the first five. In presenting this picture he makes the most tremendous demands on our credulity. The fresh ships, he says, relied for victory not on artillery, but on pikes and muskets. If this were so, little wonder that the *Revenge* shook them off with contemptuous indifference.

The Spaniards may not have been remarkable as sea-fighters, but as soldiers they were not to be despised. Their ships were, as Raleigh reminds us, thronged with the divisions of a "mighty army." And their Commander-in-Chief, Don Bazan, was imbued with military instincts. He had doubtless heard his countrymen say that the result of 1588 would have been different if the English ships had allowed them to close the range. Here, off Flores, the English had allowed the range to be closed. And what had been the result? The *Revenge*, in the preliminary round, had accounted for more victims than the entire British fleet destroyed at the battle of Gravelines. That gave him cause to reconsider his position; and, like a good General, he promptly refused to play the Englishman's game. He knew where his own strength lay. He had at least 10,000 soldiers, armed in the most perfect discipline that the age afforded. His opponent had, at most, one hundred. How would it be possible for the handful of men on board the *Revenge* to resist a force that outnumbered them a hundredfold? The Spanish commander took the only sensible course. He put his men into boats and sent them to board the English ship just as if they had been attacking a castle or fortress ashore. They were to climb into the *Revenge* from all parts simultaneously—by the starboard side, by the port, and by the beakhead. And so came the unending array of pikes and the serried ranks of musketeers. The fall of darkness favoured the attempt, for the reinforcing boatloads could reach their objective unobserved and make their ascent where they were least expected.

Tennyson doubtless relied on Raleigh for his unseamanlike vision of many ships charging one. But, as a matter of fact, Raleigh is quite innocent, and might well have proved at this point a safe guide; for, after describing how the *San Philip* fled, he first insists on the extraordinary number of trained soldiers in the Spanish ships, and then continues: "The Spanish deliberated to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers"—a most explicit and categorical statement.

From the moment that Howard signified his wishes to the time

when the *Revenge*, with her heavy artillery, drove the Spanish vessels reeling back in despair, there is much in Grenville's conduct to criticise if not actually to condemn. But when Don Bazan ordered the *Revenge* to be rushed, then it was that Grenville comported himself like a hero of some old mythology. The fight was not, as Tennyson reiterates, a fight of the "one and the fifty-three," but a fight of less than one hundred naked seamen against ten thousand armed warriors. The Spanish legions pressed forward in overwhelming strength, and Grenville—his superb figure clad in dazzling armour and with a morion full of plumes upon his head—fought them as his ancestor fought the Paynim by the side of Richard Lionheart; fought them as the Chevalier Bayard fought two hundred single-handed, standing astride upon a bridge. Well may we picture Don Alonso de Bazan prodding the deck of the *San Pablo* with his fine Toledo blade, and anticipating the remark of a certain Corsican, who was taught the same lesson when his time came, "Curses upon these heretic rogues! They are so obstinately and pig-headedly *stupid* that they cannot understand when they are defeated."

This, then, is Grenville's crowning glory. The Spaniards, unable in a maritime sense to cope with the subjects of Queen Elizabeth, thirsted for a land-battle-at-sea. Grenville gave them what they desired, and, as heavily handicapped as man can be, beat them at their own game. Neither the numbers of the foe nor the gravity of his wounds had the slightest effect upon his spirit. And while he had a voice to cheer them on, the entire ship's company fought as he did. The *Revenge* may have had only a hundred defenders, but the same spirit animated them all. And the Spaniards found, as they swarmed to the attack, one hundred Grenvilles in the field.

Raleigh tells us that the fight began at three o'clock in the afternoon and lasted for fifteen hours.¹ The end came, therefore, about six o'clock in the morning. Just as dawn began to paint the eastern sky the fury of the attack spent itself, and, with four hundred of their number buried in the sea,² the Spaniards retired to their ships.

7. Although the main assault upon the *Revenge* was made by relays of infantry, we may well believe that it was supported by artillery. If the *Revenge* had in all no more than one hundred men, it is clear that such a handful could not defend the upper deck and man the guns as well. The attempts of the Spanish boarding-parties would draw the whole of Grenville's force to the point of extreme danger, and this would have the immediate effect of shortening the artillery range. In other words, as soon as the *Revenge's* heavy guns ceased to fire, the Spanish ships with their inferior ordnance could draw within hitting distance without danger to themselves. They could not keep up a steady fire, for that would be to injure their own men; but as their boarding parties moved to the assault, they could develop a useful cannonade, and this would be directed on the *Revenge's* upper works, where her defenders were congregated. The effect, no doubt, would be to demolish sails and rigging, and, robbed of their supports, the masts would follow one another over the side. Raleigh's passage describing this phase of the battle is placed after

¹ Linschoten says twelve hours.

² This figure is Linschoten's. Raleigh says 2,000; Hakluyt, 1,000; and Labores y March (*Historia de la Marina Real Española*), 20.

the last of Grenville's wounds, and mentions fifteen vessels as bringing their ordnance to bear, the *Revenge* "having never less than two mighty galleons by her side." He seems to take for granted that it was the *Revenge's* heavy guns upon which Grenville relied at this part of the battle. But if the *Revenge's* heavy guns had been in action the Spanish artillery would have been useless. Moreover, the Spanish infantry assaults could only have been defeated by converting every English gunner into a small-arms man. As the *Revenge's* men could not have been in two places at once, it is evident that Raleigh was deceived by the testimony of his witnesses, and gave them credit for more than they were able to perform.

Modern students of Raleigh's tractate are not unnaturally confused by the recurrence of the word "board." In Nelson's day "board" meant to "enter" a ship. In Grenville's day it did not. In Grenville's day the word "enter" was used for "enter," and "board" meant to fight at close quarters. It was practically impossible to pass from one sixteenth-century ship to another, so great was the "tumble-home," or inward slope of the vessel's side from water-line to gunwale. Thus when "fifteen several galleons" boarded the *Revenge*, they came probably two at a time and fired at her from a distance where to miss would have been impossible. By estimation 800 shots went home. If these had been fired by the *Revenge*, and levelled at the vitals of her foes, many fresh victims would have gone to the bottom. But after fifteen hours of battle the *Revenge* was still afloat, though, as we should expect, "her upper work altogether razed." By "upper work" we are to understand the lightly constructed forecastle, quarter-deck, and poop, which in those days enjoyed none of the solid strength of eighteenth, or even seventeenth, century ships.

To sum up, Grenville and his company, by superhuman endeavours, had routed an enemy of overwhelming strength. But the *Revenge* was a wreck, and honourable retirement out of the question.

8. In suggesting that the English were at the end of their resources, Tennyson receives the fullest endorsement from Raleigh, who says: "All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel was now spent." But both authors are talking the most egregious nonsense, and presently contradict themselves with flattening prostration when they make Grenville order his ship to be blown up. It is impossible to suppose that the *Revenge* had expended her powder. She had not had a chance of doing so. Her men had been called away from the guns to defend the upper deck; and, as their foes came over the side, they would discard all but weapons of cut, push, and thrust. I go so far as to say that, unless we think of the *Revenge* as still possessing ample stores of gunpowder, the rest of the story is simply unintelligible. Tennyson may be excused for following Raleigh, who continues: "Sir Richard . . . commanded the Master Gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship." The interest of this speech turns upon the word "split." Can the word connote anything except destruction by gunpowder? I think not. It was not easy to sink a wooden ship when she had made up her mind to float. The *Revenge* had received some injury below the water-line. Three shots had penetrated her massive sides, and she was leaking badly.

There were already six feet of water in the hold. But she was not by any means sinking, and, as we know well enough, when the Spaniards captured her they had every hope of carrying her safely home to Spain. It is plain that what Grenville wanted was not carpenter's work, but a torch in the powder-chamber. That is why he summoned the Master Gunner, or "Gunner," as he afterwards came to be called. And Grenville summoned the Gunner, not because he was a "resolute man"—they were *all* resolute men—but because of the entire ship's company, by immemorial usage, the Gunner alone was allowed to enter the magazine.

When he had given his final order Grenville would doubtless retire to his cabin, and, after committing his soul to God, would swoon, not only from the pain of his wounds, but from the serious injury to his head. And so opportunity was made for "il gran rifiuto."

9. The seamen, of course, had nothing whatever to do with the business. They had fought a good fight, and from sheer exhaustion were doubtless nearer sleep than mutiny. It is to the credit of those who fought beside Sir Richard that they did *not*, when he gave his last heroic order, plead for their children and their wives. Those who set themselves against Grenville's command were the Captain and the Master. The Captain may well have regarded the Admiral's case as desperate, and if anything happened to the Admiral the command devolved upon himself. He now took charge of the *Revenge* as naturally as Hardy took charge of the *Victory* when Nelson was borne to the cockpit. He took counsel with the Master, and they quickly concluded what was best to be done. They had already put their arguments to Sir Richard, and he had brushed them angrily aside. Now they acted in defiance of him. The Gunner, who insisted on obeying orders, was robbed of his sword lest he should do himself an injury, and locked in his cabin. And then, while the Captain assembled the ship's company and talked them round to his view, the Master (bearing with him his eloquent ten wounds) conveyed himself to the *San Pablo* to arrange a composition.

It is a little hard not to blame these two officers, and yet how much we owe to them! If they had consented with the Gunner, we should know almost as little of what happened on the deck of the *Revenge* as we do of what happened in the *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* when they met their glorious death off Coronel.

What—if the expression may be allowed—was the trump card that the *Revenge's* Master held in his hand when he played for the stakes of life and death with Don Alonso de Bazan? Raleigh tells us frankly enough, though in doing so he contradicts himself. The Master's trump-card was the *Revenge's* supply of gunpowder. "You want our ship," said the Englishman, "and we desire to save our lives—a fair exchange!" "No," replied the Spaniard, "your ship cannot escape, and your lives are forfeit." "You want our ship," the Englishman repeated, "but if you are to have it, you must pay. Elsewise Sir Richard will blow it to pieces with the next body of Spaniards that approach." This it was that clinched matters, and the bargain was struck. Then Don Bazan sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*; and in these the Englishmen, deserting their proud leader, in Raleigh's words, "stole away."

10. Grenville, being deserted by his men, fell into the hands of

the Spaniards, who treated him with every consideration. They asked his permission to move him, and Sir Richard replied that they might do with his body as they list for that he esteemed it not. And with that, once more he swooned with the pain. His captors conveyed him to the *San Pablo*, where he was put to bed and the best medical aid procured. During the next two or three days he seemed to be recovering, and so far regained his looks that the Spanish officers obtained permission to visit his sick-bed. They were ready to solace him for his want of fortune, but found him marvellously cheerful. It was probably on the third day that a change set in; and, though the Spaniards noticed nothing, Sir Richard knew that his end was at hand. Then, speaking in Spanish, he delivered himself of the following words: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that hath fought for his country, Queen, religion, and honour; whereby my soul most joyfully departeth out of this body and shall always leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier that hath done his duty as he was bound to do. But the others of my company have done as traitors and dogs, for which they shall be reproached all their lives and leave a shameful name for ever."

"When he had finished these or such like words," adds Linschoten, "he gave up the ghost with great and true courage. And no man could perceive any true sign of heaviness in him."

Linschoten is the only authority for Grenville's dying speech; and when his version was first translated out of the Dutch the Star Chamber censored Grenville's imprecations upon the men who deserted him, and the full text was not generally known in this country until Mr. David Hannay in 1897 drew attention to the original.

It is Linschoten again who tells us of the Spanish belief that Grenville had made a bargain like that of Dr. Faustus. "Some of them openly said in the island of Terceira that . . . so soon as they had thrown the dead body of the Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Grenville overboard they verily thought that he had a devilish faith and religion, and therefore the devils loved him, so he presently sank into the bottom of the sea, and down into hell, where he raised all the devils to the revenge of his death; and that they brought so great storms and torments upon the Spaniards because they only maintained the Catholic and Romish religion. Such and the like blasphemies against God they ceased not openly to utter."

11. Tennyson has not in the least degree exaggerated the violence of the unprecedented cyclone that swept over the Azores immediately after Sir Richard's burial, though his actual wording leaves the reader in some doubt as to its treatment of the Spanish fleet. There were still some fifty vessels round the flag of de Bazan, and these were joined by the treasure-ships which they were waiting to escort. The assembled fleet reached a figure as large as that of the 1588 Armada. And of these 130 sail nearly four-fifths were destroyed by the storm fiends round Grenville's grave. Thousands of men perished, and there was not a maritime province in Spain that was not thrown into mourning.

12. The tempestuous cataclysm that ends the story seems to suggest that, strategically, Grenville's judgment was correct, and that the cheerful acceptance of overwhelming odds must bring its

overwhelming reward. There is much to be said for this view. It is grounded, however, on slovenly thinking and on the all too common tendency of mankind to ignore one-half of the facts.

The battle of Flores was primarily a battle between old and new, between the medieval methods of the Spaniards and the new and up-to-date mode of the *Revenge*. The medieval methods of the Spaniards came so near to winning, that students of the battle have had their judgment distracted from the main issue to the medieval methods by which the heroic Grenville countered the medieval methods by which the Spaniards attempted to conquer him.

But all the details which have conspired to build up Grenville's reputation are really irrelevant. The tactical interest of the battle lies not in his marvellous fortress-defence on a floating platform, but in his initial decision to hurl himself at the foe, regardless of odds and regardless of consequences.

The Spaniards suffered incalculable damage from the British artillery, damage that beyond doubt was largely responsible for the hideous tale of shipwrecks that followed the battle. And some of this damage certainly was inflicted by the *Revenge*. But the *Revenge* was not the only English man-of-war that took part in the battle of Flores. There was the whole of Lord Thomas Howard's squadron, which, as we have seen, took up an incontestably correct tactical position before the Spaniards appeared. Howard himself, Raleigh tells us, was minded, when he saw Grenville's position, to join him with the whole of his fourteen ships. But his council of officers persuaded him that it would be as impossible to effect a rescue as to fish Empedocles out of Etna; and he therefore proceeded to engage the enemy in a battle which resembled Gravelines in all but the number of English engaged. He pounded them with hideous destructiveness from a range at which no reply was possible. The fire was maintained until conditions of visibility made continuance impossible, and night ended the work of the heavy guns. It is necessary to add that Lord Thomas rode out the storm that destroyed his opponents, and then proceeded to make captures among the more fortunate Spanish galleons that survived the fury of the gale.

Grenville's self-immolation is therefore condoned by the destruction that Lord Thomas Howard managed to inflict. But this has not been the lesson that students of the battle have generally accepted. In some schools of thought there has grown up an almost ineradicable theory that if an English naval unit (whether fleet, squadron, or ship) declines action, it is disgraced by Grenvillian standards. Nelson has been dragged into the dispute, and many of his considered sayings, removed from their context, have been worn almost threadbare in this time-honoured controversy.

But vastly more important than anything that he said are Nelson's actual deeds. At St. Vincent he played a part almost identical with that of Grenville. In defiance of standing orders, he hurled himself at the massed forces of the enemy, regardless of cost, regardless of consequence. And why? Not that the eyes of the world might be drawn upon himself, but in order that Jervis might have time for that deployment which would spell ruin for the enemy's fleet. The fact that Nelson was not destroyed, but with Collingwood (who supported him) gained the chief laurels of the fight, has distracted attention from Jervis himself and the victory

he won. The Spaniards fled with a *saue qui peut*, not because Nelson had reduced his ship to a wreck, but because, like the Germans at Jutland, they were doomed to annihilation at the hands of the main English fleet.

Englishmen, unhappily, are too apt to measure the merit of their naval commanders by the numbers of the enemy actually destroyed by their gunfire. To say that the battle of St. Vincent was won by Nelson, and not by Jervis, would be as ridiculous as to say that some event at the National Sporting Club was won by a boxer's left and not by his right. At St. Vincent the two arms acted in perfect collusion, and the result was a *saue qui peut* that ruined the Spanish maritime morale as effectually as the rout of von Scheer ruined the earthly hopes of the lords of Potsdam.

Why was the battle of Trafalgar more successful than the battle of Flores?—if it really was more successful. Only in the sufficiency of the English forces engaged, and in the conscious method that lay beneath the assailant's apparent madness. Nelson hurled his own force into the pit of destruction, because he knew that by doing so he would give Collingwood time to deploy and work an annihilation which would justify his own sacrifice.

Grenville felt in his bones that he was doing right, and in Raleigh's pen was found an instrument whereby his example was handed down as a priceless heritage to posterity. Out of that heritage was evolved the "Nelson touch"—self-immolation, not for honour's sake alone, but self-immolation to compass the enemy's entire discomfiture. Happy the commander who, using his right fist and left together, has the opposing pugilist up against a wall—or, nautically speaking, with the shoals of Trafalgar behind him! For then, instead of the *saue qui peut* of St. Vincent and Jutland, he has the twenty prizes that he bargained for.

On completing his *Revenge*, Tennyson modestly called it a "Ballad"; and if this classification had found universal acceptance there would be little enough cause for complaint. But the "ballad" has been treated as a "dramatic poem," while it ignores all the conventions that govern legitimate drama. The situations are not chosen for the interplay of human character or the clash of conflicting emotions. The treatment from first to last is melodramatic. The superman takes the centre of the stage at the beginning of the first act, and the gods roar applause as he mouths for them his hyper-altruistic sentiments. As the cloud of Spanish villainy darkens the sky, the limelight is turned on full, and the central figure, move as he may, can never again escape it. Salient points in the story are seized upon and luridly painted with purple and indigo, so that the limelight, as the eye grows accustomed to it, may receive reinforcement from accumulated contrast. The result is a "piece" that has "drawn" unthinking thousands, but which does not hold up the mirror to Nature or catch the reflection of truth.

GEOFFREY CALLENDER.

REVIEWS.

The Processes of History. By FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in the University of California. Yale University Press; Milford. 1918. 5s. 6d.

ANY historian who is interested in his subject must have desired to write a grammar of history, to reduce his subject to an ordered form, and to set down the general rules to which all historical changes and events must conform themselves. In most cases the desire passes away with the growth of experience; in a few cases it results in a book, and such a book is the one written by Professor Teggart. History, we all know, is a science; sciences have their methods and their processes, their laws and theorems, problems and solutions, their universal rules and particular cases, their predictions and logical results. Why should history lack these advantages? We have but to apply scientific methods to our phenomena, and all our details will fall into their appropriate places, and show us in one great synthesis the ordered process of events. Such a synthesis Professor Teggart offers to us, and it is well worth our while to consider respectfully what he has made of it.

The object of history, he tells us, like that of any other science, is to explain how things come to be as they now are, and, in consequence, we must start with the original configuration of humanity, and explain the processes by which it has come into its present state. The sciences of anthropology and archaeology enable us to arrive at the initial knowledge, and the application of the usual scientific methods will clear our way of all embarrassing detail and mere individual differences. By this procedure we arrive at a conception of a world peopled by homogeneous individuals, all of one type, differing only in the peculiarities induced by the localities in which they dwell, in the ideas suggested by these local conditions, and in the language used to express these ideas. It must not, however, be supposed that they are free. Our knowledge of primitive society tells us that they are not. They are individuals enmeshed in a system of kindred, bound by tribal customs, held fast in their places by ritual. The equilibrium is stable and complete. They may be compared, though Professor Teggart does not make the comparison, to particles suspended in a viscous liquid, and it is difficult not to think of the problem presented by them as a problem in hydrodynamics, and not to wonder why it should not be discussed with the aid of mathematical methods. A criticism suggests itself at this point: Does Professor Teggart know, or can he prove, that all the human race was ever at one time in the condition he describes? Unless this can be established, his whole theory falls into ruins, and it need hardly be said that nothing of the kind can be considered proved. And, even if it could be proved, he would still have to make the further assumption that such a configuration could be stable enough to exist for a week.

But some way of escape must be found. Race differences might produce a change, but the assumed homogeneity of mankind rules them out. The growth of population is also excluded, on the ground that tribal institutions prevent it. And so we are led to seek in climatic change the origin of all history, and we find ourselves in the presence of an old friend, the desiccation of Asia. Professor Teggart passes over in silence the views of Dr. Peisker, which may be found in the *Cambridge Mediæval History*. But let us assume—and it is a large assumption—that the statements in Mr. Huntingdon's *Pulse of Asia* represent the only possible theory of the relics discovered in the deserts of Central Asia. Let us assume—it is a still larger assumption—that the people who lived there were a primitive people living in the stable conditions described by Professor Teggart, and see what results he believes to have followed. The breakdown of the agriculture produced by the desiccation produces migration. The movement sets up points of pressure, whose situation is determined by the geographical conditions of the routes followed; and at these points political societies arise. Professor Teggart's description of the essentials of a political society is vague. So far as we are able to follow him, a political society is one based not on kindred, but on the ownership of land, based not on equality enforced by custom, but on the domination of an individual or a group, and one where "self-assertion" prevails. For the breakdown of the bonds of custom and ritual makes a "release" and allows "self-assertion" free play. And here (p. 87) we meet a strange doctrine, which makes us wonder, in spite of the mighty array of authorities which Professor Teggart sets forth on almost every page, whether he has really traversed the whole range of human thought. "Needless to say," he tells us, "the question has never been taken up as to the delimitation of the channels through which self-assertion might properly realise itself in desirable activities." It may be respectfully suggested in reply that every legal writer has dealt with the question from one point of view, every theologian has treated it from another, and every moralist, from Aristotle down to Bentham, from Mill to Nietzsche, has attempted an answer.

The value of Professor Teggart's results, even in the obscure and doubtful field selected by him, is doubtful; the value of his method is even more uncertain. If he had chosen a period where knowledge was possible, where authorities were many and results complex, his method would have failed, and the cause of his failure would have been clear. It is not hard to see where his fundamental misconception lies. He has mistaken the objects of scientific study, and has confused scientific method with scientific aim; he thinks that it is the business of science to account for the existence of things as they are, and in truth no scientific man would accept the statement. He mentions astronomy once or twice, and, though he does not say so, he seems to suppose that it is the object of that science to frame an hypothesis to account for the existence of the solar system as it is. In fact, the astronomer aims at a different mark. He desires to express the position of the heavenly bodies in terms of the angular displacement of the earth about its axis. If the nebular hypothesis or any other hypothesis will help him to this end, he will welcome it and use it, just as he will invent others for himself. But these hypotheses are his tools, the tests of his work; they are not his object. So, too, with the biologist; his aim is to

discover, arrange, and understand forms of life; the theory of evolution is his tool, not the final object of his research. It tests his work, it is tested by it; and if that tool breaks in his hands, the science still remains.

If we turn to the historian, the same principle remains for him. His object is to discover and express the past. To do so he must generalise his facts; he must frame hypotheses to serve as his tools. But his ultimate object is not to make such tools; it is to use them; to use them to construct an ordered narrative of the past, in which the interplay of human character, natural environment, institutions, and all the other elements shall be so shown that the result shall fix the reader's attention and inform his understanding. How hard a task this is, only those who have tried to do it can tell. How easy it is to frame wide, sweeping generalisations every clever undergraduate and every journalist can inform us. C. G. CRUMP.

The History of Aryan Rule in India from the Earliest Times to the Death of Akbar. By E. B. HAVELL. 1918. Harrap. 15s.

To deal with Aryan rule in India accurately it is necessary to lay a sound basis by determining what were the political and social characteristics of the Aryans who entered India, and therefore to scrutinise thoroughly all that can be discovered from the earliest Sanskrit books about them; but instead of doing this Mr. Havell draws inferences from Aryans in other countries, from presumptions about conditions in ancient India, and from generalisations upon data which are not comprehensive and for which he seldom cites authorities. For instance, he says (p. 11), "The Aryan village was the basis of Indo-Aryan polity, and its history is the real history of India." The first statement may pass, but the second ignores the well-known fact that the villages had nothing to do with the political vicissitudes that changed the face of India, and simply pursued their own local life; and, in fact, they occupy no particular place in this history. In a further statement he is more correct in speaking (instead of the Aryan village) of the Indo-Aryan village, evolved through assimilation and combination of Dravidian and Aryan ideas and organisation, yet the question remains to be more clearly elucidated: What was Aryan, and what Dravidian?

Aryan rule may mean the rule of the Aryans or the influence of Aryan characteristics; but, whether we take either meaning or both, what is noticed in ancient Sanskrit books was largely the product already of the blending of Aryan and Dravidian, and had become "Indian" rather than remained genuine Aryan, even in Buddha's time. Neither the kshatriyas nor even the brahmins were pure Aryans then, unmodified in blood or ideas or customs. Mr. Havell quotes from Manu's *Lawbook*, but that enunciates principles when everything had become "Indian," and can hardly be considered a sure authority on what was strictly Aryan. He carries his history down to the death of Akbar, devoting nearly half the book to the Mohammedan period, when Aryan rule was practically non-existent. This is much like writing a history of Greek rule in Western Asia and bringing it down to the end of the sixteenth century, yet more difficult because less is known about the Indian Aryans than about the Greeks.

The subject requires a knowledge of Sanskrit and a thorough
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study of all the sources of information about India in ancient times. Mr. Havell is an authority on Indian art, and is more at home in the portions of the book that deal with art. F. E. PARGITER.

The Treasure of the Magi: A Study of Modern Zoroastrianism. By JAMES HOPE MOULTON. Pp. xiii + 273. 1917. Milford. 8s. 6d.

THIS book, forming part of the "Religious Quest of India" series, cannot be read without a certain special emotion, for it contains the last words of a great scholar of Zoroastrianism who fell an innocent victim to the war ere it saw the light. Only his foresight in sending a duplicate copy of the manuscript by post to England before he sailed on his fatal voyage from India saved the work from complete destruction.

There are, as is well known, two schools of thought amongst students of the Zoroastrian religion—those who assign to Zoroaster an antiquity of at least 1,000 years before Christ, regard the *Gāthās* as alone embodying his authentic doctrine, slightly esteem the later Avesta, and regard with profound mistrust the traditions of the Sāsānian period embodied in the Pahlawī literature; and those who, following the Sāsānian tradition transmitted through the early Arabian historians, place Zoroaster about the seventh century before Christ, regard him as having arisen not in Bactria in the north-east, but in Atropatene (the modern Ādharbāyjān), in the north-west of Persia, and attach far more importance to the traditional interpretations of the Sāsānian period than to the elucidations of comparative philologists steeped in Sanskrit learning. Dr. Moulton belongs emphatically to the former school; he would have us "restrict ourselves to the *Gāthās*" (p. 12); will admit "nothing later than the tenth century B.C." (p. 13) as the date of Zoroaster; finds it "distasteful to dwell on the drivelling nonsense which fills so large a part of the *Vendidad*" (p. 110); and "pretends no regret that other studies have made Pahlawī an unattainable luxury" (p. 56).

The author displays an extraordinary animus against Islām (pp. 29, 45, 66, 124, etc.), and also a great dislike for the Hindu doctrine of Reincarnation or Transmigration, which many Europeans have found attractive. His account of the modern Pārsī community in India is not the least valuable part of the book.

E. G. BROWNE.

Finance and Trade under Edward III. Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, No. XXXII. By Members of the History School. Edited by Professor UNWIN. Pp. xii + 360. 1918. 15s.

THE studies in this volume—three contributed by Professor Unwin, and the remaining five based on theses prepared for the History School of Manchester University—will be heartily welcomed by students of a little-explored region of domestic history. The writers have made full use of calendared and printed official records and of the treasures contained in the records of the City of London, with whose help we are given intimate pictures of social and business life in the fourteenth century. One study is based on a document preserved in the Public Record Office, and here printed for the first

time—the London lay subsidy roll of 1332, transcribed and closely analysed by Miss M. Curtis. Professor Unwin points out that the accepted view of Edward III.'s commercial policy, as originally expressed by Dr. Cunningham, is not warranted by facts, whose cold light reveals neither a hard-headed political economist nor a beneficent "Father of English Commerce," but a harassed and unsuccessful opportunist. For a consistent policy we must look rather to "the main body of consumers and of rural producers as represented by the knights of the shires." Edward needed funds to meet the enormous expenses of the French war, and he could secure them only with the help of English merchants and financiers, and by controlling and manipulating the country's chief export, wool. Papers dealing with the position of the Italian merchants and with the taxation of wool from 1337 to 1348, for which the calendars of Patent and Close Rolls have been largely used, are supplemented by Professor Unwin's valuable study, "The Estate of Merchants, 1336-65." Here we are shown the result of Edward's negotiations with representatives of the merchants, at a time when constitutional and fiscal conventions were still in process of crystallisation; much light is thrown on the conflict waged round the question of the Staple, and interesting conclusions are suggested as to the relation of the merchant class to Parliament as a whole. The breakdown of the great wool-contract of 1337 is shown to have had a decisive influence on future financial schemes. We know little of the circumstances attending it, but the present account of these and of the events of 1339 may be supplemented by the evidence¹ of existing documents containing records of correspondence between the king, his envoys abroad, and his council, which throw some light on the attitude of the English merchants. In these we are told that, after the seizure of the wools collected at Dordrecht (agreed upon, apparently, as early as January, 1338), they definitely refused either to complete the contract of 1337, or to take any part in financial schemes connected with the parliamentary wool-grant of February, 1338. In studies of "The Wine Trade with Gascony" and "Calais under Edward III.," completing the present volume, other important aspects of commercial and economic history are illustrated with much detailed information, drawn largely from official sources.

DOROTHY HUGHES.

Autobiography of Thomas Raymond, and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire. Edited by G. DAVIES. Pp. 184. Camden Third Series. Vol. XXVIII. 1917.

THOMAS RAYMOND was a nephew of that Sir William Boswell who served Charles I. so long as Clerk to the Privy Council, and Resident at The Hague (1632-49). As it is here printed, his autobiography—or, as he prefers to call it, "A Rhapsodie"—is really only a fragment of the whole, carrying the account of his life down to 1637, when he was about twenty-seven years of age.

Written in a spirited and lively style, with a candour that does not spare even his own failings (he several times confesses to a chronic timidity), it compels attention from the vividness of its

¹ Quoted in *A Study of Social and Constitutional Tendencies in the Early Years of Edward III.* By Dorothy Hughes. 1915. Extracts from correspondence in 1339 are printed in an appendix.

pictures and the piquancy of many of its anecdotes. What could be better than this of the gorgeous Hay, Earl of Carlisle? "He had been in his younge dayes a greate masker. His sonne, the Lord Doncaster, being now in one was complayneing that the doublet of his masking suite was too straight. 'Fye boy,' sayd the Earl, 'are you not ashamed to complayne of that? Whie, when I was a masker and that the mode was to appeare very small in the wast, I remember I was drawne up from the ground by both hands, whilst the tayler with all his strength buttoned on my doublet.'" Of Sir William Boswell he relates that "there was boyling on the fyer in my unkles chamber a pipkin of pease pottage, and a Lord comeing to him unexpectedly on the sudden aboute busines, with stifling aboute least the pipkin should be seene it was throwne downe, broke, and all the porridge aboute the chamber—a woefull disaster to my aunt for the losse of hir belly tymber, and to my unkle least the Lord should have taken us in our cookery and misfortune. But the Lord was encountered before he could perceive the mischeife, a miscarriage that hath often made me laugh heartily." Indeed, throughout, Raymond does not depict Boswell in a very happy light: rather miserly, miserably lodged, the poor Clerk to the Council had a wife whose one aim in life was to keep up appearances, and, though, as Resident at The Hague, his circumstances seem to have become easier, his wife's temper suffered little improvement, and even if her epitaph speaks of her "Christian liberalitie," its tone rather infers a stiff old lady giving of her goods with one eye on heaven and the other on posterity.

In other directions also Raymond's work has claims to be of historical value, for it contains a very interesting description of the private life of the little band of Englishmen who followed Lord Feilding on his embassy to Venice in 1634-7, as well as a first-hand account of the Dutch campaign of 1633 against the Spaniards; in this the author served as a volunteer in Sir Philip Pakenham's company, and this account has obviously been written up from notes made at the time, and gives a vivid picture of what soldiering was like in the early seventeenth century.

Frankly, after Raymond, the Guise memoirs strike one as dull. They were composed by two members of the family—Sir Christopher Guise (1618-70) and his grandson, Sir John Guise, the former being a rather crabbed old gentleman with a startlingly good opinion of himself and his family. Their historical interest is largely local, and, with the exception of the accounts Guise gives of the Gloucestershire elections of 1695, 1702, and 1705, which throw some light on election tricks of the day, there is little of importance in them.

The volume has been adequately edited by Mr. Davies, who contributes an interesting introduction to the Guise memoirs, and a short biography of Sir William Boswell. E. R. ADAIR.

The Life of Lord Clive. By SIR G. W. FORREST, C.I.E. 2 vols. Cassell. 1918. £1 16s.

SINCE the days when young Mr. Forrest sacrificed leave to spend his time in Calcutta, and, with the aid of a Eurasian clerk, rout out a chest full of dusty manuscripts ignored for at least 150 years, students of the history of British India have owed him many a debt. From 1887 to the present day, volume after volume of careful,

accurate, but vigorous and stimulating work has come from his study, and in the latest instance his sympathetic insight and patient scholarship are fully maintained.

In his publication of *Selections from State Papers* in 1890 he made what was probably the first step towards familiarising the use of original documents of Indian history. This use of sources has been one of the greatest factors in the reformation of historical method achieved in the last half century. To many of us the analysis of documentary material in the historical laboratory is the vital test of the new scientific method, and the effect of its introduction cannot yet be gauged in full, for it is even now only beginning to find acceptance among the "masses" of the educational world, and to vivify the dry bones of the average history lesson. Although those selections, unfortunately, dealt in the main with the barren controversies of Warren Hastings's Council, the careful style and brilliant introduction with which the author presented them set up for all time a standard to which such collections must strive to attain. To his great work on the Mutiny, and his Governors-General series, he now adds a *Life of Clive*, which will undoubtedly rank as the classical biography of that great leader. Malcolm's Life belongs to a different era; it has the leisurely verbosity of the Victorian age, and a comparison of the two is an excellent demonstration of the revolution which has taken place in our generation in the study of history. To his wide and intimate knowledge of the mass of printed and manuscript materials on the period, Sir George has been able to add the papers of the Powis family for the purposes of this biography. In the first volume they afford a few notes on Clive's childish days and the loneliness of his early life at Madras; the second volume is considerably enriched by many letters dealing with his private affairs. They show him in a very pleasing relationship with his immediate attendants, giving more care to their interests than to his own. His friendship with George Grenville and other statesmen affords some interesting correspondence. Clive returned to England full of the hope of awakening public interest in Indian concerns and using his influence to achieve reforms. Like many another successful Governor, he was doomed to acute disappointment, and retired in dudgeon from a world occupied intently on its own private interests, in which intrigue and corruption had been erected into a system.

The imperious and often intractable character of Clive comes out clearly at many points of this biography, but, above all, his forcefulness. The long story of French and English rivalry in the Carnatic, of native intrigue and vacillation, drags on till the student is apt to weary of the interminable procession of Nawabs and Rajahs vying with one another for the petty principedoms, fragments of the fallen Mogul Empire. The average English officer or servant of the Company takes his part, and only adds to the confusion. Clive steps upon the stage, and at once the jostling fragments fall into place like the colours in a kaleidoscope. Things move when he appears, and the threads begin to weave a clear design. That this is not due to happy coincidence or the fortune of war, but to the clear vision and instant, unshakable resolution of the man's spirit, Sir G. Forrest makes abundantly plain at such crises as the attack on Chandernagore, at Plassey itself, and in the Officers' Mutiny of 1764. But, with that greatest virtue of a biographer, impartiality, he lays bare quite frankly his hero's faults. For the faults are there,

and are serious: so strong a character has its rough edges, and many of his fellows are bruised against them.

In 1756 there is almost a breach with Admiral Watson over the occupation of Fort William on what seems the merest punctilio; in June, 1758, he is up in arms at an apparent slight by the Directors without considering the obvious cause; while in England his bitter hostility to Sullivan, and his readiness to be offended with North and Wedderburn, show the irascible nature of the man, and, though perhaps injured health might excuse it in his later years, it is evident from the quarrels of his boyhood and his morose youth that he was an ungenial character. On the other hand, Sir George proves that all aspersions of Clive's integrity must fall to the ground. His first period of control made his fortune, it is true, but this was done openly, with the full consent of his employers, and in recognition of achievements which had taken his friends and foes alike by storm. His return to India in 1765 was an act of devotion of the most disinterested kind; while every well-earned comfort and interest bound him to home, he accepted a most ungrateful task with no incentive but duty and loyalty to the Company. As he said at the outset, "I propose no advantage to myself. I am determined to return to England without having acquired one farthing addition to my fortune," which was indeed adequate. In fact, he returned poorer than he went.

The salt monopoly was a scheme which certainly might provoke the suspicions of his enemies, but Clive appears to have acted purely in what he conceived to be the public interest, though his plans were not endorsed by the Directors nor by Hastings.

There is one incident, however, on which it is difficult to adopt as favourable a view of Clive's action as does the author—that of the deception of Omichund. When all allowances are made for a difficult predicament, for the corruption rampant in eighteenth-century politics, and for the unchristian code of native honour, it remains true that British credit in India rests, and always has rested, less upon force than loyalty. Clive himself urges that they are "a nation famed for the success of their arms and for their strict adherence to treaties"; and asserts proudly: "It is not the custom of the English nation to be guilty of insincerity." In dealing with the unscrupulous there are always two alternatives: to run immediate risks by maintaining one's own code, or to lower oneself to their level and fight them with their own weapons. In India we may fairly claim that the former has been our rule, and it is to the realisation that the English gentleman's word is his bond, more than to any other feature of our rule, that we owe our place to-day, our support by a heterogeneous mass of peoples among whom our own officials are but a handful. No one knows this record better than the author of *The Mutiny*, and it is strange to find him condoning in his hero so signal a lapse from a fundamental principle of honour.

A similar misconception that the end justifies imperfect means seems to have led Clive to adopt an inherently false political system for the government of Bengal. No one will desire to challenge Sir George Forrest's estimate of Clive's military pre-eminence; his attribution of statesmanship is less easy to accept. True, Clive had the insight to recognise the real political significance of our conquest of Bengal and the greatness of our opportunity, and in his letter to Pitt he draws the logical inferences. Perhaps he saw the more clearly

because he was not blinded by the properly mercenary views of a Director, nor the diplomatic entanglements of the politician. We realise to-day that the plain man does often arrive at the common-sense solution of an intricate political problem just because he is unhampered by a close intimacy with the possible complications. But neither Clive's settlement with the "country powers" nor his adjustment of responsibilities for the government of Bengal can be considered the work of a true statesman. His dealings with Oude are praised as the generous treatment of a beaten foe, but by what alternative could Bengal have been secured against the Mahrattas? The grant of Corah and Allahabad proved a very fruitful source of trouble. Again, the dual system has been a byword of insincere and corrupt administration. It was adopted quite deliberately, and it led to evils far more apt to undermine our existence in India than the jealousy of the European nations.

But, whatever our estimate of his hero, we have to thank Sir G. Forrest for a fine book. The earlier the period with which a writer on Indian history has to deal, the more difficult is the task. Gaps and obscurities occur even in the voluminous records of the East India Company, and the actors, whether Indian or European, are harder to trace and to follow. But among such obstacles Sir George moves with the assured step of the expert, and none of these morning mists have so much as dimmed his sympathetic vision of the man to whom we primarily owe our Empire of India.

M. E. MONCKTON JONES.

The French Revolution in English History. By PHILIP ANTHONY BROWN. 1918. Crosby, Lockwood, and Son. 7s. 6d.

THE death of Philip Brown in France, in 1915, at the age of twenty-nine, was not only a tragedy for his friends, but a grievous loss to historical scholarship. No one can read the volume which has at last appeared without feeling that he possessed wide knowledge, literary taste, and sound judgment in a degree rare in so young a man. Having had the pleasure of discussing with him the subject of his book throughout the period of its composition, I recollect his growing delight in his task and the fascination which he found in the discovery of new and unused material in the national archives.

Despite the recent labours of Hall, Laprade, Meikle, Veitch, Cestre, and others, our author was justified in his statement that no general account of the influence of the French Revolution in English history existed at the time when he sat down to write. His task is to "trace the general thread of politics, theory, and literature," and to estimate the character and results of the ferment produced in England and Scotland by the great upheaval in France. A well-arranged chapter on England in "the seventeen-eighties" is followed by a sketch of the effect of the Revolution on the poets, the preachers, the publicists, and the politicians. With the third chapter we reach the main theme of the volume—namely, the formation and activities of the various political societies and their conflict with the Government. Mr. Brown has made valuable additions to our knowledge of the early days of British radicalism, and he has devoted a whole chapter to discussing the vexed question as to how far Pitt was justified in his repressive policy, often described

as his Reign of Terror. The verdict is, on the whole, hostile to the omnipotent Minister. The general result of his examination is to acquit the responsible leaders of the reform societies between 1790 and 1794 of the wish to use force. "They meant what they said—parliamentary reform by an agitation of public opinion." This general vindication does not cover all activities of the societies in the last years before their extinction. It is impossible to speak in round terms of the English reformers in the days of the French Revolution as Constitutionalists. The spell of a vision of Utopia, and exasperation at the treatment of their efforts, tempted some to take the sword and cut their way through to Paradise. But they are only a "minority." The volume concludes with two chapters on the secondary effects of the Revolution, grouped under "reaction" and "impulse," which carry us by rapid stages down to the Reform Bill of 1832. Though containing no more than 215 pages, Mr. Brown's volume is packed with information, and every student of English politics and opinion in the closing decade of the eighteenth century will have to devote diligent attention to its pages.

G. P. GOOCH.

Forty Days in 1914. By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. MAURICE, K.C.M.G., C.B. Maps. Constable. 9s.

Topography and Strategy in the War. By D. W. JOHNSON. Maps and illustrations. Constable. 10s. 6d.

As might have been expected from a grandson of Frederick Denison Maurice, we find General Maurice accentuating the influence of the moral factor upon victory in the great war. In *Forty Days in 1914* he describes the German plan as "a *chef-d'œuvre* of Prussian militarism naked and unashamed, and, like all plans which defy the laws of morality, it contained the germs of weakness which were to bring it to failure." Looked upon from the purely military point of view, he maintains that if the plan had been carried out with the skill with which it had been drawn up by the Great General Staff it would probably have resulted in the destruction of our expeditionary force, the fall of Paris, and the occupation of Northern France; but "even so great a measure of success would not have brought victory over enemies who felt that life would not be worth while if such a plan and such methods were permitted to triumph."

There is little fear of this lesson not being given due weight by historians of the war period through which we are passing.

We are too near the great events for judgment to be passed upon the handling of the armies engaged in the great drama; we require more knowledge based upon actual orders to units, and other original documents; but no historian can afford to ignore the matter placed at his disposal by General Maurice in his lucid narrative. He lays special stress upon the elasticity given to Joffre's plans by the French practice of constantly establishing masses of manœuvre in reserve to deal with unforeseen emergencies. In spite of complete miscalculation about the strength of the German armies threatening the French left flank from the outset, and further miscalculation of time problems, the re-establishment of these masses of manœuvre enabled Joffre to win the First Battle of the Marne.

To von Kluck, the commander of the great army intended to strike the decisive blow round the extreme northern flank, the

author attributes the principal errors in execution which led to the failure of the German plan. He criticises chiefly the movement south-west of the First German Army after Le Cateau, whereby the chance was lost of overwhelming our small army, and the subsequent alteration of direction to the south-east against the flank of the French Fifth Army. He maintains that von Kluck did not give sufficient credit for recuperation to the British army, or for rapidity in assembly to the French Sixth Army. General Maurice does not support other military authors in their admiration of the skill with which von Kluck ultimately extricated his army and enabled the whole German right flank to swing back to a strong defensive position without irretrievable disaster.

British students of the Battle of the Marne will pay special attention to the reasoned conclusion that "history will decide that it was the crossing of the Marne in the early hours of the 9th of September by the British army which turned the scale against von Kluck and saved Maunoury at a time of crisis."

In *Topography and Strategy in the War*, by Prof. Douglas Wilson Johnson, of Columbia University, we have an able exposition of the topographical features of the widely spread theatres of operations, written by an enthusiast in such matters whose skill in presenting his case almost tempts the reader to reverse the old maxim that men, and not mountains, decide the fate of nations. The book is well got up and provided with clear maps and excellent photographs to illustrate the text. It was published rather late to achieve the author's purpose of enabling readers to follow the operations "with greater ease and livelier interest"; but historians, by its use, will be saved from the danger of treating land strategy as a sort of geometry worked out on plane surfaces, and they will not fall into the old trap of calculating movements by distance instead of by time. They will bear in mind that the author is an expert in topography rather than in strategy, as he shows in such passages as that in which he refers to the "compelling reason" why the German invading armies crossed Belgium, which he finds in "the topographical features of Western Europe."

Those who adhere to the old faith that men decide the fate of nations will realise that even if the whole French frontier from the Belgian coast to Switzerland had passed over a flat plain, with no obstacles to movement, the portion between Belgium and Switzerland was too limited for the Germans to hope to achieve their first object, the speedy destruction of the French army, with both its flanks resting securely upon neutral territory, and its frontage elaborately fortified.

G. G. ASTON.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE title of Dr. T. W. Rhys-Davids' paper, *Cosmic Law in Ancient Thought* (11 pp., The British Academy, 1s.), may seem rather austere and deterrent, but it is at one with our old friend sympathetic magic—or the doctrine of similars. It is not clear why the author should have assumed that Animism—or the belief in capricious action—is now accepted as covering the field of accepted beliefs. The doctrine that similar things will produce like results—that a white amulet will favour milk, a crystal amulet will clear vision, a purple amulet will hinder the intoxication of the purple grape (*a-methustos*)—has been always before us, and is still the basis of thought to many races. It is the beginning of all science, the looking for natural laws as causes which will inevitably produce the same result, and seeking to find causes by tracing some resemblance as a basis for research. Such ideas are included here in *Cosmic Law*, so-called under the influence of the Chinese development of the theory of great principles in Nature; and, though more philosophic in that form, it is one with the belief that natural forces dominate inevitably, and can be called into action by physical means. This basis is termed here Normalism, in contrast to Animism. Its greatest strength is in China; it is traced in India—largely overlaid by Animism; in Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean the traces of it are said to be slight. Yet we must remember that the amulet system, which is the earliest appeal to natural law, is dominant in Italy and much of the West, down to our carters' horse-trappings. A little archæology would usefully balance the devotion to obscure texts, where awkward passages are readily called "archaisms," and the real meaning of words is often disputable.

W. M. F. P.

THE *Tales from Indian History*, selected by A. S. Roe ("English Literature for Secondary Schools" Series, 1918, Macmillan), though attractively told, are not particularly good as tales; but as they are chosen rather to illustrate history than Indian folklore and imagination perhaps we should not complain. The young reader will end with a good notion of the character and career of one or two of the later warriors of Indian history (including Bibi Chand), and will probably be keen to hear more about Sivaji and Ranjit Singh. In the use of the series to which this little volume belongs, the main object is, of course, to excite new interest in the maps and text-books of the class.

M. H. B.

MR. MICHAEL PROTHERO's *History of India for Junior Classes* (Blackie, 1s. 6d.), intended "to be the first book put into the hands of boys when they commence to study the subject," will hardly tend to the promotion of the study, for in the attempt to simplify and reduce the immense story to the compass of 176 pages both its broad significance and the living characteristic detail have gone under to an enumeration of facts and names which would have little, if any, content to a child. No one coming to it without a knowledge of Indian literature could fail to be entangled in the jungle of impracticable names it presents, needlessly for the beginner. The founder of Jainism is introduced as "Mahavira, also

called Vandhamana or Jnatiputra," and even Buddha is rather to be known as "Siddathe, Gautama, and Sakyamuni." Surely these points might be left to the older student. On p. 54 there is an average of two difficult names per line, and even in the account of the Moguls and of the British infiltration there is little human interest. A redeeming feature in the child's eyes would certainly be the fascinating Oriental pictures reproduced, which afford exactly the detail and curious quality which the text lacks.

In the seventh edition of Dr. Vincent Smith's *Student's History of India* (Clarendon Press, 2s. 6d.) students have a book which avoids most of the pitfalls that await the writer who would summarise the whole of Indian history. His mastery of the subject enables him to give vital interest to the shortest discussion of such difficult subjects as caste, or the clash of religious beliefs under the Moguls, and to retain a true proportion in his straightforward narrative, while each great figure radiates character and personality. The book is meant for students, but though the style is adult it is clear, and even children would tackle the difficulties for the sake of such absorbing stories as Akbar's 800-mile ride "on a swift dromedary" to confound his adversaries, or Timur's "bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage"; while the author's balanced, judicial temper, shown in such passages as his estimate of Shahjahan, or his account of Warren Hastings at Benares, would automatically inculcate in his readers the true historic judgment. Such a text-book, packed with reliable matter, is invaluable to the examiner; but even severe compression has not removed from this work the hallmark of scholarship, seen as clearly as anywhere in the epilogue to the new edition.

M. E. M. J.

PROF. CONWAY'S attractive lecture on *The Venetian Point of View in Roman History*, delivered at the John Rylands Library on October 10th, 1917 (Manchester Univ. Press, 1s.), can scarcely be regarded as a serious contribution to history. The ungodly might, indeed, be inclined to call its title an example of *camouflage*. Prof. Conway's aim may best be summed up in the sentence (p. 9), "What I want to suggest here is that the truest way of judging and enjoying Livy's work is to regard him as taking an essentially Venetian point of view." That is to say that Livy, coming of the old robust Venetian stock, from a city proverbial for "simple living and high morals and an intense love of freedom," reveals these characteristics in his history, and in his rich, descriptive power and brilliant rhetoric has produced a masterpiece, which is in prose a counterpart of the great Venetian works of art of the age of Giorgione and Titian. It is true that Rome owed three of her greatest writers, Catullus, Vergil, and Livy, to Italy north of the Apennines, and that literature, no doubt, drew fresh life and vigour from the robust stock inhabiting those areas. But it matters little to our appreciation of Livy whether we call his genius Venetian or Roman. His attitude towards politics and morals is old Roman at least as much as Venetian; his rhetoric was learned in the schools; his genius was his own, and till we know much more of ancient Venetian life than we are ever likely to know, there is little profit in labelling it as essentially Venetian. It is as impossible to identify his Venetian qualities as it is to isolate or define his *Patavinitas*. It is perhaps churlish to pass such criticism on so slight and pleasant a discourse.

Prof. Conway has given an excellent picture of Livy at his best in skilfully selected extracts from the translation of Philemon Holland, and has thrown some interesting light on the all-too-shadowy Veneti. And the lecture is the work of an enthusiast, and will give real pleasure to all lovers of Livy, whatever their opinions may be as to the Venetian point of view.

H. E. B.

It is both the glory and the tragedy of the city of Rome that it can never be treated as an isolated unit. This fact hampered Mrs. O'Neill in the task of writing *Rome: A History of the City from the Earliest Times* (The Nations' Histories, Jack, 5s.), as it proved the stumbling-block of the patriots who struggled for Roman civic liberties, only to lose themselves in the tangle of Italian politics or in dreams of world-wide domination. She does her utmost to concentrate upon the story of the city, but how can that story be told without writing the history of the Roman Empire, of the Investiture Controversy, of the Risorgimento—to mention but a few of the great topics which are bound up with the name of Rome? Mrs. O'Neill is almost too conscientious. In her anxiety to omit nothing, she tends to make her history a record of names and dates, sometimes at the expense of style and lucidity. "The Council of Pisa," we read, "which met to heal the schism, increased the confusion, for both popes, whom it deposed, refusing to yield, and a third pope, a Cretan, Alexander V., having been elected (1409), things were worse than before." In default of further explanation, we fear that this sentence must "increase the confusion" for the reader who seeks light upon the Conciliar Movement. Nevertheless, she gives a straightforward and accurate account of the story of Rome throughout the ages. She is especially to be congratulated upon the sense of continuity which she contrives to give to her work as a whole. The Roman noble, in particular, stands out as the connecting link between ancient and modern, between Republic, Empire, and Papacy. The list of architectural remains given at the end of each chapter and the excellent illustrations are valuable additions to the book.

C. M. A.

In spite of the many excellent works dealing with the British Constitution, there was room for a comprehensive and succinct account of British institutions such as is contained in Mr. E. Jenks's *The Government of the British Empire* (London, John Murray, 1918, 6s. net). Mr. Jenks is eminently qualified to deal with his subject, whilst his Australian experience enables him to regard questions from a broader standpoint than that of the mere English lawyer. Oddly enough, in his account of the work of the two Secretaries of State, he fails to mention the Colonies as dealt with by the Southern Department. He further states that the Northern Secretary corresponded with *France*, Germany, etc., whereas France came under the jurisdiction of the Southern Secretary. Again, the section on "federal ties" is by no means clear. An ignorant reader would, assuredly, gather from it that South Africa was a federation, and not a union. Probably exigencies of space account for this, as the manner in which the separate life of its component parts is preserved in the Union does not admit of easy generalisation. Mr. Jenks remarks that in Quebec "the parish or *commune* has survived tenaciously. . . . Whether this fact is due to the intense feudalism

of old France, or is an evidence of strong popular resistance to that feudalism, is a problem too difficult to be handled here." So far as Quebec is concerned, we should have thought that there did not exist a problem requiring solution. We were under the impression that in French Canada there was no trace of local life, apart from relations with the lord and the curé. Assuredly, Professor Munro's researches do not show any trace of "strong popular resistance" to the feudal system. Minor points of disagreement, however, must not blind us to the fact that Mr. Jenks has produced a well-arranged book which will prove of use to students of history. H. E. E.

In his interesting and useful little essay, *Three Centuries of Prices of Wheat, Flour, and Bread* (published by the author at the Borough Polytechnic Institute, London, pp. 64, 3s.), Mr. John Kirkland, employing an intimate technical knowledge of processes and markets connected with grain and bread, has endeavoured to construct a schedule of average prices of the quarter of wheat, the sack of flour, and the 4-lb. loaf during the years 1600 to 1917. He obtains his data as far as possible from lists made by careful contemporary observers, supplemented later by official and semi-official figures. These he has handled with care and discrimination, and his exposition of the numerous pitfalls confronting the inquirer in so seemingly simple a subject as wheat prices should prove a valuable object-lesson to the young post-graduate worker, and a much-needed warning to more mature historians and economists who glibly quote and draw conclusions from bare, unanalysed figures regarding matters of which they have no technical experience. He explains the variety of factors governing the prices of wheat, bread, and flour at different periods, illustrates the effect of import duties upon them, gives a valuable *résumé* of the various Acts and assizes dealing with them, and leads to a list of averages confessedly approximate, but necessary in re-reading most historical text-books where a maximum or minimum price is usually presented as a standard price. The pamphlet closes with a chapter on "Wheat Prices during the War" (1914-17) by Mr. Arthur Barker, who discloses the real difficulties of maintaining supplies and controlling prices in Britain, and explains the expedients adopted by the Government to that end. Minor misprints occur on p. 14, l. 30; p. 20, l. 17; p. 21, ll. 31-32; p. 58, l. 30. There is a useful list of authorities at the end of the book. A. J.

In the essay awarded the Paul Reitlinger Prize, 1915 (*Economic Conditions, 1815 and 1914*, George Allen and Unwin, pp. 91, 2s. 6d.), Mr. H. R. Hodges endeavours, by means of charts and statistics, to show the changes and developments in regard to population and finance, occupation and remuneration of the workers that took place between 1815 and 1914. The work may be valuable for the statistician, but one cannot see of what use it can be to the historian, since the conclusions evolved are hoary commonplaces which to the eye of the layman seem obscured rather than illuminated by the method of treatment. Authorities are specified in the foot-notes, but there is no bibliography. A. J.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF INDIA. By V. A. Smith. xxiv+816 pp. Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d.

ARYAN RULE IN INDIA, to the Death of Akbar. By E. B. Havell. xxxii+583 pp. Harlap. 15s.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY of India: Annual Report, 1915-16. Calcutta: the Government Press. 27s. (p. 133.)

JAPANESE BUDDHISM. By A. K. Reischauer. xviii+361 pp. The Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d. (p. 246.)

ENCYCLOPÆDIA of Religion and Ethics. Ed. J. Hastings. Vol. x., Picts—Sacraments. xx+915 pp. T. and T. Clark. 32s. (p. 193.)

WAR AT SEA: Modern Theory and Ancient (Greek) Practice. By Sir R. Custance. 12s. 6d. xi+113 pp. Blackwood. (p. 232.)

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES, Bks. iii.-v. Trans. and Intro. H. N. Bate. 118 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

ARISTOTE: Constitution d'Athènes. Par G. Mathieu. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes. (p. 184.)

CICERO: Letters to Atticus. Trans. E. O. Winstedt. Vol. iii. xi+455 pp. (The Loeb Classical Library.) Heinemann. 7s. 6d.

PAGAN IDEAS of Immortality during the Early Roman Empire. By C. H. Moore. 64 pp. Harvard Univ. Press. (Milford.) 3s. 6d.

PLUTARCH: Lives of Dion, Brutus, Timoleon, Æm. Paulus. Trans. B. Perrin. ix+478 pp. (The Loeb Classical Library.) Heinemann. 7s. 6d.

LATIN EPIGRAPHY. By Sir J. E. Sandys. xxiv+324 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 12s. 6d. (p. 244.)

THE EMPEROR SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. By M. Platnauer. vii+221 pp. Milford. 12s. 6d. (p. 194.)

THE VENERABLE BEDE. By the Right Rev. G. F. Browne. xv+327 pp. S.P.C.K. 10s. (p. 324.)

THE COLLECTED HISTORICAL WORKS of Sir F. Palgrave. Vols. i. and ii., The History of Normandy and of England. Ed. Sir R. H. I. Palgrave. lvi+xxxvi+560+xli+588 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 30s. each. (p. 272.)

A HISTORY OF SPAIN. Founded on that of R. Altamira. By C. E. Chapman. xv+559 pp. The Macmillan Co. 14s. (p. 190.)

THE ORDER of St. John of Jerusalem, past and present. By Rose G. Kingsley. 160 pp. Skeffington. 4s. 6d.

CHRIST, ST. FRANCIS, and To-day. By G. G. Coulton. 203 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. (p. 245.)

THE EARLY English Customs System. By N. S. B. Gras. xiv+766 pp. Harvard Univ. Press (Milford). 15s. (p. 191.)

THE BARONIAL OPPOSITION to Edward II. By J. C. Davies. x+644 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 21s. (p. 220.)

YEAR BOOKS of Edward II.: Vol. xv., A.D. 1313. Ed. W. C. Bolland. lx+576+56 pp. The Selden Soc. (p. 324.)

THE REIGN of Henry V. By J. H. Wylie. Vol. ii., 1415-16. viii+597 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 30s. (p. 260.)

THE PEOPLE'S FAITH in the Time of Wyclif. By B. L. Manning. xvi+196 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. (p. 226.)

CURIOSITÀ STORICHE. By Benedetto Croce. Naples: Riccardi. 6 lire. (p. 263.) Papers on Naples, from the 15th century onwards.

REGISTRUM THOME MYLLYNG, 1472-92. Ed. A. T. Bannister. vi+215 pp. Hereford: the Cantilupe Soc.

ARTHUR HALL, of Grantham. By H. G. Wright. ix+233 pp. Manchester Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. (p. 211.)

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY of Phineas Pett. (1570-1647.) Ed. W. G. Perrin. civ+244 pp. The Navy Records Soc. (p. 160.)

THE FOUNDERS: Portraits of Persons who came to N. America before 1701. By C. K. Bolton. Boston, Mass.: The Athenæum. £2 10s. (p. 233.)

THE COMMERCE of LOUISIANA, 1699-1763. By N. M. Miller Surrey. 476 pp. Columbia Univ. Press (P. S. King). 17s. (p. 194.)

BRIGADIER MACKINTOSH, Jacobite (1715). By A. M. Mackintosh. iv+64 pp. Nairn: G. Bain. 4s. 6d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. By J. P. Day. vii+407 pp. Univ. of London Press. 25s. (p. 177.)

LOUISBOURG, 1713-1758. By J. S. McLennan. xi+454 pp. Macmillan. 25s. (p. 310.)

AMERICA AND BRITAIN. By Andrew C. McLaughlin. xii+186 pp. Dent. 4s. 6d. (p. 170.)

DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL. By R. H. Fox. xxiv+434 pp. Macmillan. 21s. (p. 309.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. By Max Farrand. xiii+311 pp. Jack. 10s. 6d. (p. 174.)

THE ARMED NEUTRALITIES OF 1780 AND 1800. Ed. J. B. Scott. xxxi+698 pp. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Milford). 21s.

LA RÉVOLUTION française et Le Régime féodal. Par A. Aulard (Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine). Alcan. 4.75f. (p. 318.)

LETTERE del Patrizio Zaguri a Casanova (from Venice, 1772-98). Ed. P. Molmenti. Milan: Sandron. 7 lire. (p. 273.)

LES ILES D'ALAND dans l'Histoire. Par Sven Tunberg. Paris: B. Grasset. (p. 313.)

THE PERIOD OF CONGRESSES, 1814-22. By Sir A. W. Ward. 192 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

JEWISH RIGHTS at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-La-Chapelle (1814-18). By M. J. Kohler. 109 pp. New York: The American Jewish Committee.

HISTORY OF FRANCE, 1815-1913. By E. Bourgeois. 2 vols. xiv+436+vii+416 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 21s. (p. 244.)

NOTICIAS SECRETAS de America. By J. J. y Antonio de Ulloa. VIDA del Libertador Simon Bolivar. By F. Larrazabal. Tomo I. Madrid: Editorial America. 8.50 pesetas each. (p. 132.)

HISTORIA de la Independencia de Mexico. By M. Torrente. PAGINAS de Historia Diplomatica (1810-1830). By F. J. Urrutia. Madrid: Editorial America. (pp. 302, 330.)

SANTO DOMINGO. By O. Schrönreich. xiv+418 pp. The Macmillan Co. 16s. (p. 272.)

HISTORY OF SAMOA. By R. M. Watson. Whitcombe and Tombs. 5s. (p. 243.)

LA FUNZIONE STORICA de l'Impero Britannico. By A. Crespi. Milan: Treves. 5 lire. (p. 170.)

A HISTORY of British Socialism. By M. Beer. Intro. R. H. Tawney. Vol. i. xxi+361 pp. Bell. 12s. 6d. (p. 259.)

DR. ARCHIBALD SCOTT of St. George's Edinburgh, and His Times. By the Hon. Lord Sands. ix+308 pp. Blackwood. 16s. (p. 248.)

THE DECLARATION OF PARIS, 1856. By Sir Francis Pigott. xii+452 pp. Univ. of London Press. 36s. (p. 171.)

THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-5. By J. F. Rhodes. xxii+454 pp. The Macmillan Co. 12s. 6d. (p. 221.)

POLITICAL OPINION in Massachusetts during the Civil War. By Edith E. Ware. Columbia Univ. Press (P. S. King). 7s. 6d. (p. 160.)

TREITSCHKE'S HISTORY of Germany in the Nineteenth Century. Trans. E. and C. Paul. Intro. W. H. Dawson. Vols. v., vi. xiv+652+xiv+670 pp. Jarrolds. 15s. each. (p. 219.)

THE BULGARIANS in the Past. By D. Mishew. Lausanne: Librairie Nationale des Nationalités. 8f. (p. 307.)

THE EASTERN QUESTION: an historical study. By J. A. R. Marriott. 2nd edition, revised. xii+536 pp. Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.

SECURITIES of Peace, 1848-1914. By Sir A. W. Ward. 126 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s.

HISTORY OF EUROPE, 1862-1914. By L. H. Holt and A. W. Chilton. xv+611 pp. The Macmillan Co. 14s. (p. 304.)

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, 1918. Longmans. £1 8s. (p. 306.)

L'OPERA STORICA della Filosofia. By G. Barzellotti. xxxii+427 pp. Palermo: Sandron. (p. 184.)

THE STATE. By Woodrow Wilson. Revised to Dec., 1918. By E. Elliott. v+554 pp. Harrap. 10s. 6d. (p. 259.)

LE PRINCEPE des Nationalités. Par R. Johannet. Nouvelle Librairie Nationale. 9f. (p. 130.)

CURRENT HISTORY AND POLITICS.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR. Vol. I. 1914-1915. 211 pp. 5s. SMALL ATLAS of the War. 31 pp. 3s. 6d. Issued under the auspices of the Ministry of Information. Constable.

RAEMAEKER'S CARTOON HISTORY of the War. Ed. J. M. Allison. Vol. i. 1914-15. xv+209 pp. Lane. 12s. 6d. (p. 224.)

LA CAMPAGNE de l'Armée Belge, 1914. D'après les documents officiels. Blond et Gay. 1.50f. (p. 260.)

VINGT JOURS DE GUERRE (Aug., 1914).

Par A. Grasset. Berger-Levrault. 4.50f. (p. 172.)

LUTTICH—NAMUR, und DIE SCHLACHT an der Yser in Herbst, 1914. Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Generalstabes des Feldheeres. Oldenburg: Stalling. 3mk. each. (pp. 319, 231.)

DE LIÈGE à la Marne. LA BATAILLE de Flandres. Par P. Dauzet. C. Lavanzele. 2.50f. each. (p. 260.)

DIE SCHLACHT an der Marne. Von E. Bircher. Berne: Haupt. 11s. 6d. (p. 218.)

THREE YEARS of Naval Warfare. By R. H. Gibson. xii+326 pp. Heinemann. 12s. 6d.

NOS MARINS EN GUERRE. Par H. Bornecque et G. Drouilly. Berger-Levrault. 3f. (p. 313.)

QUATRE ANS AVEC LES BARBARES. Par Martin-Mamy. Paris. La Renaissance du Livre. 5f. (p. 281.)

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE between the United States and Germany, 1914-17. Ed. J. B. Scott. 1+378 pp. Milford. 15s.

INTRIGUES (allemands) à Washington. Par G. Lechartier. Plon-Nourrit. 4f. ((p. 252.))

OUR COMMON CONSCIENCE: addresses given in America, 1918. By Sir George Adam Smith. xiii+293 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.

AMERICA in France. By F. Palmer. vi+378 pp. Murray. 7s. 6d.

NELSON'S HISTORY of the War. By John Buchan. Vol. xxii. 280 pp. 2s. 6d.

WITH THE NIGERIANS in German E. Africa. By W. D. Downes. Methuen. 15s. (p. 320.)

WAR LESSONS, New and Old. By Major-Gen. Sir George Aston. ix+272 pp. Murray. 7s. 6d.

CRONICAS de la Gran Guerra. Por Fabian Vidal. Madrid: Bibliotheca Nueva. 6 pesetas. (p. 153.)

EL FIN DE LA TRAGEDIA. By A. Alcalá Galiano. Madrid: Editorial Pueyo. 3 pesetas. (p. 281.)

RUSSIA: trade, etc. (1916). Ed. A. Raffalovich. ix+461 pp. P. S. King. 12s. 6d.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By A. Petrunkevitch, S. N. Harper, F. A. Golder. THE YUGO-SLAV MOVEMENT. By R. J. Kerner. iv+109 pp. Harvard Univ. Press (Milford). 4s. 6d.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, to Brest-Litovsk. By L. Trotsky. 149 pp. Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d. (p. 207.)

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THE NEW EASTERN EUROPE. By Ralph Butler. vii+176 pp. Longmans. 10s. 6d. (p. 191.)

L'ESTONIA e la Questione Estone. By M. Martna. Rome: A. Signorelli. 2.50 lire. (p. 258.)

POLAND (an authorised English version of "Petite Encyclopédie Polonaise"). Ed. E. Piltz. xx+416 pp. Jenkins. 6s.

INDEPENDENT BOHEMIA. By V. Nosek. xi+190 pp. Dent. 3s. 6d.

THE CHAOS in EUROPE. By F. Moore. Intro. C. W. Eliot. ix+192 pp. Putnam. 6s.

PROBLEMS of the International Settlement. Intro. G. Lowes Dickinson. xxiv+205 pp. National Peace Council. (Allen and Unwin). 6s. (p. 218.)

INTERNATIONAL WAR: its Causes and Cure. By O. T. Crosby. 378 pp. Macmillan. 12s.

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THE LEAGUE of NATIONS. By T. J. Lawrence. 110 pp. Arrowsmith. 1s. (pp. 218, 238.)

LEAGUE of NATIONS: A Chapter on the History of the Movement. By T. Marburg. viii+139 pp. Macmillan. 3s.

A REPUBLIC of NATIONS. By R. C. Minor. xxxix+316 pp. Milford. 12s. 6d.

THE POLITICAL SCENE. By W. Lippmann. New York: Holt. 4s. 6d. (p. 275.)

EXPERIMENTS in INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION. By F. B. Sayre. xi+201 pp. Harper. 6s. (p. 177.)

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THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS of Peace. By J. L. Garvin. xxiv+574 pp. Macmillan. 12s. (p. 159.)

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS of RECONSTRUCTION. By A. Milnes. 226 pp. Macdonald and Evans. 6s. 6d. (p. 270.)

CURRENT FINANCE (1915-18). By H. S. Foxwell. xvii+280 pp. Macmillan. 10s. (p. 242.)

MONEY: its connexion with prices. By E. Cannan. 66 pp. P. S. King. 2s. 6d.

THE TAXATION of Capital. By Sir A. W. Soward and W. E. Willan. xvi+408 pp. Waterlow. 18s. 6d. (p. 190.)

REPORTS of the Select Committee on National Expenditure, 1918. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 6d.

THE DIVISION of the Product of Industry (national income in 1911). By A. L. Bowley. 60 pp. Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d. (p. 136.)

TRADE PARLIAMENTS. By E. J. S. Benn. 91 pp. Nisbet. 1s.

TRADE UNIONISM. vi+128 pp. 5s. THE PAYMENT of WAGES. vi+155 pp. 6s. By G. H. D. Cole. Fabian Soc.

LABOUR in the Commonwealth. By G. H. D. Cole. 223 pp. Headley. 5s. 6d.

THE MEANING of Industrial Freedom. By G. D. H. Cole and W. Mellor. 44 pp. Allen and Unwin. 1s.

REPORT of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry. x+341 pp. H.M. Stationery Office. 1s. 6d.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. By C. H. Northcott. 302 pp. Columbia Univ. Press (P. S. King). 10s.

HISTORY

OCTOBER, 1919

THE DAWN OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE¹

EVERY student of history who takes his holiday in France or Italy will double his pleasure and his profit if he keeps in view some particular historical hobby of his own. The choice in France is large indeed, but, if he has read Mr. Tilley's book on *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, he is likely to decide on the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as his special period, and the architecture and sculpture of that age as his special subject. In the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., with that of Louis XI. in the middle distance, there is an attraction—personal, political and æsthetic—more arresting than in the obvious ostentatiousness which makes the age of Francis I. more generally known. This king's wholesale, mechanical transplantation of Italian art is not so taking as the experimental grafting of the exotic upon the native stock in the earlier reigns. French art went little further towards fusion with Italian than at the death of Louis XII., in spite of such meteoric visitors as Leonardo and Cellini, and the settlement of craftsmen so skilful as Rosso and Primaticcio. For artists who had really mastered the lessons that Italy could give we must wait for Clouet and Goujon, and for architects such as Delorme and Bullant, who had studied in Rome itself. There are no painters or sculptors genuinely

¹ *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, by A. Tilley, Cambridge, 1918; *The French Renaissance*, by A. Tilley (Helps for Students in History), London, 1919; *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, 2 vols., by A. Tilley, Cambridge, 1904; *A History of French Architecture from 1494 to 1661*, by Reginald Blomfield, London, 1911; *Architecture of the French Renaissance*, 2 vols., by W. H. Ward, London, 1911; *Twenty-five Great Houses of France*, by Sir Theodore A. Cook (Country House Library), London, n.d. (1917); "Rabelais et Jean le Maire de Belges," by A. Tilley (*Revue du seizième siècle* II., 30-33); *Hôtels et Maisons de la Renaissance française*, by P. Vitry, 1910; *Les Châteaux de France*, by J. de Foville and A. Le Sourd, 1913.

French, who until quite the close of the reign can claim the place in art that Rabelais and Marot hold in literature.

For such a holiday as we have suggested no better companion than Mr. Tilley's book could easily be found. He has seen much and read more; he is himself neither artist nor architect, nor even a professional art critic, and is therefore not too technical for the novice; nor is it his aim to prove that all previous attributions of works of art have been erroneous; he deals fairly by divergent theories, and yet is sportsmanlike enough to have a guess of his own. His book is not, indeed, confined to art; his aim is to show how France, after civil and English wars had shrivelled her artistic and literary growth, turned to the sister Latin nation for fresh bracing at a moment when the Italian Renaissance was at its breeziest stage.

Mr. Tilley in his preface to *The Dawn* tells his readers that the book was due to a suggestion that his masterly work on *The Literature of the French Renaissance* would be improved by an introduction. On taking this in hand he realised that as a sure foundation for the study of the Renaissance as an organic movement, affecting the whole life and thought of the nation, its first manifestations must be traced alike in scholarship and literature and in every form of art. Former historians, he thinks, have suffered from concentrating the vision on certain fields of activity to the exclusion of others equally important: the scholar has identified the Renaissance with Humanism, the historian of art has laid undue stress on the particular brands in which he had an interest. This is true enough, but so sumptuous a feast must needs leave just a bone or two to pick. It may be doubted whether the method of Mr. J. A. Symonds in devoting a separate volume to each of the main branches is not the wiser. Few readers can be equally interested in both sides of the subject, and even for them the section on Humanism is for the library, and that on Art for the travelling suit-case. After all, the community of spirit between the Humanist of the early Renaissance and the artist was but slight. Even in Italy the Mæcenas was, as a rule, the only link, and the case of such a prince of *virtuosi* as Leo Battista Alberti was exceptional. Mr. Tilley might doubtless plead that publishers are tiresome people, and that binders for once are coy about cloth and leather.

It is probably a pity that the word Renaissance was ever coined, for it raises so many questions which it is difficult to answer with precision. And yet precision there must be, if the movement in Thought, Art and Letters was really a re-birth, a

sudden awakening rather than a continuous growth. It becomes necessary to register the date of the birth and to connect a name with the new-born babe. Here for some of us begins the trouble, if we cannot with Mr. Tilley, and, indeed, many before him, unhesitatingly christen the infant with the name of Petrarch. "The little drawing which represents the Sorgues flowing out of a rock above Vaucluse, and is presumably by Petrarch's hand, symbolises the whole movement. The stream is the Renaissance, the rock is Petrarch." While admitting to the full Petrarch's influence upon his age, it is not easy to feel sure that the mere space of time between Dante and Petrarch, in an age intellectually and artistically very active, was not sufficient to admit of natural development, and render unnecessary a supernatural birth. Interest in the ancient world, Greek or Roman, a tendency to supersede the vernacular by Latin, and a certain wide-ranging versatility are regarded as the distinguishing characteristics of the Renaissance Humanist. Dr. Moore has given literally chapter and verse for the width of Dante's classical studies; he hesitated, as is well known, between the use of Latin and Italian; his versatility was at least as great as that of Petrarch; he is steeped in theology and political philosophy, in science and linguistics, in history and geography, in art and music. Even in scholarship Politian might have thought that there was no less wide a gap between his own Latinity and that of Petrarch than between Petrarch's and that of Dante or his contemporary, the Milanese historian, John of Cermenate, a most self-conscious Latinist. In vernacular poetry Dante realised the gradual progress towards the *dolce stil nuovo*, as in art the development from Cimabue to Giotto. It would certainly be rash to deny the possibility of gradual and continuous growth from Giotto to Masaccio, or from the sculpture of Niccola Pisano through Orcagna to Ghiberti. In Italy the superimposition of Gothic architecture upon Latin must have given way in time without the aid of the Renaissance, valuable as this was, for the Basilica and the dome were always there.

In France, fortunately, the problem becomes simpler and the solution more precise, and this owing purely to political causes. Wars there were little or big in Italy, yet the course of the Renaissance was never interrupted. Art and literature, discontinued in one city, could flee into another; there were numerous hospitable centres, and the humanist or artist could find a home in all. In the highly centralised French Monarchy any movement of the kind must almost necessarily emanate from, or be

absorbed by, the Court, while Paris was the one unquestioned capital. Here, when by invasion and civil war the Court had been discredited and Paris lost, the growth of art and letters was definitely checked; the field was almost bare, there must be, if not a *rinascimento* at least a *rifacimento*; the machinery for recultivation must be imported from Italy or Burgundy. It is indeed of interest to speculate what would have been the natural course of the earlier artistic and literary activity of the Valois Court under Charles V. and Charles VI. The former king, his brother, the Duke of Berri, his son, the Duke of Orleans, were the most prominent figures in the group. The marriage of Orleans with Valentina Visconti at the very zenith of the Milanese dynasty's splendour must have contributed to the exotic tastes of this Italianate youth, his fancy waistcoats with embroidered birds and animals and tinkling bells, his love for scents and highly-spiced dishes, his radical outlook towards the Papacy and clergy, rather individual than Gallican. The Duke of Berri was less directly affected by Italy, but he had to the full the curiosity of the Renaissance. He collected manuscripts and prehistoric bones, miniatures, gems and sculpture, and anticipated Mr. Carnegie in providing churches with the new pedal organ. The second line of Anjou was tempted by the lure of the Neapolitan succession, and was directly subjected, in spite of ultimate failure, to the traditions of the progressive dynasty which under Robert and Joanna I. had linked the earliest Renaissance to the culture of Frederick II. and Manfred. It was not unnatural that the first premonition of Italian invasion should come through Angevin Provence. René brought back with him from Naples in 1460 the medallist and sculptor, Laurana, a Dalmatian Italian, to whom is attributed the beautiful tomb in Istrian stone and black marble of René's brother, Charles Count of Maine, in the Cathedral of le Mans. This and his other probable work, the monument of Giovanni Cossa, Seneschal of Provence, at Tarascon, are the first Italian tombs in France. Laurana and his colleague, Pietro da Milano, also made medals, in the style of Pisanello, for René and his family, and even for Louis XI., yet their work left no influence upon France. It was otherwise with the closely connected House of Burgundy, which had a brilliant and early Renaissance of its own, rather allied to than dependent upon that of Italy. This Franco-Flemish school was to prove a dangerous rival to Italy throughout Northern France, a proof among others that the *langue d'oïl* was more akin to the Netherlands than to the *langue d'oc*.

The questions which chiefly interest the historian in Mr. Tilley's book are the degree in which the French Renaissance borrowed from the Italian, the direction of the national genius after the receipt of the loan, and its relation to the distinct, if allied, movement in the Burgundian Low Countries. Foreign influence might be purely mechanical, consisting in the importation of scholars or artists, books or works of art, all subsisting side by side with, or in and out of, French scholarship or workmanship, but not permeating or profoundly modifying them. Or else it might be chemical, a fusion of the national and alien elements, resulting in a product distinct from either, but showing its origin from both. This latter was the ultimate outcome alike in scholarship, letters, and each of the fine arts, but at dates separated by long intervals, and in different proportions.

It was inevitable that France must at all events borrow her scholarship from Italy, though the father of her humanistic studies, Gaguin, hailed from Burgundian Artois. He began his lectures on rhetoric in the University of Paris in 1473, and there found aid in his friend and pupil, Fichet, who had set up a printing press within the Sorbonne. By this time Italian scholarship was at its height. Its classical texts, translations from the Greek, vocabularies, grammars, collections of letters and elegant extracts must needs form the stock-in-trade of the new French teacher, while his method must be derived from Guarino, Vittorino, or Matteo Vegio. These subjects could find their place within the range of the old studies, grammar and rhetoric, but the stronghold of the *Quadrivium* long held out, and its professors confined the modernist interlopers to the after-dinner hours, much as monopolist college tutors at Oxford have been accused by professors of squeezing them into the sleepest section of the day.

The newer Latinism was, after all, a natural development, for French learning had never wholly neglected the classics. With Greek it was otherwise; this was, as earlier in Italy, purely exotic. Systematic Greek teaching began only with the arrival of Girolamo Aleandro in 1508. Lefèvre d'Étaples had indeed before this revolutionised the study of Aristotle, and Gourmont's Greek Press had just been set up in Paris. Budé, most enterprising and industrious of French scholars, had made himself, almost unaided, a sound Hellenist by 1504, and published his noble *Commentary on the Pandects* in the very year of Aleandro's arrival. This, however, was the work of an exceptional individual, who stands with Gaguin in the forefront of French

Humanists. Aleandro by his brilliant lectures to large audiences, who with cries of *vivat, vivat*, worshipped him as one fallen from heaven, made Greek a common heritage. The presence of Erasmus from time to time in Paris, and the printing there of the first edition of his *Moriæ Encomium*, added fuel to the flame of enthusiasm. Budé in 1514 proclaimed the superiority of Hellenic over Latin language and literature, and Erasmus added his weight to the manifesto. A knowledge of Greek had become the touchstone of true learning, to be later stigmatised by the Sorbonne as the language of heresy, and now degraded by scientists and headmasters as the symbol of Obscurantism. Humanism, then, was undoubtedly borrowed from Italy, and yet French and Italian Humanists were distinct. The greatest of them were never content with the classical style for its own sake. They never, in fact, attained the elegance of a Politian, nor yet of Erasmus, who in other respects was more akin to them. Language, whether Latin or Greek, was but an instrument by which to acquire the knowledge of antiquity, and to apply this to modern life, moral or religious. They thus had something in common with Pico della Mirandola, Landino, and Marsilio Ficino, but little with Filelfo, Pomponazzo, or Pietro Aretino. Strange to say, they lacked the lightness of touch and clarity of expression usually associated with the French intellect. They were one and all solid workers; they never cadged for patronage or pelf, had no silly coquetry with Paganism, never indulged in the vapourings of vanity, or the foul invectives of jealousy, the froth or the scum of Italian Humanism. Something may have been due to difference in position. The Italian scholar was often an exile or adventurer; the most celebrated of the French circle were settled members of society with private means or genuine ecclesiastical preferment. They were mainly Burgundian or Northern French. Lefèvre was born in Picardy, Gaguin in Artois, both provinces then Burgundian. Gaguin was General of his Order, the Mathurins, and was constantly employed in the service of the University or the State. Budé was a Parisian of good position. Badius, scholar and printer, was born in Ghent and educated by the Brethren of Common Life; before setting up his own press he had managed that of Trechsel at Lyons, and acted as adviser to Jean Petit, founder of the great Parisian publishing firm. The one Southerner prominent in the early Renaissance was Symphorien Champier, the versatile and well-to-do physician of Lyons. With all the purpose was education. They might well have taken for their motto *Maxima puero*

debetur reverentia; they would not have youth run riot in the classic poets; they early had scruples on the possible dangers of the new learning to Christianity. Mr. Tilley rightly corrects the legend that Budé was a Dry-as-dust. His chief works, the *Commentary on the Pandects* and the *De Asse* have valuable digressions on social and economic problems, on foreign policy, on the absolute necessity for reform of the Church from the head downwards. Lefèvre, as is well known, passed from Aristotle to Plato and the Mystics, and from the classics to theology. If ever there was a creditable, scholarly coterie—serious, unselfish, methodical and purposeful—it was that of the dawn of the French Renaissance.

French vernacular literature was, during the reigns of Louis XI., Charles VIII. and Louis XII., peculiarly sterile. It was the age of the so-called *Grands-rhétoriciens*, of whom Mr. Tilley writes: "The schools and *cénacles* which from time to time have played so conspicuous a part in French literature have produced, no doubt, much that is puerile and grotesque. But no school or *cénacle* was ever so dull or so pretentious as that school of the *Grands-rhétoriciens*, which for more than sixty years dominated French literature." Decadence stands confessed in its abuse of allegory, its bombast and exaggerated emphasis, and its "metrical juggling, which degraded poets to the level of acrobats." The school looked back indeed to Georges Chastellain (d. 1475) as its master, but Chastellain had character, the power of detaching principles from personalities, a vigour and a gift for narrative which found no echo among his satellites. They did not, it is true, know his *Chronique*, which has given him high rank among historians. Here in one single phrase he has left his mark for all time; few of the hundreds in the history schools who call Louis XI. "the universal spider" are aware that they are translating Chastellain.

There are really only two outstanding literary personalities during the three reigns, and both were, as was Chastellain, attached originally to the Burgundian Court. Whatever the literary merit of Philippe de Commynes, it is purely individual; he owes it to no school; neither the *Grands-rhétoriciens* nor the Renaissance touched him. Had he lived fifty years later, it is doubtful whether the atmosphere of the latter would have modified his style, and more than doubtful if it would have improved it. A goodly number of memoir writers of the sixteenth century would be required to weigh him down. Mr. Tilley compares him with Machiavelli, but there is really no basis for com-

parison, except that both wrote their masterpieces in the leisure of disgrace and unemployment. Machiavelli wrote a century and a half after the prime of Petrarch, while Commynes composed his Memoirs but four years later than the somewhat artificial date consigned to the dawn of the French Renaissance. Italian style had become so saturated with classical influence that it defies analysis into its natural and acquired elements. But for this it might be doubted if Machiavelli himself owed much to the Renaissance. It had supplied him with the Latin and translated Greek materials for his political education, but he was no great scholar. Dante had made fully as great a use of his more limited stock of the classics, while in political speculation Marsilius was to the full as modern.

The other writer who refreshes the literary aridity of the three reigns is Jean le Maire de Belges, a native of Bavai in Hainault (1472-1526). Less generally known than Commynes, he is a special favourite with Mr. Tilley and other modern critics, French and German. He had all the versatility of the Italian Renaissance, was poet, political pamphleteer, and historian, if of a peculiarly fanciful and uncritical type. He could organise a triumphal entry for Louis XII., and superintend the quarrying for Margaret of Burgundy's splendid Church of Brou. He was a friend of the sculptor Colombe and the painter Perréal; his enthusiasm for Italian art placed Leonardo, Perugino and Gentile Bellini above his fellow-countryman, Jan van Eyck. Like an Italian Humanist, he was seldom absent from a court, whether that of Margaret, Louis XII., or Anne of Brittany. Above all, he is the one strong link between the last of the mediævalists, the *Grands-rhétoriqueurs* and the greatest of the great new age, Marot, Ronsard, Rabelais. Educated by the Burgundian State-historian, Molinet, he was thus the intellectual grandson of Chastellain; on the other hand, his verse was inspired by the intoxication of Italian literature and art in its most pagan mood. The French modernists recognised him as their pioneer. He had corrected the scansion of Marot's first poem; he was among the poets whom Ronsard chiefly read; Joachim du Bellay praised him as the first to give lustre to the French language; again and again Rabelais re-echoes him. For him the Renaissance has brought not mere mechanical ornament, but spiritual fusion.

Among the Arts architecture was, in France, by far the most important until quite modern times; sculpture and glass-painting were but her tirewomen. Architecture was necessarily more highly organised than the individualist Arts; it struck its roots

more deeply into the national life ; it was a growth from the soil. Thus it offered a stouter resistance to Italian encroachment, especially on its ecclesiastical side. It happened, too, that when scholarship was feeling its way towards a revival of antiquity, architecture was busy in restoring and elaborating the glories of its past, and in making good the destruction wrought by a century of foreign and civil war. At Rouen, indeed, and in districts solidly occupied by the English, rebuilding had begun for some years before the treaty of Arras (1435). At so early a date French architecture must be Gothic or nothing, and Gothic it was with a vengeance. In new construction, addition or reparation, it was the age of the flamboyant. The aim of architecture, in its strictest sense, is not to provide ornament, but to attain the maximum of space, sight, and sound. This had never been the task of Gothic, except in the large and simple Franciscan churches, built at a minimum cost for large congregations to which preaching was all important. Gothic had sacrificed space to give mystery and a certain indistinctness to sight and sound, which, it must be confessed, may be more attractive, even more spiritual, when not too brilliant or too blatant. The main business of the flamboyant was not so much construction as ornamentation, the overlaying of surface-space with adornment for its own sake. In Rouen, Abbeville, Beauvais are magnificent examples of the style. Such an excess of decoration might be architecturally decadent, but it was and is extremely gratifying to the normal eye ; far from breaking with old traditions religious or æsthetic, it gave them a fresh stimulus. After all, even among modern educated tourists, how many in their heart of hearts prefer the Duomo of Florence to the Cathedral of Milan? How many take the trouble to visit the group of severely Renaissance buildings erected by Pius II. at Pienza, or Giuliano di San Gallo's neo-classic gem, Sta. Maria delle Carceri, at Prato?

Ornament is more liable to changes of fashion, and here came the chance for the Renaissance, taken timidly and tentatively, but rather early. The neo-classic decoration of egg and tongue, the shell, the medallion, the festoon, the delicate arabesque begin to replace the crocket and the gargoyle. The column gives way to the pilaster, the realistic, floreated capital to Doric and Ionic. For such ornament more unbroken surface was needed, and so the new fashion grew until it reached its zenith in Sohier's work at Saint-Pierre of Caen (1526-1535), where, in Sir Reginald Blomfield's words : "Scarcely an inch of space was left undecorated ; indeed, it is prickly with ornament

... the work of an ornamentalist not an architect." Nevertheless, actual construction was hardly modified until long after the Renaissance had obtained a firm grip on France. Mr. Tilley indeed would have it that Mansard's Church of the Visitation in Paris was the first example thoroughly on the lines of the classic Renaissance.

It is clear that the advent of relative peace would bring more change in domestic than in religious building. Policy contributed to the actual destruction of the old strongholds. Bedford had ordered the demolition of the Archbishop of Rouen's castle of Gaillon, and Louis XI. razed that of Chaumont. With the growth of absolutism the greater nobles became more and more a courtly aristocracy, taking its cue from the Crown, which had its rural centre in the Loire valley. In town or country the wealthy merchant, or financial official, or great ecclesiastic would indulge in more ornament, air, and sunshine. Charles VII.'s financier, Jacques Cœur, may be regarded as the first French modern man, the first universal provider, the first monopolist, the prince of profiteers. Naturally, therefore, his house at Bruges (1443) has been taken as the pioneer in urban domestic comfort. But in this house, though Jacques Cœur himself is called a true precursor of the Renaissance, there is no Renaissance art. The path to comfort does not lie through the Renaissance alone. A Gothic house may be entirely comfortable, though we have known a distinguished hereditary architect condemn in no measured terms his father's flamboyant fender, which stood up at one end when the foot was placed upon the other. Perhaps in this connection too much importance may be attributed to type. Modernity as opposed to mediævalism is accepted as the keynote of the Renaissance, yet the older Venetian palaces, Gothic as they may be, are more essentially modern than the more classical homes of the Pitti, the Medici, or the Strozzi. Palladio spoke the last word of Renaissance architecture; yet many Palladian houses in Vicenza are but new masques on old faces, and sometimes the old arched eyebrows show above the more fashionable horizontal window line. The French château would doubtless have grown into the modern country-house without Renaissance aid, as is proved by the description of Louis XI.'s home at Plessis-lès-Tours, with its wealth of window, and its sunny galleries over the open cloisters. Many purely French châteaux still exist, conforming outwardly to the old type, with drawbridge and fortified gateway, machicolations and battlements, yet giving evidence of a more ordered and peaceful life. The best known are Chaumont and Langeais, both outwardly repellent, and an excellent example

is Plessis-Bourré, built by Louis XI.'s favourite, Jean Bourré, which may be said to correspond with our Hurstmonceaux, though it is not, as was his master's Plessis-lès-Tours, built of brick.

Nevertheless, the process of modernisation would have taken longer but for the Italian wars of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. These changed the fashion. To explain this change Mr. Tilley gives a full account of every stage in Charles VIII.'s march to Naples, setting out every work of Italian art that he saw, or might have seen, for he confesses that the king may not have been so conscientious as the modern tourist, Baedeker in hand. Now, once more, ornament, being the more obvious, took precedence of construction. Thus, though Charles formed a colony of Italian architects at Amboise, which he had begun in 1488, and though the chief of these, Fra Giocondo, the architect of the beautiful Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona, was one of the foremost of his day, for long years the structure of a French château was scarcely altered. The ground plan might be more symmetrical, if the site permitted, greater space is given to windows, and the Italian practice of alternation in their shapes appears; horizontal lines replace vertical; the open *loggia* with the gallery above is a more usual feature. In surface decoration progress was more rapid. Pilaster and entablature provide the surface for arabesque with all its stock of candelabra, dolphins, and birds, and naked children; the Italian rage for garlanded medallions with busts of Cæsars or philosophers infected France. Some of these features appear in Le Verger, the home of Pierre de Rohan, Maréchal de Gié, the first important château built after the Neapolitan war. A much greater advance of Italian influence was marked by Cardinal Amboise's magnificent château of Gaillon (1507-1512), as might be expected from one who for years had his eyes fixed on the Vatican. Yet, be it noted, the Italian traveller, Antonio de Beatis, pronounced it in 1517 to be not so well designed or so comfortable as Le Verger. From the completion of Gaillon there are but some six years to pass to the beginnings of Chenonceaux and Azay-le-Rideau, which were almost too early to be affected by Francis I.'s new Italian colony at Fontainebleau. An instructive comparison may be made between Plessis-Bourré, one of the earliest of liveable castles, and Azay-le-Rideau, which was and is a comfortable country house. Nevertheless, none of these châteaux were really Italian or neo-classic, though their owners, perhaps, thought them so. The architectural features were still French with small exceptions; the ornament only, as it were, *appliqué* to the struc-

ture was genuinely Italian. Another quarter of a century must pass before chemical fusion was complete, resulting in a new product, the architecture of a French Renaissance. Even so, the high-pitched roof, the dormer windows, the prominent chimneys still survived. The French château is in outline quite unlike the great Italian villa.

French sculpture and painting would naturally give evidence of Italian influence earlier than did architecture. The individual artist was more open to new ideas than the close corporations of master-masons, and, moreover, statuary and pictures, unlike churches and palaces, were portable. As long indeed as architecture progressed on flamboyant lines, there would be a demand for native sculpture, whether isolated figures for niches, or groups for Pietàs and entombments, which were favourite gifts from religious guilds. For these purposes throughout Northern France Burgundian art, radiating from Flanders or Dijon, was pre-eminent, a type realistic, vigorous, instinct with religious feeling, and therefore popular and appropriate. An opening, however, for Italian art was found in the monument, which became the personification of family pride. It may indeed be classed rather with domestic than with ecclesiastical sculpture. The self-same magnates who would build or alter their châteaux and hôtels on Italian lines would erect a purely Italian monument in a wholly Gothic church or family chapel. The more elaborate kneeling figure was not necessarily Italian; the first, indeed, that which Louis XI. ordered for himself at Cléry, was the work of a French sculptor, but it afforded more scope for a new decorative fashion, and was in itself a breach with the tradition of a recumbent figure. The latter still held its own, but the slab must be raised to give it greater prominence, and its base more highly ornamented. Most of the great tombs which still exist, or of which there are records, are of those royal personages, soldiers or statesmen who took part in the Italian wars, such as those of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., formerly at Saint Denis; of Cardinal Amboise at Rouen; Raoul de Lannoy, Governor of Genoa, at Folleville; and Philippe de Commynes at the Grands-Augustins in Paris. It is natural that this last, ordered for himself by a member of the Italian Committee, Envoy to Genoa, Florence and Venice, should be, as is the chapel which contains it, one of the most purely Italian works in this early period.

If the work of Laurana for the House of Anjou, already mentioned, be excepted, the importation of Italian sculptors began with Guido Mazzoni (Paganino), of Modena, whom Charles

VIII. employed with other Italians in his colony at Amboise, and whose stay in France outran the life of Louis XII. Under the latter came Antonio della Porta and his nephew, Luigi Gaggini, while the Giusti, a Florentine family, became naturalised, and set up a family *atelier* at Tours. Not only the sculptor but his materials were imported; Carrara marble came into general use. Figures were carved in Italy, especially at Genoa, and shipped to Marseilles. Hence came the beautiful monument of Raoul de Lannoy, and the figures for the large monument erected by Louis XII. to the two previous generations of the House of Orleans, Louis and Valentina Visconti, and their sons, Charles and Philip. Gaillon was full of work made in Italy as well as that sculptured on the spot. Florimond Robertet, Treasurer of France, was the happy possessor of a bronze David by Michel-Angelo, originally intended by the Republic of Venice for the Maréchal de Gié, but, after his disgrace, passed on to the statesman whose control of foreign policy was foreseen. Meanwhile, side by side with the more or less desirable aliens was working a veteran French sculptor of high repute, Michel Colombe, probably a Breton, who became associated with the School of Tours. To him very doubtfully has been attributed the celebrated entombment of Solesmes (1494-96), where the elaborate scene, with its eleven figures wholly French, is flanked by two pilasters, with naked *amorini* perched upon tiers of candelabra, distinctively Italian. This has become the battleground between two schools of critics, the nationalist regarding it as the climax of French development, which alien influences checked, and the Italianist welcoming it as the beginning of the Renaissance movement. Colombe undoubtedly had a large share in the fine monument erected by Anne of Brittany to her father and mother, and executed the St. George and the Dragon from Gaillon, now in the Louvre. Mr. Tilley and Sir Reginald Blomfield are diametrically opposed as to the merits of the latter, and the share of Colombe in the former. As discussion would be too lengthy for these pages, readers of HISTORY must visit Nantes Cathedral and the Louvre, to judge for themselves on the talent of the sculptor who stands at the junction of the fresh Italian and the turbid Flemish streams.

The history of French painting in this period is intricate, and the Exhibition of Primitives in 1904 provoked so much expert argument that it left puzzlement worse puzzled. Jean Fouquet, the one prominent artist of the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI., was scarcely touched by the Renaissance. His work was essentially French, though he doubtless learnt much from

the great Flemings, while he shows in his backgrounds an appreciation of classical and neo-classical buildings. These he had actually seen, for, strange to say, he had, between 1443 and 1447, executed a portrait of Eugenius IV. in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. His mural works at Tours and Plessis-lès-Tours have disappeared, and the larger portraits attributed to him lack documentary evidence. His true greatness is seen in his miniatures, the most interesting of which, to historians, is that of Louis XI. presiding over his own Order of St. Michael. He is said to have coloured the model made by Colombe for this king's monument. After Charles VIII.'s invasion importation of pictures became frequent; he had many sent home from Naples, which passed to Anne, and her second husband's invasion of Milan added to her store. Florimond Robertet owned a picture by Leonardo, whom Cardinal Amboise tried to secure for the decoration of the Chapel of Gaillon; he had to content himself with Solario, no mean artist. The mechanical influence of French art upon Italian had now begun to reach its climax under Francis I.

The shadowy figure of Jean Perréal must not altogether vanish from our survey, for it is the source of one of the chief controversies on French painting. Perréal enjoyed a high reputation, but has left no well-attested picture. On the other hand, there are from six to eight closely allied fine pictures, for the painter of which only a nickname, *le maître de Moulins*, has been found. A bevy of paintings without an artist, and a prolific artist without a surviving picture, form indeed a coat-tail trailed before the experts. This much is known, that Perréal was, as also the nicknamed artist, in the service of Pierre de Beaujeu and his wife Anne, daughter of Louis XI. The gem of the group, the portrait of a young girl, is of much interest to historians, for it almost certainly represents their daughter Suzanne, who brought her huge fortune to her cousin, the Constable Bourbon, tempting the cupidity of Francis I.'s mother, Louise, and bringing the Constable to ruin, treason, and death upon the ramparts at the Sack of Rome.

These pages are but a summary of Mr. Tilley's valuable book. He has also just published a sketch of the French Renaissance as a whole. This means, we hope, that he means to write a substantial work on its artistic side, to balance his two volumes on its literary products. This would prove that he himself possesses that characteristic of the Renaissance by which he sets so much store, Versatility.

E. ARMSTRONG

NATIONALITY

THREE writers¹—all, as it chanced, known to the writer of this article—have addressed themselves of late to the solution of a riddle which the Sphinx of history is propounding to our generation. "What is a nation," the impassive Sphinx inquires, "and what are the rights that belong to a nation?"

"What is a nation?" "The product of various concurrent forces"—Lord Bryce cautiously replies, adducing as examples of such forces race, language, religion, a common literature and common memories—"which have given to a section or group of men a sense of their unity, as the conscious possessors of common qualities and tendencies which are in some way distinctive, marking off the group from others, and creating in it the feeling of a corporate life." In this answer we may note the last two phrases, which imply, or seem to imply, that a nation is something exclusive, something "marked off" from other similar things, and again that it has the "feeling" (if not, perhaps, the fact) of a "corporate life," which demands (so one may guess) some measure of autonomy for its expression. The implications of Lord Bryce's definition seem to become explicit in that of Professor Muir. A nation is "a body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities which are so strong and real for them that they can live happily together, are dissatisfied when disunited, and cannot tolerate subjection to peoples who do not share these ties." It is obvious from the concluding words of this definition that Professor Muir assumes—apparently without doubt or examination—that a nation is, or should be, a State, and that it has a right (a sort of "natural right") to political independence. This is a large assumption, and in fact a *petitio principii*. It is a grave question, needing much deliberation, whether nations, as such, ought also to be States; and to demand an affirmative answer in a pre-

¹ Viscount Bryce, *Essays and Addresses in War-time*, Macmillan and Co., 1918 (chapter vii); A. E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, Chatto and Windus, 1918 (chapters ii.-iv.); Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, Constable, 1916 (chapter ii.); *The Expansion of Europe*, 1917; *National Self-Government*, 1918.

liminary definition of terms is to evade the core and gist of the riddle that stands in debate. Mr. Zimmern's definition makes no such demand. On the contrary—so far as political rights are concerned—it contains a piece of significant reticence. A nation—so runs Mr. Zimmern's definition, thrice repeated in three different chapters—is “a body of people united by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy, and dignity, related to a definite home-country.” In this definition it is the silence that is really suggestive. As Mr. Zimmern develops his argument, this silence, already suggestive, becomes very definite. A nation, he believes, has no necessary right to a separate and independent political existence. There is no divine right of the nation to govern itself. The rights of a nation are *social* rights. They belong to the sphere of education and literature, but not to the sphere of politics. The members of a nation should be free to be educated in their own schools, by their own Press, in their own way, according to their own culture; but politically they may be members of a State too broad and too wide in its membership to be limited to a single nation.

In many ways, and for many reasons, it is impossible not to sympathise with Mr. Zimmern. History does not prove that a nation should be a State, or a State a nation. On the contrary, it shows that a single nation may be divided, and live its best life while it is divided, in a number of States; and, conversely, that a State may embrace, and embrace in contentment and prosperity, a number of nations. Ancient Greece is an example of the first possibility; the Roman Empire in its best days, and the British Empire of to-day (or at any rate, one hopes, of to-morrow) are examples of the second. The example of ancient Greece is peculiarly interesting. The Greeks were, and knew that they were, a nation. They were, as Herodotus remarks in a famous passage, of one blood, one tongue, one religion (“with common shrines and sacrifices to the Gods”), and one culture (“with ways of life after the same fashion”). Plato, in a passage of the *Laws*, almost repeats Herodotus: he speaks of one stock, one speech, one religion, one law. We may roughly paraphrase Herodotus and Plato by saying that the Greeks had a common stock of ideas, both about the other world and about the right way of behaviour in this world, and a common language (in spite of varieties of dialect) for communicating their ideas, and that, on the strength of these common elements, they regarded themselves as constituting a single society. But if they were one society, they were not, and they were resolved not to be, one

State. The State in which they believed, and in which they lived, was a city; and they had many cities, and therefore many States. These Greek City-States gave their members the good life they sought, and gave it fully and abundantly. A national Greek State would have been pitched on a lower key, and would have made a poorer music. A prophet of nationality in Greece who identified the nation with the State would hardly have been a prophet of progress. The national State would have been a bigger thing; but is the Big necessarily the Good?

The Greeks, then, did not identify the national society with the political State. Mr. Zimmern, who, if any man, understands "the Greek Commonwealth," has good precedent for the distinction which he seeks to draw between the nation and the State. To Professor Muir, a modernist, the Greeks are perhaps old-fashioned. His interest is in the nineteenth century; and his reading of the nineteenth century leads him to believe that "every nation has a *right* to freedom and unity"—in other words, that nationality is a political principle, and that nations either are or ought to be States. He accepts as "the culmination of modern history" this principle, which has been at work—not without rivals—for about one hundred, or at the most for four hundred, years (the recorded history of our race is now about seven thousand years old); and he thinks that its out-and-out acceptance might bring "good hope of a cessation of strife." The same principle of a "divine right of nationality" to an independent political expression would also appear to commend itself to Lord Bryce. He sees, indeed, the practical difficulties in the way of its application; and he occupies himself in examining those difficulties in the different areas of Europe and Asia in which they present themselves. Against Lord Bryce and Professor Muir Mr. Zimmern takes his stand with a totally different principle. He denies their major premiss. Nationality, he asserts, is a social fact—and therefore (if we may father upon him a paradox which he may himself reject) it is a matter for the individual. It is a social fact in the sense that it belongs to the area of education and social intercourse; it is a matter of wearing kilts, or talking dialect, or keeping Saturday instead of Sunday, or educating your children in a traditional way. Now these things are all things that touch the individual in his daily life; and that is the sense in which this "social" nationality is really individual. It is not a matter of a corporate life finding corporate expression in a political structure controlled by the common action of all the corporators; it is a matter of individual tastes and fancies—

which happen, it is true, to agree with those of many other individuals—finding free play within a State which eschews all interference with these manifestations of the individual's liberty.

One's heart warms to a brave heretic—particularly if one is inclined to a little gentle heresy on one's own account. Some, indeed, of Mr. Zimmern's heresies are perhaps really exaggerated orthodoxies; and his adoration of the State and its "Statehood" (to use the vocabulary of the *Round Table*)—an adoration which is the other side of his doubts about the nation and its "nationhood," and leads him, incidentally, to throw as much doubt on internationalism as upon nationalism—excites heretical feelings in the writer of these lines. Not all of us would agree that the State (as Mr. Zimmern makes Aristotle say; but where did he say it?) is "a sovereign association, embracing *and superseding* all other associations." But we may dismiss, in spite of all temptations to controversy, this reverse side of Mr. Zimmern's views on nationality, and we may turn at once to some appreciation of their obverse and obvious side. Roughly, he desires a moderate and non-political nationalism, manifested in the realm of social life and social intercourse and education, as an antidote to the vapid and *banal* cosmopolitanism which the agglomeration of all types in the great industrial machinery of our times is tending to produce. He sees two extremes and a golden mean. One extreme is that of denationalised, delocalised, deracinated cosmopolitanism; it is represented by the Argive greengrocer, at home on holiday from the U.S.A. in ancient Argos, who, being asked by Mr. Zimmern if he thought of marrying in his old country, replied: "Not on your life. I mean to marry an American girl. Think of the custom I shall get from my wife's relations." The other extreme is that of fervent, exclusive political nationalism: it is represented by the Balkan prince, who, being promised in a dream any boon he craved, with the proviso that a double portion of that boon should descend on the people of a neighbouring nation, prayed that all his people might be smitten blind of one eye. Between the Argive greengrocer and the Balkan prince Mr. Zimmern erects a figure of animated moderation, which (as it were) wears trows and speaks Gaelic, but does not and will not care about nationalist politics, though it is willing to pay homage (apparently) to the Statehood of a great multi-national State or Commonwealth. Nationality thus appears "not as a political creed for oppressed peoples, but rather as an educational creed for the diverse national groups of which the industrialised and largely migratory democracies in our large

modern States must be increasingly composed." As Mr. Zimmern says in another place, it is "not a political, but an educational conception."

There are thus three factors in Mr. Zimmern's thought. The first is a belief in the great State or Commonwealth, such as the British Empire, which "embraces and supersedes all other associations." This belief in the great political society, not resting on any one nationalist basis, or on anything peculiar or particular, but ordered to universal ends of liberty and law—this belief, in spite of its elements of truth and in spite of its nobler aspects, seems almost to run to an adoration or *proskynesis* of political organisation that is Hellenistic rather than British. And this first factor is also the dominant factor; the two others are secondary and consequential. These two other factors are a grading and a classification of nationality as something in the sphere not of the State, but of society (belonging, as Hegel would say, not to *der Staat*, but to *der bürgerliche Gesellschaft*), and a doubt and fear—at any rate in the earlier essays in Mr. Zimmern's book; there is a modification in the later essays—a doubt and a fear of international organisation that interferes untimely or too rudely with the sovereign State. These, then, are the factors of Mr. Zimmern's philosophy; what are the causes and reasons of his embracing that philosophy? In the first place, he belongs himself to the Jewish nationality; and that nationality (perhaps in this respect unlike other nationalities, and perhaps, therefore, not a safe basis for generalisation) has been content to exist in the social sphere, being a nationality of the dispersion, and has not claimed political expression or independence. In the second place, he belongs to the *étatistes* of the Round Table; and the Round Table, dealing in terms of mechanics rather than of biology, thinks rather of political structures and systems than of national groups and their growth. It is perhaps for this latter reason that Mr. Zimmern appears to think that Nationalism is a peculiar product of Europe, and that elsewhere, "if left to itself, it would slowly die of inanition"—an implication which hardly seems just or true when one thinks of the growth of Nationalism in Australia or Canada or South Africa, or, again—most striking of all instances—in the United States, where the war appears to have produced a degree of Nationalism before unknown.

To Mr. Zimmern the State which is based on Nationalism is based on the particular, and not on the universal—on a particular national temperament and point of view, and not on the universal principles of law and justice, of liberty and equality.

There is much propriety in this accusation, especially as it affects the German State, and the German theory of the State, of the last fifty years; and there is much truth in Mr. Zimmern's paradox that it was the Germans and their allies, and not Great Britain and her allies, who were the protagonists of Nationalism during the war. The Germans identified the "folk" with the State, and grounded the State on "folk-will" and "folk-right" to so dire an extent, and to such sad confusion of universal principles of right and wrong, that they were ultimately ready to condone their violation of the neutrality of Belgium on the plea of what one may call "folk-necessity." It is not good that a State should be based peculiarly or primarily on Nationalism. But if Nationalism is a poor foundation, perhaps it is a necessary, or at any rate a very useful, mortar. It supplies a cohesion, or unity of sentiment, to the various members living in the shelter of a political structure, which goes a long way to keep that structure together. In the old days loyalty to a common monarch kept the State at unity; in these days—more equalitarian and more republican—the sentiment of a common national brotherhood seems to take the place of filial devotion to a patriarchal king. At any rate one thing is sure—and that is that you cannot at present confine Nationalism, as Mr. Zimmern is eager to do, to the social side of life. It is easy to make dichotomies and divisions; but the penetrating and percolating waters of life ooze through the dams and banks of logic. "The State for politics; Nationalism only permitted in social intercourse"—one may erect the warning; but will it be obeyed? Will it be obeyed on *either* side? Will the State refrain from interfering with social manifestations of Nationalism, or social manifestations of Nationalism refrain themselves from spilling over (or—perhaps it is better to say—blazing up) into political issues? Experience—the actual record and digest of facts—gives a negative answer. The State does actually interfere with the social manifestations of Nationalism, such as the use of a vernacular speech in the Press or in schools. It has done so in Germany; it does so, according to the testimony of French Canadians, in the Dominion of Canada; and the reason for what it does is its sense of the increased cohesion due to the use of a single common speech in daily intercourse. Perhaps the State is foolish in what it does—you only encourage a vernacular literature when you try to discourage it by the use of force—but the point of importance for our argument is simply the fact that it actually makes the attempt. *Vice versa*, social manifestations of Nationalism cannot

but tend to issue in political aspirations and propaganda. Mr. Zimmern seems to expect that you may have a Gaelic League for the use of Erse, and never proceed to think of an Irish Republic. Actually you do proceed to think of an Irish Republic. Mr. Zimmern argues that this result only follows "when arbitrary government, by repressing the spontaneous manifestations of nationality, lures it into political channels." But the British Government has not repressed the "spontaneous manifestation" of the desire to speak Erse. This instance of Ireland, it would seem, is somewhat adverse to Mr. Zimmern's philosophy. Indeed, that philosophy becomes somewhat inconsistent with itself when Mr. Zimmern applies it to Ireland. He writes in one passage of the soul of the true Irish Nationalist as satisfied, when he knows that "somewhere Irish life is being lived under true Irish conditions"—the "somewhere" being "in the definite home-country" which, it will be remembered, is part of his definition of nationality. But "the living of an Irish life in Ireland under true Irish conditions" surely means something political; and to nine Irishmen out of ten (outside Ulster) it would mean an Irish Republic. *Ergo*, Irish Nationalism, even in Mr. Zimmern's sense of the word, ultimately issues "somewhere" into politics.

The theory of an exclusively "social" Nationalism is one which has long been familiar in that mosaic of nationalities—Austria-Hungary. Msr. Eisenmann, in *Le Compromis*, has discussed the various theories of the "rights of nationality" which a State so rich in nationalities has produced. Some writers (he explains) have taken pride in the multi-national character of their State. These writers would tell Mr. Zimmern, who sets his hope "not in the Nation-State, which is only a stage, and in the West an outworn stage . . . but in States which find room for all sorts and conditions of communities and nations"—they would tell him (or they would have told him, before the war shattered Austria-Hungary into fragments) that his hopes were already realised in Austria-Hungary. He is not likely to be comforted by receiving any such news. He has, as it were, an assignation with the British Empire in his hopes of a multi-national State; and when Austria-Hungary turns up instead to keep the assignation, he is likely to look ruefully upon her. But Austria-Hungary remains worthy of study. Many of her thinkers had come upon Mr. Zimmern's philosophy—that nationality belongs to social life, and is a matter for each individual in his daily intercourse with other individuals; and they had pitted their philosophy

against the counter-philosophy of those who held that nationality belonged to political life, and was a matter for the corporate nation seeking to find political emancipation and embodiment. The school to which Mr. Zimmern inclines has not been victorious. Nationality has proved in Austria-Hungary that it is a political fact. Mr. Zimmern, like the Austro-Hungarian thinkers to whom he is akin, wrote before the collapse of the multi-national Austrian State in November, 1918.

Yet on the whole it may be said that Mr. Zimmern administers shrewd thrusts to the easy-going Victorian cult of nationality (as embodied in Kossuth and Garibaldi) which survives in an eloquent simplicity in the pages of Professor Muir. He presents a point of view new to many of us, and presents it freshly, new smelted, as it were, from the ore of his own experience. He can understand the artificial and factitious character which Nationalism can assume in the Balkans, where journalists can fan (and indeed create) nationalist passions by articles composed over the midnight oil (how much literary propaganda may go to the making of a nation!), and where bishops may distribute rifles to guerilla bands for purposes which one may gently call by the name of national (here synonymous with that of religious) proselytisation. He realises the difficulties of the whole question; but his solution can hardly stand. It is really impossible to draw a firm line and to say "Thus far and no further" to Nationalism. Nationalism may never reach that line, or it may overflow it; but it will not be greatly affected by the line in any case. Nationalism is one of the fundamental human sentiments, like religion. Like other human sentiments (just because it is human) it may make for good, and it may make for evil. It may make for good, in developing a new aspect or facet of humanity—a new way of looking at life, peculiar to some single nation; it may make for evil, in narrowing the mind and its outlook, in intensifying oppositions, in dividing peoples and countries. Sometimes the fullness of the good it can do will only come if it attains political expression; sometimes the unbinding of political Nationalism may only be the unbinding of Satan. Exclusive introspective Nationalism of the German type has been a worse scourge to Europe than any nomadic incursion from Central Asia. A broad inclusive Nationalism after the heart of Mazzini—a Nationalism which makes a nation ask itself, "What can I do for the world?" and then go and do it—this may well be a light to lighten humanity.

The writer has dwelled long on Mr. Zimmern, and has left

himself little space for dealing with Lord Bryce or Professor Muir. Lord Bryce, writing a year ago, is chiefly concerned with the application of the principle of nationality to the coming negotiations for peace; Professor Muir, who has written three volumes round the theme of nationality during the war, is concerned to prove that, of four developments which a review of modern history suggests, the growth of the idea of nationality is the first, and the foundation of all the rest. Lord Bryce can see spots in the sun of Nationalism, and can admit that it has led to quasi-religious wars as terrible as the religious wars of the sixteenth century; Professor Muir appears to be too much blinded by the sun to maintain any critical poise. He can defend Nationalism by saying that the German interpretation of it is not Nationalism, but racialism—an assertion which involves a curious twisting of the sense of the word “race.” He can lay down the proposition (it is true with the qualification that it is “loosely” asserted) that “every nation has a right to freedom,” but he never explains what this freedom is, or why every nation has a right to it. He can write that “the principle of nationality . . . asserts that the unity of sentiment which we call the national spirit constitutes the only sound basis for the organisation of the State”; but he does not tell us why this should be the case, and he never examines Lord Acton’s contention (which Mr. Zimmern more than once quotes) that the principle of nationality ruins the true universal character of the State. But nationality in Professor Muir’s hands is a Protean thing; and it is difficult to grip his terminology firmly. In one sentence Britain is a “super-nationality,” which incorporates, without weakening, four nationalities; in the next we are confronted with the “nationhood” of the British Empire.

As the connotation of Nationalism seems to vary in Professor Muir’s view, so do its connections. It is connected with war, in the sense that (in spite of its right to freedom) “nationhood must mainly determine itself by conflict”; it is connected with peace, in the sense that “if the whole of Europe could once be . . . divided on national lines, there might be good hope of a cessation of strife.” In the volume on the *Expansion of Europe* it is connected with imperialism; it is no accident, we are told, that “all the great colonising Powers have been unified Nation-States, and that imperial activities have been most vigorous when national sentiment has been strongest.” In the volume on *National Self-Government* Nationalism is connected with democracy: “the national spirit has alone made modern self-government possible”;

"the era of national unification was also the era of constitutional settlement—the triumph of Nationalism was the decay of revolutionism." But this Protean and elusive spirit, though it seems inconsistent in its manifestations, appears in the pages of Professor Muir to be uniformly beneficent. Of the Satanic aspect which it can assume—of its dividingness; of its exclusiveness; of the atmosphere of a forcing-house which it can generate for rancours and animosities—we hear little or nothing. Yet surely the historian—sweeping on broad pinions over the past, and remembering the days of City-States, of Hellenistic monarchies, of the Roman Empire, of the mediæval polity—must recognise that Nationalism is a fairly recent, perhaps a temporary, and at any rate a mixed force. Nationalism is not all; and patriotism—so far as it is based on Nationalism—is not enough.

For Nationalism, after all, is only one of the bases on which men can organise their group-life. There are other and rival bases. There is the basis of even-handed law and equal liberty, which gives us the State. There is the basis of contiguity, which gives us the geographical region within whose bounds men buy and sell and meet in many other ways. There is the basis of common occupation, which gives us the organised guild or *syndicat*. All these bases, and all the structures built on these bases, are rivals with one another to-day. There is the nation, and there is also the State; there is the region, and there is also the occupation. Some men are Nationalists, and some are *Étatistes*; some men are Regionalists, and some are Occupationalists—or, as the name generally goes, Syndicalists. The interest of the hour in which we live is the struggle of these different conceptions. Two of them are in high fashion—two which are not very compatible with one another—Nationalism with one set of thinkers, Syndicalism with another. Nationalism can make its peace with the State, and, in the form of Collectivism, it can come to terms with Socialism. Syndicalism is the enemy of the nation, and no friend of the State. While Nationalism and Syndicalism fight, there may be a chance for the State—a State, one may hope, based on contiguity and brotherly neighbourliness—to come by its own. After all, it is in some ways better—better and easier—to love one's neighbour than to love one's kinsman or fellow-national. Neighbourliness is a quiet virtue—quiet but deep and permeating. It is a virtue that pays. To get on well with one's neighbours across the water, or 'across the ridges, means business ties and common economic interests. That is why the economist is enamoured of contiguity as a basis

of political grouping ; but the political theorist may well share his affection. There is one great thing about neighbourliness : it can grow to include more and more, while Nationalism is limited to the given number of its nationals. For the extent of a neighbourhood, and the number of persons included in a neighbourhood, depend on the communications that make the neighbourhood. Steam has made neighbourhoods of vastly greater scope. The internal combustion engine, working in motor car and aeroplane, is making neighbourhoods greater still. It is along these lines that some of us can confidently and quietly look forward to a time when the whole of our planet will be one connected neighbourhood, and, one hopes, a single connected commonwealth. In that day Mr. Zimmern's vision may be realised ; and Nationalism may become an undisturbed and undisturbing factor of social life, while over its head, based on the fundamental neighbourliness of humanity, and ordered to the common human ends of law and liberty, the universal State moves on its solemn task.

ERNEST BARKER

NOTES AND NEWS

WITH the present number we begin the publication of a tabular statement of the historical research done in English universities by candidates for higher degrees. It has been prepared by members of a committee appointed by the Council of the Association, and notable assistance has been rendered by Professors Firth and Tout and Mr. Coulton, while other Professors of History in the various universities have kindly supplied much information; but the bulk of the work has been done by Miss Davis. The design was to arrange the statement in the alphabetical order of the universities, but it was found impossible to adhere to it without still further delaying the first instalment of the list. We hope to keep it up to date and to make a notice of this university research a regular feature of HISTORY.

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We are in this respect only following the example of the *American Historical Review*, which has for some time past been rendering this service to American students of history; and it is hoped that even to them this list will prove of some value. For an increasing number of American students write theses on English history, and it is well for them to know what work has been and is being done by others. It is also well to know where it is being done in order that graduates from abroad coming to England to prosecute their researches may have some idea where to seek the guidance they require. *A fortiori* should English students know what is being done in English universities, and the correspondence involved in the preparation of this list has already led to steps being taken by university authorities to preserve and render accessible theses rewarded by degrees. The list might even be of use to authorities making appointments to historical lectureships and to editors in search of competent reviewers of historical works.

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A short History course was held at Eton from August 25th

to September 3rd under the auspices of the Board of Education, and was attended by about forty masters, from practically every type of secondary school. It included two lectures on "Naval History" by Mr. H. W. Hodges, of the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth; lectures on the "History of Agriculture" and "The Industrial Revolution" by Mr. Hugh de Havilland; two lectures on "Imperial History" by Dr. A. P. Newton, of the University of London; lectures on "History Teaching" by Mr. C. H. K. Marten, and on the "Teaching of Civics and Economics" by Mr. C. H. Blakiston, both of Eton College; lectures on the "Teaching of Historical Geography" and on "New Points of View on the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (dealing particularly with the American Revolution, the effect of the French Revolution on England, and the Crimean War) by Mr. C. Grant-Robertson; a lecture on "Science and History" by Mr. F. S. Marvin; and a lecture on "Gibbon's View of Mediæval History" (showing the value of Freeman, Guizot, and Gibbon to the History teacher) by Mr. H. W. C. Davis.

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The following subjects were discussed: (1) The syllabus for boys from twelve to sixteen years of age; (2) advanced courses; (3) the value of school historical societies (the outcome of this was that the Historical Association was asked to take up the question); and (4) the present first school examination of the different universities (several recommendations were sent to the respective universities). The following general resolutions were passed unanimously: (1) That there should be more collaboration between elementary and secondary teachers with a view to a better understanding of their mutual difficulties in the teaching of History; (2) that the time assigned to History in each form in a secondary school should be not less than two full hours (120 minutes) per week; (3) that in the interest of the teaching of History on modern lines a room equipped for (*i.e.*, containing library, lantern, maps, pictures, etc.), and specially devoted to, the purpose should be regarded as essential; (4) that schools should be permitted to submit a combination of subjects for an advanced course in accordance with the idea of a general unity; (5) that in the Board of Education Circular 1112, page 4, line 10, the word "modern" should be omitted. (N.B.—This resolution restores Latin as an alternative subject in a Modern Studies Advanced Course.)

The following resolution was also passed: "That this meeting

approves by a majority of 21 votes to 18 of the experiment of teachers setting and marking their own papers under the supervision of an outside examiner in the First School Examination."

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We are glad to notice the proposal to form a Dugdale Society for the publication of the MS. records of Warwickshire. The county is rich in such materials for local and national history, and the famous author of the *Monasticon*, the *Baronagium*, the *Origines Juridicales*, who was also one of the first and greatest of county historians, is obviously the eponymous hero for such a society. The lead in the movement is being taken by Mr. Frederick C. Wellstood, secretary and librarian to the Trustees of Shakespeare's Birthplace and editor of the "Records of the Manor of Henley-in-Arden."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Oriol College, Oxford.

SIR,—The University of London has taken far-sighted action in establishing an Oriental branch of its history school, and HISTORY has welcomed the new departure with becoming sympathy. Very inadequate attention has been paid hitherto in our schools and colleges to the history of the Indian peoples, and the importance of different periods of Indian history would appear to have been judged in great part by the amount of material which came readily to the hands of the historian—a most fallacious test. The result has been that the British occupation of India has bulked obtrusively to the exclusion of more vital historical inquiries, and the inner history of the vast populations of the country has been swamped by details of its conquest by foreigners and by the discussion of the personal characteristics of those conquerors.

Such a view of the history of India has naturally proved repellent to students of Indian birth, whose patriotic instincts are chiefly concerned with the origin and extent of the civilisation which existed in India long before we appeared upon the scene. As Mr. Vincent Smith tells us in his most interesting contribution to your last number, these students are exceedingly numerous and are inspired with the keenest enthusiasm for their subject, and it may be hoped that many of them will be attracted by this new Oriental branch, and will take advantage of the assistance which it offers to them.

The new regulations for the B.A. Honours Degree in History of the University of London show that this branch includes as one of its subjects the history of India prior to 1500 A.D., and lays stress upon the history of political ideas in the East and of institutions of Indian origin. For the investigation of such subjects as these, many workers, British and Indian, have accumulated within recent years a mass of material, and a great field for research has thus been

opened out. The university offers every encouragement and opportunity to those who go to labour in it.

It is essential, however, that a new departure of so great importance in the study of history should be based upon the soundest of scientific foundations, and there have not been wanting signs that young historians in India have need of discipline if they are to attain success in the great task which lies before them. In this connection Mr. Rushbrooke Williams has done work of special value recently at Allahabad, his lectures on the handling of historical material, which were reviewed in your columns in April last, having given opportune and weighty guidance to many.

Mr. Vincent Smith has also pointed out with much lucidity the grave errors into which other Indian historical students are being led by partisanship or timidity, and the caricatures of the truth which are thus inevitably produced. He has, however, somewhat impaired the value of his criticisms by giving a kind word to at least one Indian author who offends continuously in this respect. The admirable work that is being done by so many students of history suggests that a higher standard of criticism might well be applied to their productions, while the exercise of more severe discrimination by such an authority would undoubtedly have a salutary effect. It will be for the Oriental branch of the London School of History, however, to encourage the virtuous student and retrieve the wanderers, and for such a task it is well equipped. Its career will be followed with cordial wishes for its success by all who are interested in the study of the real history of India.

P. C. LYON.

SIR,—Some of us have had experience in the teaching of world-history on the lines we venture to suggest below, and we would like to express our satisfaction at the prominence which is being given to the subject. At the same time, we do not altogether agree with the proposals for the School Certificate Examination of London University, put forward by Professor Graham Wallas. These, we gather, were for a course of "recent world-history" covering the four years of school-life which culminate in the Matriculation examination of the London University, or equivalent examination, which is taken normally at the age of sixteen.

We feel that a course of four years on so wide a basis would tend to encourage vague generalisation, without giving enough opportunity for training in detailed and scholarly work, and we think that the last two years before the examination should be left clear for the requirements of the syllabus, and that the pupils should then be studying a period for which they can do a large part of the reading for themselves in easily accessible books, in order that they may acquire a real taste for the subject, the power to continue their own reading. The "recent world history" in Professor Wallas's scheme is too difficult, and the reading required too much and too recondite for this examination, although we think it admirable for the smaller numbers of an advanced course.

On the other hand, we feel the need for a general preparation for the more detailed history, which a two years' course of general world-history, in the middle school, would give. We believe from our own experience that the study has widened our pupils' horizons,

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awakened their sympathies, and quickened their interest, but we consider that much of the value of this period of training would be lost were we to use it as preparation for any outside examination. We would confine "world history" to the consideration of those forces that have moulded the Europe of to-day. We do not recommend its teaching in order to propagate internationalism, for we deprecate the use of history lessons for propaganda of any sort or kind, national or international, but we submit that English history would gain in perspective against a background of the history of Western civilisation.

For most schools this two years' study will have to come within the limits of a five years' course—*i.e.*, from the entrance of the elementary scholar at eleven to her qualifying examination at sixteen. Experience has shown that it can be worked in the first and second years or in the second and third. The second alternative seems to us to be preferable, and we therefore append the following scheme, in the hope that it will serve as a basis for discussion.

First Year. A fairly wide period of early English history, studied mainly from the social standpoint—*e.g.*, B.C. 55—A.D. 1485.

Second Year. Empires of the Ancient World—*e.g.*, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Crete, Greece, Roman Republic.

Third Year. Roman Empire to the end of the Wars of Religion, laying stress on the great movements.

Fourth Year.	British history, 1485–1689	{ Stress being laid on foreign and colonial development.
Fifth Year.	„ „ 1689–19—	

Some of us feel that the Matriculation year, which is still in many cases the pupil's last at school, should be given up primarily to the study of modern European history—in which case we would arrange for the work of the fourth year to reach 1789, and spend the last year of the five years' course in studying English and European history from 1789, for the examination.

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HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

XI.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY OF CONSTANTINE AND THAT OF DIOCLETIAN.¹

THE policy of the earlier Emperors with regard to Christianity has lately been dealt with by many competent critics. Though we cannot say that a complete consensus has been reached, it may perhaps be regarded as fairly certain that the earliest persecutions were carried on by means of magisterial power (*coercitio*) without any special edict; that the persecutions were generally local and spasmodic, at least till the time of Decius (the first definite anti-Christian legislation dating from 350, though there *may* have been a comprehensive edict earlier); and that in many cases, even where efforts were being made to put down the Christian religion generally, a good many loopholes were allowed by magistrates so as to facilitate escape. The attempt to extirpate Christianity root and branch undertaken by Diocletian was rapidly, one might say paradoxically, followed by the adoption of Christianity as an authorised, and soon after as the only, State religion by Constantine and his colleagues.

This curious reversal of policy, as it might seem, on the part of Constantine has puzzled students of the Empire, as in almost all the changes in the political system Constantine appears as the continuator of his great predecessor's work.² But the paradox vanishes, and Constantine is seen to be developing rather than reversing the policy of Diocletian if we follow up the suggestions given in an interesting article by M. Babut in the *Revue Historique* for November, 1916. In this article stress is laid on the military side of the problem and also on the policy of claiming religious reverence as due to the Emperor and all imperial symbols. Diocletian and Constantine alike saw in Christianity a threat to military effici-

¹ Most of this paper formed part of one read to the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, January 18th, 1918, entitled "The Early Persecutions of the Christians in the Light of Recent Research."

Those who wish to pursue this subject further will find abundant material in the authorities cited in the article by M. E. Ch. Babut: "L'adoration des Empereurs et les origines de la persécution de Dioclétien," *Revue historique*, Nov.-Dec., 1916. A good many books contain a description of the *adoratio* (see especially the art. *Adoratio* in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* of Daremberg and Saglio). The *Acta* preserved by the Church historians should be studied in the light of Diocletian and Constantine's policy. Harnack's *Flos Militiæ Christianæ* affords much information. For discussions of the Edicts of Persecution and of Toleration, the appendices to the works of Boissier and of Bacci Venuti are illuminating. The point on which M. Babut insists, and which a study of his authorities tends to confirm, is that a strong link between the anti-Christian and the pro-Christian policy of the two Emperors is to be found in their common regard for the imperial *adoratio*.

² See Appendices to Vol. I. of Prof. Bury's edition of Gibbon.

ency and Imperial divinity. It was in the means employed to secure their ends rather than in the ends themselves that any difference between the two is manifest.

The imperial claim to divine dignity does not, of course, originate with Diocletian. We have altars to "Rome and Augustus" from early times in all parts of the Empire, but the idea of the State and of its visible head seem at first to be closely blended together. We can scarcely say that we have the worship of a mortal man. The madness of Caligula and the cosmopolitanism of Hadrian may have made each present his divine character in an exceptional way. But in Diocletian's time the mere civic respect for the Emperor in connection with the City seems to have been dying out. The *adoratio* which he demanded, and which was paid even to his Christian successors, was of a more exacting kind. This particularly affected the army.

Now there is no doubt that Christians were to be found in the armies of the early Emperors. The testimony of the Fathers to this effect, though not uniform, puts the fact beyond question.³ Since any form of oath submitted to the soldiers must have been against the Christian conscience, we may suppose that the higher military officials were not unwilling to arrange the occasions of religious ceremonial so that the non-performance of a small rite on the part of any officer might pass unobserved. And there does not seem to have been any necessity felt for putting a test to the common soldier.

But Diocletian's new arrangements and principles made a difference. M. Babut thinks that there were already signs of serious resistance in the armies. There is, perhaps, not sufficient evidence to make us feel sure on this point. In some of the *Acta* we have soldiers declaring that their Christianity is inconsistent with service in the army, and accordingly giving themselves up to martyrdom. Thus Eusebius⁴ tells of a certain Marinus, of Caesarea in Palestine, who, during the religious peace which followed the persecution of Decius, was about to be promoted to the dignity of centurion when objection was made that he was unable to perform sacrifice to the Emperor. Marinus consulted the bishop of the town, who laid before him the choice of the Gospel or the Sword. The soldier chose the Gospel; the Judge, though unwilling, was obliged to condemn, and Marinus was beheaded without delay. Again, we have in Ruinart's *Acta Sincera* two stories of soldier martyrs in Africa dating from within ten years of Diocletian's first edict of persecution. A youth of Teveste, Maximilianus by name, being presented by his father as a military recruit, violently objected, saying: "I am a Christian; I cannot serve." And a certain centurion, Marcellus, having thrown away his military belt and arms, and abjured his profession, was sentenced to death by the magistrate at Tingis. Lest anyone should wish to draw too close an analogy between these martyrs and the "conscientious objectors" of our own day, it should be remarked that the former seem to have had no objection to fighting in itself, but that to them soldiering seemed part and parcel of an idolatrous system. Eusebius also tells how,⁵ about that time, a lustration and

³ On Christians in the armies there is a good deal of evidence collected by Harnack in his treatise: *Flos Militiæ Christianæ*.

⁴ *H.E.*, VII., 15.

⁵ *H.E.*, VIII., 4.

review of one of the armies was held, in consequence of which many soldiers became civilians. He adds that as yet very few suffered death for desertion of the colours.

Now to Diocletian, contemplating at the same time the restoration of the military prestige of the Empire, to which any deficiency of man power would be fatal, and the assertion by unmistakable symbols of the divine authority of the Emperors, the spectacle of recalcitrant Christian soldiers must have been alarming and likely to suggest a war to the knife against the whole ecclesiastical system. True, historians generally represent Diocletian as being led to persecute by the influence of his colleague Galerius, but the tendency of Christian writers to represent the good emperors as favourable to their cause, and the bad ones as hostile, is well known. In any case, the incompatibility of his political schemes with the independence of the Christians may have made the proposals of Galerius less unacceptable.

The bearing of Diocletian's edict on Emperor-worship is shown in the story of Procopius, a martyr of Palestine, who on being told to sacrifice to the four Emperors (*i.e.*, in the new system, the two *Augusti* and two *Caesares*) quoted the not irrelevant line of Homer: "It is not good to have many heads: let one head rule."⁶ Afterwards, when Licinius, after his temporary agreement with Constantine in favour of the Christians, revived the persecution, he began with the army.⁷

It may be noticed that similar motives in the policy of Diocletian and of Constantine seemed to underlie the last edicts of persecution and the first of toleration. One finds that the dislike and dread with which the early Christians were sometimes regarded by magistrates and mobs alike were twofold: there was a fear lest abandonment of old rites and ways might loosen the cords of moral and social obligation, and the more superstitious foreboding lest the old gods might take vengeance on the neglect of their observances and dues, or, as the idea might present itself to philosophic minds, lest the Universal Deity, acknowledged in a partial way by all worshippers, whatever their nation or creed, might cease to be invoked at all, to the detriment of the human race in general. Some ideas of this kind appear in what seems to have been the original form of the Edict of Milan⁸ (issued by Constantine and Licinius in 312). The Emperors had been considering⁹ "how we may grant to the Christians, and to all, the free choice to follow that mode of worship which they may wish, that whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government . . . that each may have the privilege to select and to worship whatever divinity he pleases." This remarkably tolerant profession was, of course, not permanently maintained. Before long, Constantine was legislating with a special view to the interests of the Christians, yet no wholesale abolition of pagan ritual was attempted, and for some time pagan symbols still appear on coins, and pagan institutions continue to exist.

So far, then, as general piety and attention to religious rites are

⁶ Euseb. *Martyrs of Palestine*, Cap. 1.

⁷ Euseb. *H.E.*, X., 8.

⁸ For a discussion of the Edict, see *inter alia* Boissier: *La fin du paganisme*, Chap. II., and Bacci Venuti: *Dalla grande persecuzione alla vittoria del cristianismo*, esp. *Appendice*.

⁹ Euseb. *H.E.*, Cruden's translation, X., 5.

the desiderata, Diocletian and Constantine may not have been far apart in motive. To return to the army and the *adoratio* of the Emperor, Constantine evidently cared at least as much as Diocletian about the sacred character of the Emperor and all pertaining to him. No one can doubt this who reads of the ceremony of *adoratio* maintained afterwards in the Byzantine Court, or the strange description, given by Eusebius and his continuator Socrates, of the humble obeisance paid to the dead Emperor in his golden coffin until the arrival of the heir. Also, Constantine probably cared even more than Diocletian for the new organisation and continual upkeep of the army. He was, however, more fortunate than his predecessor in devising a means by which the loyalty of the soldiers to their leader and their reverence to the institutions and symbols of their religion might find a centre in himself under his rule. We may call it astuteness or genius or inspiration; in any case, the adoption of the Labarum with the sacred sign, seen, as he said, in the sky, made a fundamental difference in the situation. Henceforth, in saluting and *adoring* the standards of the army, the soldiers were doing reverence to the most sacred sign of the Christian religion, and in prostrating themselves before the Emperor they were acknowledging an authority which had received divine approval.

This does not, of course, imply that the religion of Constantine was that of an indifferent time-server. He doubtless held that Christianity was a truer and better religion than that of his forefathers. He probably believed in his own mission to raise it to universal sway. But such sincerity may have left scope for much ingenuity in the adaptation of means to ends.

Thus he changed permanently the tone of the Church towards the Empire. *Adoratio* was no longer stigmatised as idolatrous. There seemed no blasphemy in the oath taken: "By God and Christ and the Holy Spirit, and by the Majesty of the Emperor which, after God, is to be loved and worshipped (*colenda*) by all mankind." In the Council of Arles in 314 deserters from the army incurred ecclesiastical penalties.

It would seem, then, that so far as the persecutions of the Christians were prompted by rational considerations rather than by superstition and spite, the end at which they aimed was obtained by means of a very different character. The military and ceremonious autocracy which was the object of Diocletian, and which, for a short time only, history thought to achieve by persecution, was established by Constantine by another method, the potent one of patronage.

ALICE GARDNER.

REVIEWS.

The Logic of History. By C. G. CRUMP. (Helps for Students of History, No. 6.) 8vo. Pp. 63. 1919. S.P.C.K. 8d.

THE reflections of an expert in any department of knowledge on the logical character of the methods employed in his field of research and on its relation to other fields of investigation should be of interest, not only to other workers in the same field, but to all who are interested in the history of science and scientific methods generally. If only for this reason, Mr. Crump's *Logic of History* will not only be, what it was primarily intended to be, a "help for students of history," but also of interest to students of the development of science and scientific methods as part of the history of civilisation. Let it be said at once that Mr. Crump's unpretentious little book contains an able summary of the main considerations relating to the character of historical study, its main divisions, the nature of its data, the broad principles to be observed in estimating historical testimony, and the points to be aimed at in presenting the results of historical inquiry. The brevity of the book certainly has its qualities. Unfortunately, it also has its defects. It may well be that the apparent faults dealt with in what follows here are due mainly to the limitations of space to which Mr. Crump had to submit. In any case, the following comments are made in a very friendly spirit.

Mr. Crump claims for history a place among the sciences. What he says in support of his contention is true enough, but it is not the whole truth—indeed, the most important considerations appear to have been overlooked. After all, what's in a name? "Science" is only the Latin for knowledge, and, as Freeman has pointed out, it is not so long since in Oxford, and not in Oxford only, the term "science" was applied chiefly to the study of man's moral faculty—such a study as one may find in the sermons of Bishop Butler. On the other hand, one need only look at the scheme of sciences drawn up by Bacon (not to go back so far as Aristotle) to find that what are now called "sciences" were once called "histories." The historian, the student of change *par excellence*, should attach little importance to titles and courtesies. The really important problem is to determine the actual character of the study now called history and to compare it with the actual character of those other branches of knowledge now and here usually called "sciences" (in a rather narrower sense than that associated with the term on the Continent). On this point, however, Mr. Crump does not afford sufficient help. Mr. Crump appears to find some satisfaction (may it be called *Schadenfreude*?) in the fact that even science makes no claim to absolute certainty. But the spirit of

mild scepticism that has invaded the bosoms of modest workers in all fields of research offers a very frail basis for the assimilation of history and science. In fact, the considerations on which scientific scepticism rests, also the problem of free-will to which Mr. Crump refers, do not really concern science or history. Like all questions which affect knowledge in general, as distinguished from the special problems of history and the several sciences, they belong to that limbo of residual problems generally known as philosophy. Again, historians are quite right in insisting that history can be as "scientific" as science. What is meant is that impartiality, sagacity, and scrupulous regard for evidence pro and con. characterise the good historian as well as the good scientist. It may be admitted that the historian is exposed to special temptations—his very patriotism may blind him to the truth. Still, generally speaking, there is as much scope for "the scientific frame of mind" in history as in science. The good *historian*, in other words, is very like the good *scientist*. But this does not make *history* like *science*—which is the real question at issue.

Now there are certain important respects in which history is unlike science. History is primarily concerned with the fortunes of politically organised man. Hence the current conception of history as past politics. Only the infant science of sociology has anything like the same subject-matter, and its treatment of the subject is on quite different lines from that of history, as will soon become clear. Again, history (it seems almost tautological to say so) is obviously chronological in essence. Its primary aim is to ascertain an actual sequence of human events and to determine their place in a definite chronological scheme. Science is only interested in the laws of certain recurrent sequences. In this respect history is more like biography than like science—indeed history may be described as biography writ large; it is social or political biography. Lastly, and most important of all, history is concerned with the particular and the concrete, while science is only concerned with the relatively general and abstract. True, even science can only deal with particular facts of observation and experiment—the chemist can only handle particular samples of whatever elements he is studying, the physiologist can only operate on particular animals. But to the scientist these particular or individual objects are only "specimens" or "samples"—that is to say, they are treated by him as illustrations of the general types or abstract laws in which he is chiefly interested. The converse is the case with the historian: he is primarily interested in the particular social group or institution *qua* particular, and he invokes the general laws of human nature only as a means to the better understanding of the particular events which he is investigating. Hence one of the familiar differences between science and history. Science can anticipate the future to some extent by applying established laws to new conditions. But history (as Mr. Trevelyan has only recently reminded us again) "cannot prophesy the future"; the historian, immersed in particulars, can only base conjectures on analogies—and analogy alone is an untrustworthy guide. In respect of its interest in the particular and the concrete, history is more akin to art than to science. And Mr. Crump has expressed this truth very aptly when stating that the best test of our understanding a particular set of historical facts consists in our ability to construct a

drama corresponding to these facts. "If we can construct such a drama, we may say that we understand them; if we cannot, we do not" (p. 52).

These obvious differences between history and science would probably be acknowledged quite readily were it not for the unfortunate tendency to suppose that when history is said to be different from science it must also in some way be inferior to it. But that is not what is here suggested. The important thing is to realise their relation to one another. It may do no harm to call history a science. But a common name does not obliterate differences, nor does a difference of names obliterate resemblances.

Mr. Crump lays some stress on the "inverse" character of historical study. History, he says, is an "inverse science." The description is neither a familiar nor a happy one. Apparently Mr. Crump means that history employs the "inverse" *method*. That, at all events, is what his illustration suggests. Generally speaking, a method of reasoning or of reckoning is said to be "direct" when it proceeds from conditions to consequences or results, and "inverse" when it proceeds from consequences or results to their conditions or factors. Now every science employs the "inverse" method—not only do the inductive sciences do so, but even pure mathematics does so, as Mr. Crump's illustration shows. If so, what purpose can be served in calling history, or even a so-called science, an "inverse science"? Possibly Mr. Crump had something further in view. He may have been thinking of the alleged absence of direct observation in historical study, as compared with the physical sciences. The dependence on documents and their interpretation is sometimes said to make the method of history "indirect." But history is not altogether robbed of the aid of direct observation. On the other hand, most of the sciences have to rely to some extent on written records, and astronomy does so to a very considerable extent. So that even this feature would hardly justify the description of history as an "inverse science."

Mr. Crump refers several times to the comparative method to which he rightly attaches considerable importance in the study of history. But he does not explain it, and it is not always clear whether he is using the term in the loose sense in which it is commonly employed, or in the only correct sense in which it can be described as a special method of investigation. In a loose way the comparative method is said to be employed whenever comparisons are made. It was in this vague sense of the term that comparative anatomy was said to employ the comparative method already at a time when that science consisted of little more than an odd assortment of comparisons made between the organs of different kinds of animals. Comparison, however, is not a special method, but a mere preliminary to every special method and even want of method. The comparative method proper only begins when comparisons lead to an hypothesis in explanation of the way in which an animal, or an animal organ, or a social institution, has developed into its present form. Where there is no explanation there is no comparative method, and the making of comparisons is no explanation. It was only when, thanks chiefly to the labours of Darwin, the theory of evolution gained general acceptance among zoologists that comparative anatomy really employed the comparative method. And it is under the influence of the same sort of evolutionary ideas

that the comparative method is used in order to explain the development of social customs and institutions. A. WOLF.

Blessed Giles of Assisi. By WALTER W. SETON. (Brit. Soc. of Franciscan Studies, Vol. VIII.) Pp. vii+94. 1918.

DR. SETON is adding rapidly—perhaps too rapidly—to his list of contributions to Franciscan literature. The present volume—an edition from a Bodleian MS. of the short life of Giles of Assisi, generally attributed to Brother Leo—shows some signs of haste. The index is so inadequate that, save for a few entries, one would be inclined to think that the editor, after indexing the introduction, forgot to index the text. The list of known MSS. containing the short life is incomplete; the Prague MS. described in the *Opusculus de critique historique* should be added. A question which one might naturally expect an editor to discuss is the relation between the life and the “Golden Sayings” of Brother Giles. The short life and the shorter versions of the “Golden Sayings” do not overlap. This avoidance of repetition must be deliberate, and suggests that the two treatises are parts of one work, or that one is supplementary to the other. This view is strengthened by the close connection between the short life of Giles and the shortest version of the “Golden Sayings” which exists in most of the MSS. The compilation of this version of the “Golden Sayings” is also generally attributed to Brother Leo.

Dr. Seton makes out a strong but not conclusive case in favour of the short life being nearer to the original than the longer life printed in the *Chron. XXIV. Generalium*; but after giving evidence of interpolations in the longer life he admits that it contains “a considerable residuum which it has been impossible so far to trace to any particular source,” and it may be remarked that some of the best passages which he quotes in his interesting introduction on the life of Giles are derived from this residuum. If the longer life has suffered from interpolations, an equally strong case might be made out to show that the short life has suffered from omissions. It is going too far to say that “the whole trend of the growth of Franciscan documents or materials is on the lines of accretion rather than of abstraction.” It is quite certain, for instance, that the short version of the *Speculum Perfectionis* which Father Lemmens maintained to be the earlier version is an abbreviated abstract, and not always an intelligent abstract.

The text is carefully and accurately edited. A few more of the more important variants from Father Lemmens’s edition from the St. Isidore MS. might have been given with advantage; e.g. on p. 54 *oratione* for *oblacione*. Lower down on the same page the omission of the passage “gausius est—Egidius” in the St. Isidore MS. is clearly a scribal error due to “homoioteleuton”; in both these, as in most other, cases the Bodleian MS. agrees with the Sienna MS. The translation—a welcome innovation in the Franciscan Society’s series—is well done, but might in a few passages have gained by being more literal. On p. 60 the force of “nam” has been missed; it merely introduces a definite instance of a general statement. The meaning of “ego deuasto” (p. 84) remains obscure. It may refer to Giles’ constant fear of “wasting” the treasure which God had entrusted to him.

The Franciscan ideal embraced both the active and the contemplative life, and Giles lived each in turn intensely. His defence of the contemplative life may be quoted: "God alone, who created the soul, is the soul's friend and not another." "He who does good to his own soul does good likewise unto the souls of his friends."

A. G. LITTLE.

Municipal Records. By F. J. C. HEARNSHAW (Helps for Students of History. Edited by C. JOHNSON, M.A., and J. P. WHITNEY, D.C.L. No. 2). 46 pp. 1918. S.P.C.K. 6d.

Liverpool Town Books: Proceedings of Assemblies, Common Councils, Portmoot Courts, etc., 1550-1862. Vol. I. 1550-71. Edited for the Corporation of the City of Liverpool by J. A. TWEMLOW. xxvi+719 pp. 1918. Liverpool: The University Press. £1 11s. 6d.

Of all intellectual hobbies, perhaps the most congenial to the English conservative and realistic temperament is the study of local history. The want of accessible materials, the need of training and guidance, and, above all, the lack of constructive ideas have tended to restrict the study within narrow limits and to exclude large classes from the pursuit of it. The more adequate teaching of history, and especially of social, institutional and economic history, in tutorial classes has recently been doing a great deal to remove the last of these restrictions, and the editing and calendaring of national and municipal archives have been making them more accessible to students of all classes in the better equipped public reference libraries. The time was therefore most opportune for this admirable little series of handbooks. Prof. Hearnshaw furnishes a most lucid and attractive introduction to the chief sources of material, and adds some stimulating remarks on the uses of local history. I should like to make a plea for the fuller recognition of the value of early local newspapers and periodicals, and of the collections of manuscripts, diaries, cuttings, etc., not infrequently found in the public libraries of our modern industrial towns, and affording excellent material for the local researcher.

In Mr. J. A. Twemlow's edition of the "Liverpool Town Books" the Lancashire student of Prof. Hearnshaw's manual will find a mine laid open to his research and all the aids of specialised scholarship placed at his disposal. The city and the university of Liverpool are to be warmly congratulated on the results of their co-operation, which, it is to be hoped, will rouse emulation in other cities and universities, and thus help to remove one of the most serious reproaches of British scholarship. The records of London, for instance, at the time when it was becoming the first city of the world, are almost entirely unexplored, and until they are made accessible the history of English commerce cannot be adequately written. The later volumes of the "Liverpool Town Books" should also be of great value to the economic historian. The interest of the present volume lies mainly in curious survivals from the Middle Ages and in striking contrasts with modern conditions. The population of Liverpool in 1565 was less than it had been two centuries earlier, and did not number 1,000 souls. With 185 householders paying taxes, a dozen ships with an aggregate tonnage of 226, most

of them being under twenty tons, and a seafaring population of less than a hundred, Liverpool can scarcely be said to have commenced its career as the greatest of British ports. The explanation of this want of growth lies in the medieval restrictions on commerce, which have been vividly described in Prof. Muir's *History of Liverpool*, and which are set forth in more detail in this volume. The foreigner from Bolton was prohibited from dealing directly in Liverpool with the foreigner from Salford, and an enterprising clothier from the Huddersfield district who had brought a cargo of Danish rye from Hull was prevented from taking it up the Mersey to Warrington, from carrying it to Preston or Carnarvon, or from disposing of it in any way except by a town bargain in which all the essentials of free bargaining were lacking. A dawning glimmer of better conditions is to be found in the exception made in favour of free dealings between Lancashire manufacturers and the Irish merchants who supplied them on credit with linen yarn. The numerous illustrations of the working and of the breakdown of the system of town bargains will be of great interest to those who have studied its earlier operations in the pages of Miss Bateson's *Borough Customs*. The confirmation of the "broderhede and frelege" of the occupation of tailors exhibits a gild at the very moment of the Reformation paying ten shillings to the municipality for authorisation, and undertaking to pay the value of its three disendowed tapers towards the relief of the poor. It appears from the useful collection of documents included in one of Mr. Twemlow's twenty-two appendices that the period of apprenticeship in tailoring might extend to twelve years, during which time the master was bound to provide "meat, dryncke, ludgynck, and all apparell, sufficient holsome, leafull, decent, and honest . . . with lawful castigation as occasion shall require." These details, along with others, such as the regulation of the corn and fish markets, the licensing of an alderman and a bailiff to be sole wine-drawers, remind us that this volume of records belongs to the period in which the "town economy" was making its last stand with the support of Parliament. This period (to which belong the Statutes of Weavers and the Statute of Apprentices) began with Thomas Cromwell, and ended about 1566, after which date mercantile opinion in Parliament and elsewhere became increasingly opposed to corporate monopoly. On this new development the next volume of Liverpool records will doubtless cast valuable light.

On the side of constitutional development, the most important matters covered in this volume are the struggle with Sir Richard Molyneux in 1555-6 about the collection of port dues and the holding of the portmoot, leading to the indictment of nearly half the householders at Wigan; and the appointment in 1558 of a standing executive committee of sixteen or twenty-four, the forerunner of the Council of 1580, which brought Liverpool into line with most municipal and trading corporations of the period, and made it a close, self-electing oligarchy.

As the representative of a University School of Local History and Records, Mr. Twemlow has devoted special care to what may perhaps be called the pure scholarship of his subject. His introduction comprises an internal and external description of the MS. volume covering thirty pages, an elaborate study of the career and character, the official functions, methods, and language of Recorder Pendleton, a discussion of the principles and methods adopted in

editing the volume, an account of the town's lost records, and other matters of bibliographical interest. The notes (which include a translation of all entries in Latin) bring the light furnished by contemporary records or other sources to bear at every point. The appendices contain two hundred pages of illustrative documents, admirably selected, and the three separate indexes are unusually exhaustive. For this almost unexampled thoroughness there can be nothing but praise. It may, however, be hoped that in future volumes, as the relative importance of the matter increases and that of the form declines, the editor may be able to find room in his introduction for such a broad account of the matter of the Liverpool records interpreted in the light of contemporary municipal history as the notes to this volume show that he is competent to supply.

G. UNWIN.

Henry VII. By GLADYS TEMPERLEY, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. 1917. Constable. 7s. 6d.

MRS. TEMPERLEY's volume in the new series of *lives of Kings and Queens of England*, edited by Prof. Rait and Mr. Page, is a welcome contribution to the still short list of works dealing with Henry VII. She makes excellent use of the material made available in recent years, especially by Dr. Gairdner, and her narrative has the merits of Dr. Busch's careful study, combined with far greater lucidity and animation. "A dreary life and a dreary reign" is the summary of a modern sketch of Henry VII., but Mrs. Temperley avoids dreariness even when she recounts the negotiations for the marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon, or the long-drawn story of Perkin Warbeck. She makes the reader feel the importance of the reign as a time of beginnings, when anarchy gave birth to the despotism of a ruler who combined the qualities of a successful adventurer with those of a successful statesman. Success is the word that best sums up Henry's reign; in Bacon's phrase, "what he minded he compassed," and few contrasts could be sharper than that between the weak, divided England of 1485, and the strong, united, confident England of 1509. But the qualities that most contributed to Henry's success did not win him popularity; his thriftiness was a virtue even less admired in his day than in ours, and his businesslike habits were uncongenial to the medieval mind. In some respects he was before his time; he was tolerant, merciful, sensitive to public opinion, free from insularity, but these traits made him somewhat lonely and little beloved. Yet Bacon has surely exaggerated Henry's unattractiveness. On pp. 376 ff. Mrs. Temperley gives an excellent "historical revision" based on evidence inaccessible in the seventeenth century, such as Privy Purse Expenses and the Roll of the Great Wardrobe. Henry VII. did not spend all his leisure hours in "keeping, as it were, a journal of his own thoughts"; he was an ardent sportsman, diced, played tennis, and was interested in bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and cock-fighting. He was not harsh, unkind, ungenerous, or ungrateful, nor did he keep aloof from his subjects. The Privy Purse Expenses do not bear out Bacon's view that Henry "did by pleasures as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them and turn away." He had a Welshman's love of music, and there are many entries of gratuities given to harpists, hornplayers, violinists, organ-

ists, and trumpeters. Nor was he penurious and ascetic; on the contrary, he patronised poets and ballad-makers, bought rare books and had them beautifully bound, encouraged printing, and spent much on building. Again, Bacon's account of Henry's relations with his family must be qualified; there is no foundation for the view that he treated his wife badly and her mother worse.

Mrs. Temperley deals adequately with the many aspects of Henry's reign, foreign affairs, commerce and industry, finance, legislation, Ireland, the Renaissance, the voyages of discovery. But among the many important beginnings which mark the reign she does not include his policy as regards Wales, viz., the sending of Prince Arthur with a Council for the purpose of ensuring order in the turbulent Marches. So far as we know, Henry never (after 1485) revisited the home of his boyhood, but in his reign a definite step was taken towards the solution of the Welsh problem.

In a book of 453 pages some slips are almost inevitable. But it is a pleasure to mention two notable features of Mrs. Temperley's book, the well-chosen and beautifully executed illustrations and the itinerary of Henry VII. This last is a useful and novel feature, though before a second edition of the book is published it would be well to consider the *caveat* of Mr. Crump (see HISTORY, iv. 47) against the conclusion that a King was always present at the time and place mentioned in letters under the great seal witnessed by the King himself. A comparison of a few entries in the itinerary with the Calendar of Patent Rolls reveals discrepancies which need consideration; for example, according to the itinerary, Henry was at Dartford on September 4th, 1492, and at Canterbury on September 30th, but according to the Calendar of the Patent Rolls, I., p. 392, he was at Salisbury on each of those days.

The least satisfactory part of the book is the bibliography, which is not brought up to date. This is doubtless due to delay in publication caused by the war, but in a book published in 1917 it is regrettable to find the statement that there is as yet no printed calendar of the Patent Rolls of the reign. Vol. I. of the calendar appeared in 1914, and Vol. II. in 1916. No mention is made either of the Milanese Calendar, or of Prof. Pollard's *Reign of Henry VII. from Contemporary Sources*, both of which were published in 1913. The omission of the latter work is specially regrettable, because it provides the most important part of the material on which Mrs. Temperley's work is based. Other important omissions are Mr. J. A. Williamson's *Maritime Enterprise, 1485-1558*, Prof. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, Dr. Gairdner's *Lollardy and the Reformation*, Mr. Oppenheim's *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy*. It would be well to add on p. 434 that Dr. Gairdner's *Story of Perkin Warbeck* is to be found in his book on Richard III.

CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL.

Rhyme and Revolution in Germany. A Study in German History, Life, Literature, and Character, 1813-1850. By J. G. LEGGE. 1918. xii+584 pp. 8vo. Constable. 15s

WE regret the delay in noticing Mr. Legge's book, as it obviously belongs to the category of "war-books," a form of literature which, after dominating the publishers' lists for the last few years, has, to

the relief of all of us, now dropped into a more modest place. But we do not wish, by the description "war book," to depreciate the many good points in the volume before us, for it is an attempt to produce something less evanescent than most of the literature called forth by the war. The author describes it as "the outcome of a desire to place in the hands of the British public the means of studying German history and German character at first hand," and he rightly claims a superiority for it over "the many books which have been published in this country giving the writers' opinions about the enemy, and reasons, more or less convincing, to justify these opinions." But just in this respect Mr. Legge's book is not quite so free from subjective—or shall we say teleological?—bias as he would have us believe. It is true he offers us "documents," and documents acknowledged as such by the Germans themselves; but his choice of these is obviously dictated by a tacit wish to furnish a history of political evolution pointing relentlessly to 1914; he will put the Germans of the first half of the nineteenth century in such a light as will help us to account for the catastrophe of the twentieth. But this is not necessarily a fault, and Mr. Legge has certainly provided us with most interesting reading. The German materials which he lays before us—largely drawn, as he tells us, from Hans Blum's *Die deutsche Revolution* (not, we fear, too reliable a source where the interpretation of the documents is concerned) and a book by T. Klein, *Der Vorkampf*, which we have not seen—are excellently translated, the verse-renderings being often very happy and spirited. He has given the English student of modern German history who does not know German a text-book which considerably lightens his handicap; it may even tempt him to carry his studies farther and acquire a knowledge of the language in order to read in their entirety the works into which he is here given the merest glimpse. Those for whom Mr. Legge's book does this service will feel grateful to him.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

Main Currents of European History, 1815-1915. By F. J. C. HEARNshaw. 1917. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

PROF. HEARNshaw's lectures have already passed very successfully the test of experience. There are many short handbooks giving the main facts of nineteenth-century history, but few attempts to sum up the leading features of that history in a few popular lectures. These, however, are very useful to the beginner. Naturally, such popular summaries cannot be final, and probably every student would want to emphasise different points. Most would certainly agree that Prof. Hearnshaw has brought out effectively the main political movements of the century. It is in his introduction, however, that he raises controversial questions. What is the purpose of the study of history? "To throw light on our present-day controversies," is his reply, to help the citizen in the performance of his political duties; and for this purpose it is particularly recent history that is required. There are some of us who have other reasons for the study and the teaching of history, aims more romantic and perhaps more profound, for if the student of history becomes a better and a wiser man he will also be a worthier citizen. Still, the Professor is obviously right in that some knowledge of recent events is required by every man who feels that he has a share in the acts of the State. There

are dangers, however, in the study of recent history which Prof. Hearnshaw hardly seems to realise. Principle is more essential to the citizen than knowledge, though the two cannot be altogether separated. No man can rightly judge historic events unless he has a clear notion of ideals, of that public justice and international law without which, as our author quite rightly sees, there can be no firm peace. Without judgment mere knowledge tends rather to confuse the mind than to enlighten it; it weakens the sense of right and wrong, and may make men snobbishly worship immediate success. In the long run history confirms principle and fortifies the conscience, but immediate consequences may rhetorically make the worse cause seem the better. How different a judgment do we pass on Bismarck now from that passed by most men ten years ago! His brutality, his iniquitous means were admitted, but success seemed to cover all. Many of Cavour's aims were won by "means that will not bear ethical examination," but United Italy seems to be there to absolve him. Even the great Nationality movement, with which this book is mainly concerned, are we in a position to make anything like a final judgment about it? It is so complex, such a medley of good and evil, of self-sacrifice and selfishness, of love and hatred, of enthusiasm and greed, that it is impossible to foretell the ultimate verdict. Prof. Hearnshaw sees in the war a struggle of "modern democracies against the last of the malevolent despots." Others see in it a struggle between right and wrong nationalistic ideals.

The older history, then, can help the citizen, because in it he can see principles at work which he cannot see in the history that is all around him. Even the Middle Ages have their lessons, the Middle Ages which are not Prof. Hearnshaw's strongest point. He seems almost to have adopted Houston Stuart Chamberlain's grotesque attempt to get rid of medieval civilisation altogether by making all barbarian till 1200 or so, and all "Renaissance" after. Naturally, in a book of this kind there are many points of detail on which one might wish to quarrel with the author, but it remains a very useful book for a beginner who wants to get some general notions of the course of history. Later on he will be able to supplement, and, where necessary, correct, particular statements of fact or opinion.

F. F. URQUHART.

Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915. Selected and edited by W. P. M. KENNEDY, M.A. (Department of Modern History, University of Toronto.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xxxii+707 in 8vo. 21s.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the only collection on this subject was Houston's *Constitutional Documents*, now out of print. Sir William Ashley, when lecturing on the subject at the University of Toronto, was obliged, in order to provide his students with a text-book, to print his lectures for their use. Since then much progress has been made, especially in the publication of the more important documents bearing on the subject. In addition to the volume edited by Prof. H. E. Egerton and Mr. W. L. Grant, the Public Archives of Canada have brought out two large volumes covering the period from 1759 to 1818, and a third volume is in preparation.

Mr. Kennedy's selection, which is intended primarily as a hand-

book for students in the Modern History Department of the University of Toronto, is a good one, and should form a useful volume. Large extracts have been given from Wright's edition of Cavendish's *Debates*, as well as from the *Parliamentary Debates on Confederation*, doubtless for the reason that undergraduates do not read these volumes. The texts of the early documents have been taken from the two volumes issued by the Public Archives of Canada, but the notes in these have had to be omitted through lack of space. The editor compared the documents taken from Christie's *History of Lower Canada* with official copies, and found them accurate, but it is a pity he neglected this precaution in the case of the papers printed in the annual reports of the Canadian Archives. In nearly every instance these texts are inaccurate.

Document XX. (pp. 61-62), for instance, should contain an additional paragraph not given in the Report for 1890. The text of Document XC. (pp. 312-316), as taken from the Report for 1897, is full of errors. *Disposition* (p. 313, line 10) should read *dispersion*, and *disagreement* (p. 316, line 10) should be *imaginary grievance*. In the last paragraph seven or eight lines have been omitted, and the text as printed is quite unlike the original. As accurate transcripts of these papers are available at Ottawa, the exercise of a little more care would have produced more faithful texts than those here printed.

Mr. Kennedy is also unfortunate in his references to British blue-books. The Librarian of the Parliamentary Library at Toronto has bound them under years, and to this series Mr. Kennedy mostly refers. It is to be hoped that in a new edition of his book he will give the usual blue-book numbers as well.

H. P. BIGGAR.

The Colonies and Imperial Federation: A Historical Sketch, 1754-1919. By A. F. HATTERSLEY. Pietermaritzburg: The Times Publishing and Printing Co. 1919. 4s.

THERE is ample room for a book that should deal historically with the different views held at different times in Great Britain and in the Colonies regarding the future of the imperial connection, but it is more doubtful whether a volume, isolating the subject of the demand for imperial federation, and treating this apart from the more general question, is of any great interest or utility. In any case, the treatment of the earlier history of the subject in the chapter on "Taxation without Representation" cannot be called adequate. We are told "Shirley made the first suggestion of imperial federation," although a not very profound knowledge of the past history would have recalled Modyford's "immodest" proposal from Barbados, some hundred years before. Moreover, whilst Shirley no doubt advocated the admission of Colonial representatives to Parliament, this can hardly have been in his mind when he wrote to Sir T. Robinson: "This behaviour seems to show the necessity not only of parliamentary union, but taxation." He almost certainly meant a union of the Colonies by parliamentary action; no Colonial Governor would have presumed to press a new departure in politics upon a Secretary of State in this peremptory fashion. Again, can anyone with a knowledge of the early documents agree that "Sir T. Robinson's dispatch" (demanding the establishment of a fund

for the benefit of all the Colonies collectively in North America) "involved a new departure in Colonial policy"?

When Mr. Hattersley is dealing with the later history he is on safer ground, and he shows praiseworthy diligence in unearthing old pamphlets and papers relating to his subject in the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute; but there is no attempt to consider the history of the Imperial Conference in its relation to the subject of federation; and the bibliography shows curious omissions—*e.g.*, there is no mention of the volumes written by Mr. R. Jebb, all, in their way, very germane to the subject: *The Commonwealth of the Nations* is mentioned, but not the more impressive *Problem of the Commonwealth*; and, lastly (what is surprising in a writer living in South Africa), no reference is made to the *Speeches* of General Smuts.

H. E. EGERTON.

Boundaries in Europe and the Near East. By SIR THOMAS HOLDICH, K.C.M.G. xii+224 pp. 1918. Macmillan. 8s. 6d.

Frontiers: a Study in Political Geography. By C. B. FAWCETT, B.Litt., M.Sc. 107 pp. 1918. Clarendon Press. 3s.

THE difficulties which confront the Peace Conference in its effort once more to arrange the map of Europe by treaty have aroused widespread interest in frontiers and boundaries. At the same time, they have demonstrated how great is the need for establishing principles by which the relative merits of suggested solutions of frontier problems may be judged. In the past, very haphazard methods of determining boundaries were in vogue; neither the local conditions nor the desires of the peoples most directly concerned were taken into consideration. Boundaries so determined have proved a fruitful source of the very disputes they were designed to end, and very slowly, very unwillingly, treaty-makers have had to realise that if their work is to last for any length of time, the old methods must give place to new ones.

If it is now generally recognised that the successful delimitation of a boundary depends first on due regard being given to geographical and ethnographical conditions, we owe it in great measure to Sir Thomas Holdich, whose work as a boundary-maker in many parts of the world has made him the recognised authority on the principles which should govern the determining of boundaries. These he has already expounded in his *Political Frontiers and Boundary-making*, and now he applies them to the problems confronting the Peace Conference in *Boundaries in Europe and the Near East*. Italy, the Czechs and Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania and Greece, Poland, Russia, the future frontiers of Turkey, Syria and Mesopotamia, even Alsace-Lorraine—on all these vexed questions Sir Thomas has something of interest and importance to say. For the moment it is to the chapters dealing with the Adriatic problem that readers will turn with most interest, but the chapters on Syria and Mesopotamia and on Poland show that there are infinite possibilities of danger farther east than the Adriatic. Throughout, Sir Thomas adheres to the view that a boundary based on the main divide of a mountain system is the one best adapted to maintain the security from trespass and the consequent peace that is, or should be, the first aim of treaty-makers. So he lends all the weight of his

authority to the solution of the Adriatic problem that would give Italy not only all the Trentino up to the Alpine divide, but Istria with Trieste and Fiume, and such positions on the Dalmatian coast "as will enclose the depression of the Adriatic Seas and command the narrow rim of its eastern shores," as being the only scientific and therefore enduring one. At the same time, Sir Thomas admits that a mountain system may be so broad as to constitute a distinct region which cannot be divided without risk to future peace. So he points out that, although France, by taking back Alsace-Lorraine, would exchange a strong boundary for a weak one, Lorraine at least is an integral part of the plateau of which Champagne forms the western half.

It is perhaps natural that a geographer should allow most weight to the geographical factor in frontier problems, but sometimes Sir Thomas does not allow enough for the historical one. It may be that Rumania, in claiming land west of the Transylvanian mountains, is seeking an indefensible boundary, but can she of her own free will consent to leave three millions of her people under their age-long oppressors? Indeed, throughout this book Sir Thomas seems to us to allow too little for the human element in frontier problems. This, however, is hardly surprising in one whose knowledge (?) of history is so elementary that he can write of Henry III. of France that on his flight from Poland "the attractions of Vienna waylaid him and he appears never to have reached France at all," and ascribes to the incompetence of the King misfortunes that were really due to the elective character of the Polish monarchy.

Mr. Fawcett's study, *Frontiers*, is concerned, not with boundaries, which are mere lines, but with frontiers, which are areas. Pointing out that the functions of a frontier are to afford (1) protection, (2) facilities for intercourse, he classifies frontiers into (a) zones of separation, and (b) zones of intercourse, the corresponding classification of boundaries being (a) natural and (b) artificial. Short as the book is, it summarises admirably the chief characteristics of the several forms of frontier and of boundary, and shows how the functions and value of each may change with circumstances. It is, therefore, the more regrettable that Mr. Fawcett's historical knowledge is not always equal to his geographical. The misdating of the Treaty of Wedmore (937 instead of 878), and its confusion with the Frith of 886, may not be very important errors, but Mr. Fawcett's adherence to the old view that the West Saxons reached the Thames from the south instead of from the east has spoilt an otherwise excellent chapter on "River Boundaries," for it has hidden from him the fact that the earliest use of rivers is to serve not as barriers, but as highways.

R. R. REID.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Story of the People of Britain, in four books (Cambridge University Press, Bk. I., 2s.; II., 2s. 3d.; III., 2s. 6d.; IV., 2s. 9d.), is so arranged that the first two volumes, by Miss Sarson, cover the period B.C. 55-1688, leaving the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the remaining volumes by Miss L. Hanson. The aim of the publishers is that a child may come naturally to the life of

the eighteenth century a year or so after being told the story of King Alfred. But this would involve a certain homogeneity which these books do not possess, the chief links between them being the beauty of the illustrations and the excellence of the type.

Miss Sarson's two volumes are altogether attractive and interesting, and they are especially suitable for children through her many and wise omissions, though the story of Celtic Christianity should not have been one of them. It is unfortunate, too, that with so many pleasing chapters on social life a page could not have been spared for the part played by the Norman castle, and that a description of fairs and markets is relegated to the eighteenth century. In a history of Britain, might not a child's imaginative interest be roused in Welsh and Scottish nationality rather than in the Battle of Towton (date twice misprinted)? On minor points two questions arise—whether it is desirable to speak of the “drawing-rooms” of the Romans, and true to say that “James II. chose all his ministers, judges, and officers from among Roman Catholics.”

Miss Hanson's Book III. (1689-1815) is a successful attempt to cover a wide ground, but would probably appeal only to older children. In the account of the '45 the assumption throughout is that Charles Edward was claiming the throne for himself, not for his father. In Book IV. (1815-1914) the effort to give a survey of nearly every activity in the British Empire has led Miss Hanson to omit dramatic episodes in order to include such details as the first training colleges for teachers in London and the early gold discoveries in Australia, and the volume is rather overweighted with information. One curious point is the total omission of the life and personality of Queen Victoria; whether she was a factor or a reflection of the “Victorian Age,” to ignore her relation to the social and political ideals of her time is to read the twentieth-century mind into the nineteenth.

M. H. S.

MISS GERTRUDE ROBINSON'S unpretentious little book, *In a Mediæval Library* (Sands, 4s.), has claims upon those who care for, or are even curious about, mediæval devotional literature. Though her method, as she herself says, is not critical, and she has admitted alterations of the text to make it more intelligible to modern readers, she has produced from certain Bodleian MSS. some interesting and beautiful extracts. Among her sources may be mentioned Walter Hylton, sometime Carthusian of Shene, in whose gracious peace Wolsey and Colet alike vainly hoped to end their days; the *Garden of Syon*, and St. Bonaventura. Extracts from six mystical writers form Part II. of her little book, and the introduction contains, or is followed by, many more quotations, as from Dame Juliana of Norwich, Margery Kemp of Lynn, Dean Colet, and others. Miss Robinson really succeeds in illustrating the period she has chosen, the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and wisely includes writers who, like Bonaventura, lived earlier but were popular then, and others, like Richard Rolle of Hampole, well known through translations such as Richard Misyn's of the *Fire of Love* and the *Mending of Life*. She points out that the Contemplatives of the fifteenth century were probably great translators of the foreign mystics. Incidentally she also shows how knowledge of the Bible and its teaching was inculcated by Mysteries and Miracle plays, and the part played by the guilds in this. Perhaps the fact of this widespread

knowledge, however popular in form, still needs to be emphasised, though to readers of mediæval writings it is familiar enough, being so much a part of the very texture of those writings as often to tax a modern recollection.

A. M. C.

PROFESSOR C. K. WEBSTER'S *Congress of Vienna, 1814-15* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1919, 4s. 6d.) is published for the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, and is, we believe, the only one of a long series of valuable monographs written by members of that organisation which has yet been allowed to see the light. We earnestly hope that punctilio will not stand in the way of the remainder. The excuse for obscurantism that they are based upon confidential documents savours strongly of an outworn tradition of secret diplomacy, and after the Great War the fear that national susceptibilities will be dangerously wounded by telling the truth about events of half a century ago is singularly far-fetched; and the promised *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, while it will no doubt incorporate some of the results of the labours of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, will be no substitute for the monographs themselves. Professor Webster's is by far the best account yet published of the Congress of Vienna. It must, if read, have been of enormous practical value to the participants in the Congress of Versailles, although it is fairly obvious that some of the lessons which might have been learnt were not taken to heart. Professor Webster, like most students of the period, has a great admiration for the work done by Castlereagh, though he writes severely of that statesman's betrayal of Murat, and sees clearly enough the evil consequences of his policy with regard to the strengthening of Prussia and partitioning of Poland. We do not think he has quite grasped Castlereagh's definite conception of that vague phrase, "the Balance of Power," and on p. 98 there is a sentence about Poland and Metternich, the meaning of which we cannot fathom ourselves.

A. F. P.

IF anyone could put forward with authority *Selected Speeches and Documents of British Colonial Policy* (Oxford University Press, 1918, 2 vols., 4s. net) it would be Dr. A. B. Keith, the learned author of *Responsible Government in the Dominions*; and yet the fruits of Dr. Keith's labours are, to some extent, disappointing. In a collection of this kind the text of the Quebec Act, and about fifty pages of quotations from Lord Durham's Report, which should be by this time familiar to all interested in the subject, might well have been omitted, and room found for speeches such as that of Huskisson, in 1828, on Canadian affairs, and that of Lord J. Russell in introducing the Government of Australia Bill, 1850, which throw light on British statesmen's views of Colonial policy. The subject matter is arranged under nine heads: (1) The origin of representative government in Canada; (2) the deadlock in Canada, and the grant of responsible government; (3) responsible government in Australasia; (4) the federation of Canada; (5) the Commonwealth of Australia; (6) the Union of South Africa; (7) the autonomy in internal affairs of the self-governing Dominions; (8) the relations of the Dominions to Foreign Powers; and (9) the unity of the Empire. The material selected under (7) and (8) is especially valuable and suggestive.

H. E. E.

THE attention of every reader of HISTORY who is interested in the subject of the British Empire should be called to the very useful pamphlet, *An Introduction to the Study of Colonial History*, by A. P. Newton, D.Lit. (S.P.C.K., 1919, 6d.). In the modest compass of some forty pages Dr. Newton gives an excellent bibliography of the different aspects of British Colonial history. Some mention is made of books on the Colonies of other nations, but the treatment is of necessity less thorough. The main difficulty in the way of the compiler of such a book must always be what to leave out, and therefore it is a graceless act to lament over omissions. Still, since Dr. Newton finds room for the mention of Andrews's *British Committees, etc.*, 1622-1675, he should, surely, not have left out the standard volume of Dr. Dickerson on *American Colonial Government*, 1696-1765.

H. E. E.

FROM the point of view of a believer in Home Rule, Mr. Ernest Barker, in *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years*, sketched the history of Ireland from 1866 to the eve of the European War. In the second edition of an able book (1919, Clarendon Press, 3s. 6d.) he discusses the history of Ireland during the war. His discussion, however, suffers from the omission of some important factors, such, for instance, as the effects of the expiry of the Small Arms Act in 1906.

R. H. M.

IN his introduction to *The Declaration of Independence, The Articles of Confederation, and The Constitution of the United States* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1917, 4s. 6d.), Dr. J. B. Scott remarks on the singular difficulty of finding these all-important documents "within the compass of a single volume, unencumbered with extraneous matter," and he has rendered students of history, law, and politics a distinct service by providing such a text, with the help of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at so moderate a price, with an index to the Constitution extending to forty-four pages. The nature of the "extraneous matter" in the present volume is suggested by the Carnegie Endowment and by Dr. Scott's eminent services as United States Delegate at the two Hague Conferences; and the object of this edition is to show that the gradual formation of the constitution of the United States furnishes a model applicable to the development of a Society of Nations, "an indestructible union composed of indestructible States." There is, indeed, a close parallel between the way in which the fathers of the American Constitution did, and international lawyers at The Hague Conferences sought to, substitute judicial decision for arbitration and a permanent court for a temporary tribunal. Nevertheless, the first power the American colonies claimed "as Free and Independent States" was "to levy war" (p. v.); and before the "indestructible States" became "an indestructible Union" three-quarters of a century had to elapse and a gigantic civil war to be waged; and Dr. Scott's "example" led in time to a unity of government which even he does not advocate for the nations of the world. The parallel may encourage the enthusiasts for international government, but will rather deter the dubious nationalist from conversion.

A. F. P.

DR. SCOTT and the American branch of the Oxford University Press have also provided us with two volumes of documents which

are indispensable to the history of the intervention of the United States in the war, though these are not financed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the price is 15s. each. One is *Diplomatic Correspondence between the United States and Germany, 1914-1917*, and the other is *President Wilson's Foreign Policy: Messages, Addresses, Papers*. The chief topic in the former is, of course, the submarine, as Dr. Scott points out in his introduction; and America intervened because it would not change the law to suit the submarine. The latter volume takes a wider scope and will appeal to a larger public. Beginning a year before the war, it deals at first with Mexican affairs, then carries us through the period of American neutrality to the declaration of war on April 2nd, 1917, and culminates in the address of January 8th, 1918, which laid down the famous Fourteen Points. It is an authentic record of the expansion of the President's mind and of American policy, and the Fourteen Points upon which the Armistice of November, 1918, and the Peace of 1919, were professedly based constitute a declaration the importance of which is not surpassed by any other historical document. These and other collections of documents are, however, too bulky and expensive for the libraries and purses of most students of history, and the Oxford University Press would be adding greatly to its services to historical study if it could comprise in a single volume a selection of the most important documents relating to the war.

A. F. P.

MR. HERMANN HAGEDORN's *Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (Harrap, 6s.) clearly marks the advent of a new style in biography. It is original, since it includes information contained in diaries and papers never before made public. It is authoritative, since much of it was written under correction of either Mr. Roosevelt himself or members of his family. But at the same time it is short, sensational, and entirely unrelieved by any gradations of light and shade. The reader finds it increasingly difficult to realise that the hero, whose hair-breadth adventures in war, politics, and the chase are displayed with electrical rapidity before his dazzled eyes, had any relation with the actual world of affairs. Mr. Roosevelt stands alone in the middle of the stage of the earth, and behind him are grouped multitudes of pigmies, mostly knaves and fools, introduced merely that they may throw his magnitude into relief. This travesty of fact is all the more regrettable because he was, with all his faults of manner, a really great, honourable, and noble man. He made a long and splendid fight for clean politics in America, and he did many notable deeds. Mr. Hagedorn has unintentionally done less than justice to his subject by his exaggerated claims on his behalf. Nevertheless, he has written a book of absorbing interest, and one which repays judicious study.

F. J. C. H.

HISTORY has not dealt very kindly with the arguments and anticipations of Dr. Coleman Philippon's *Alsace-Lorraine: Past, Present, and Future* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1918. 25s.). To achieve their restoration to France would, he writes (p. 236), "necessitate such unspeakably appalling slaughter, destruction, and sacrifice on all sides as would leave Europe a shambles and without any population at all. Is the result worth the cost? Only an unreasoning fanatic could answer this question in the affirmative." Nor can we say much more for

Dr. Philippson's treatment of the past of Alsace-Lorraine; and his treatise illustrates the pitfalls in the path of the international lawyer who considers a study of the text of treaties an adequate equipment for their elucidation without an historical knowledge of the conditions and circumstances with which they dealt. Such phrases as the "Emperor of the Romans" (p. 52), "Emperor of Germany" (p. 54) applied to Charles V., and such statements as that Germany in 843 "consisted of a great number of small States" (p. 115), and that "to belong to the Empire meant little more than the payment of tribute" (p. 116), do not inspire confidence; and Dr. Philippson's charge of obscurity and inconsistency against the Treaty of Münster (p. 57) rests mainly upon his unfamiliarity with the complicated constitution of the Holy Roman Empire and the difficulty which legal writers experience in bringing it within the fixed categories of modern international law. The chief and most useful contention in his volume, which might have been put in fewer words and with less repetition, is that the Alsatians in particular "are neither French nor German" (pp. 38, 202, 248), and that the *plébiscite* for which he pleads would before the war "have resulted in favour of autonomy within the German Empire, and if organised now (April, 1918) will result in favour of neutralised independence" (p. 318). The movement for Alsatian autonomy made too much progress during German domination for Alsace to be content in the future to be cut up into the two Departments it formed before 1871. Lorraine is more French and may be more amenable to French centralisation, but without careful and considerate handling Alsace might become the Ireland of France. A.

MR. F. A. KIRKPATRICK has revised and published as *South America and the War* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1918, 4s. 6d.) a course of lectures delivered at King's College, London, in the Lent Term of that year. The subject was professedly economic, but the contents of this little volume are encyclopædic, beginning with an account of geographical conditions and of South American history, on which Mr. Kirkpatrick wrote in the *Cambridge Modern History*, and concluding with a discussion of Pan-Americanism. This treatment is no doubt justified by the general ignorance of South American affairs prevalent in this country, and the lectures were a useful attempt to attract attention to the vast potentialities of South America and to the substantial progress which has been made. But there is not much penetration beneath the surface, and Mr. Kirkpatrick somewhat diplomatically glosses over the differences which left South America, even at the end of the war, divided into three groups of Powers which had declared war on Germany, merely broken off diplomatic relations, or remained neutral; that there were no German allies was due more to the British Navy than to South American solidarity, or to universal sympathy with the Entente. More precise information about the development of the diplomatic situation is to be found in *The Brazilian Green Book* (George Allen and Unwin, 1918, 7s. 6d.), edited by Mr. Andrew Boyle, and containing the Brazilian correspondence from August 4th, 1914, to Brazil's declaration of war on October 26th, 1917. B.

The Chronology of the War (Constable, 1918, Vol. I., 1914-15, 5s.), issued under the auspices of the Ministry of Information, is

a useful, painstaking, and, so far as we are able to judge, accurate compilation. Besides the chronological tables there are concise notes on important episodes and cases, and careful and exhaustive indices. Some of the details might perhaps have been omitted; for instance, the resignation by Sir E. Speyer of his British honours, and the King's refusal to accept the same; and some like the reported capture of Vimy Ridge by the French on September 29th, 1915, need correction. A graver lapse is the entry on p. 101, "President Wilson on the *Lusitania*: 'There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight.' " The address in which those words occurred had not the faintest reference to the *Lusitania* or to the war. The *Atlas* (3s. 6d.) which is issued under the same auspices as a companion to the *Chronology* is about as good as it could be in the compass. The only noticeable lack is of maps to illustrate the battles of the Chemin des Dames, Cambrai, and those of 1918. Ypres, Loos, the Vimy Ridge, the Somme, Champagne, and Verdun are given somewhat preferential treatment; but the volume as a whole can be heartily commended to teachers and students of the history of the war.

A. F. P.

MR. ALBERT E. MCKINLEY'S *Collected Materials for the Study of the War* (McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, 1918, 65 cents) is a veritable encyclopædia in miniature, better as an aid to teaching the history of the war than anything we have seen published on this side of the Atlantic. The *Materials* contain an elaborate bibliography, maps, essays on the geography of the war and how to study it, a syllabus for a course of study, a "topical outline of the war," and a selection from President Wilson's Addresses, from United States statutes relating to the war, and from executive proclamations and orders. These last indicate a scholastic attention to civics up to date for which there is not the remotest parallel in British education.

A. F. P.

PROFESSOR W. R. SCOTT is the most humanistic of professional economists, and the lay reader is agreeably surprised to encounter in his *Economic Problems of Peace after War* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1918, 6s.) quotations from Homer, Plato, Dion Chrysostom, Empedocles, and Epictetus (in Greek), from Suetonius, Shakespeare and Massinger, Milton and Samuel Butler, Coleridge and Matthew Arnold, Bodin and Selden, Swift and Burke, Berkeley and Dr. Johnson. But the most apt is that from William Hone prefixed to the chapter on "The Period of Financial Transition":—

You know
Our sad condition
Was partly owing to
The quick transition
From war to peace.

A study of the post-Napoleonic era is useful now that we, too, seem to be treading the path from Waterloo to Peterloo; and although these lectures were delivered at University College eighteen months ago, they are pertinent enough to-day. Professor Scott's topics are "Mare Liberum—Aer Clausus?" "A League of Nations and Commercial Policy," "The Financial Burden of To-day and To-morrow," "Conscription or Proscription of Capital," "The Period of Financial

Transition," and "Ten Years After." Even as a prophet Professor Scott writes with sanity and judgment. C.

In his *War Lessons, New and Old* (Murray, 1919, 7s. 6d.), Major-General Sir George Aston, K.C.B., has collected some fifteen magazine and newspaper articles written during the later stages of the war, and has added as an appendix a lecture on "Amphibious Strategy" delivered in 1907. Sir George's main contribution to the study of war has been his insistence on the connection, vital for England, between war on sea and war on land, and his protest against the suicidal habit of treating the two in separate compartments. He invented the phrase "amphibious operations," and we should do well to remember that the wars in which the Empire is involved almost inevitably partake of that character. Sir George writes on other subjects agreeably, if somewhat discursively, and always with knowledge and discrimination. A few trifles might be suggested for correction in future editions. The Kaiser's telegram to President Wilson was surely sent on August 10th, not September 10th, 1914 (p. 3). On p. 54 the German armies are given in one order and the French in the reverse, and the name of the commander of the Fifth French Army is, we think, Lanrezac, and not Lanzerac, as it is usually printed in England. On p. 59 we should set against Sir George's opinion the German view, expressed in *The Times* on July 25th, 1919, that it was the defection of Bulgaria which finally ruined Germany's prospects. The definition of the freedom of the seas, described (p. 173) as "now at last" being given in May, 1918, was enunciated by Herr Dernburg at New York on January 8th, 1915; and on p. 217 the "three dimensions" are curiously described as "up and down and right and left." This only makes two, and the third is "forwards and backwards." The pleasant satire (pp. 140, etc.) of "the flood of jargon that flows from Berlin" might *mutatis mutandis* be applied to much that emanated from our own Intelligence Departments. D.

MR. E. A. FRY'S *Almanacks for Students of English History* (Phillimore and Co., 7s. 6d.) is a useful help to post-graduate students faced with the problem of converting mediæval and unfamiliar methods of dating documents into their modern equivalents. Hitherto they have had to rely on such books as Nicolas' *Chronology of History* or the more elaborate *Art de péripher les Dates*, which, besides being out of print, required elaborate calculations to ascertain the equivalency. Mr. Fry has done most of the calculation for them, and they have no further excuse for not understanding the differences between the old and the new style, the use of Dominical letters, or the meaning of regnal years. An incidental note on the table for 1752 suggests an explanation of the contemporary legend that the style was changed in 1753; it appears that while every other change from the old to the new was made in 1752, the date of Easter Day—ecclesiastically the most important in the year—was not made till 1753. One addition to Mr. Fry's text would be useful to some students of English, and all students of London, history, viz., an excursus on mayoral years, which is the system of dating in London chronicles. A fuller note might also be given on p. vi of the dates at which other countries adopted the Gregorian reform. Russia and Serbia should now be added to the list. A. F. P.

WE have received the numbers for April, July, and October, 1918, and January, 1919, *i.e.* Vol. IV., of the *Catholic Historical Review* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., \$1 each, annual subscription \$3). Among their contents are the following, of interest to others besides students of the history of Roman Catholicism—July: "Explorers and Pioneers of Illinois, 1673-1790," by Dr. J. B. Culemans; "Diocesan Organisation in the Spanish Colonies, 1565-1819," by Dr. E. Ryan; "New Netherland Intolerance," by Dr. F. J. Zwierlein. October: "The Church in Borinquen (Porto Rico) from 1513," by H. G. Doyle. January: "The Gallipolis Colony (French) in Ohio (1790)," by the Rev. L. J. Kenny; "Florida's First Bishop, 1527" (an addendum to Dr. Ryan's article in July), by Z. Engelhardt; "The Pedro Fages MS. on California (1769)," edited and translated by Dr. H. I. Priestley.

E. J. D.

WE have also received the Class List *Fine Arts and Archaeology*, including *Architecture*, of the *Subject Index to Periodicals* (*The Athenæum*, 2s. 6d.), reviewed in our January number, completing the set specially interesting to students of history, and containing many entries on mediæval and modern topography (over thirty on London alone), as well as those on medals, numismatics, prehistoric and classical antiquities, etc.; *The Palace of Westminster*, by H. F. Westlake (63 pp., seven photographs, but no plan; John Lane, 1s.), a guidebook of little value historically, giving nearly 30 pp. to explanations of the frescoes, while making no attempt to explain the arrangement of the House of Lords, with its great historical significance; *Austria-Hungary and her Slav Subjects*, by F. May Dickinson Berry (48 pp., Allen and Unwin, 1s.), a well-intentioned effort to elucidate the problem of the Habsburg Empire before the crash of 1918, by a writer whose general historical equipment is hardly adequate ("The Franks . . . under Charlemagne vanquished other German races," including "our own ancestors the Saxons"; "in 1815 . . . a so-called 'Holy Alliance' was instituted by the States participating in the congress, which was to meet every four years, to secure the carrying out of the conditions of the treaty"); and *A Short History of the S.P.C.K.*, by W. K. Lowther Clarke (106 pp., 1s.). The main object of this last is to arouse interest in the work of the society; it gives, however, some account of its earlier days (abridged from the bicentenary *History* published in 1898, and the *Minutes and Correspondence*, 1698-1704, edited by Canon McClure), including a chapter on the "Charity Schools." There were fifty-four of these in 1704 in and near London, thirty-four in the provinces; but, soon after, that at Bradford-on-Avon, in order not to interfere with the supply of child labour, had to be "carried on during the breakfast and dinner hours—9 to 10 a.m. and 3 to 4 p.m. The employers paid 5s. yearly for each child, and allowed longer time for schooling when trade was slack."

E. J. D.

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH.

[Under this heading it is proposed to indicate the main lines of historical research, pursued in various Schools of History, by giving lists of theses and publications accepted for higher degrees, essays by graduates awarded University Prizes, etc.,¹ with the names of the Professors and other teachers, if any, under whose direction they were prepared. When the work has been printed, particulars of publication will be added in footnotes. In each University the degree of Doctor of (or in) Letters (or Literature) may be awarded on consideration of the candidate's whole contribution to the advancement of learning; in all except Birmingham, Leeds, and London the work submitted must have been published. Theses accepted for the lower degrees are frequently published later, wholly or in part.²

As most work of the kind was suspended during the War, it has been decided to inaugurate the series by lists covering the years 1911-1918, inclusive. The lists for Cambridge, Liverpool, and Oxford are in an advanced stage of preparation, and we hope to publish them in our next Number. The names printed in capitals at the foot of each University list are those of the compilers.]

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS.

M.A.

- The Irish Druids. By Christine Standing. 1916. (Miss A. M. Cooke.)
- The English Church in the 13th Century. By F. R. Wortz. 1911. (Miss Cooke.)
- The Religious Policy of Archbishop Peckham. By H. Cox. 1911. (Miss Cooke.)
- Archbishop Peckham. By T. W. Pay. 1917. (Miss Cooke.)
- The Later History of the Franciscans in the Universities of Paris and Oxford. By Janet Dykes. 1916. (Miss Cooke.)
- The Third Order of Penitents. By C. W. Hutton. 1917. (Miss Cooke.)
- Some Later Followers of St. Francis. By Constance Mawson. 1918. (Miss Cooke.)
- The Early Life of Archbishop Parker. By A. E. Warren. 1912. (Prof. Grant.)
- The Action of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Matters in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. By P. P. W. Gendall. 1911. (Prof. Grant.)
- Whitgift. By W. C. Thomas. 1915. (Prof. Grant.)
- Danby. By A. Mabel Evans. 1918. (Prof. Grant.)
- Madame de Maintenon. By R. H. D. G. Byrne. 1915. (Prof. Grant.)
- Early Nonconformity, with local illustrations. By C. E. Wright. 1916. (Prof. Grant.)
- The Political Philosophy of Burke. By A. E. Dean. 1913. (Prof. Grant.)
- The Commune of Paris, 1790-1792. By J. R. Firth. 1913. (Prof. Grant.)
- Robespierre: The Last Phase. By J. L. Tomlinson. 1913. (Prof. Grant.)
- English Elementary Schools, 1801-1840. By A. Birtles. 1911. (Prof. Welton.)
- The Free Traders, 1840-46. By Sarah J. Caldwell. 1911. (Prof. Clapham.)
- The Condition of the Irish Peasantry, 1840-50. By J. P. Hinckley. 1917. (Prof. Grant.)

¹ The regulations under which the various degrees and prizes are awarded may be found in the *Calendars* of the respective Universities.

² Publication as a book is indicated by printing the title in italics, publisher and date being given in the notes. Publication in other forms is indicated by the notes only. In the doctorate lists, etc. signifies various papers and articles.

Litt.D.

1915. Albert Peel. *The Seconde Parte of a Register: Being a Calendar of MSS. under that Title Intended for Publication by the Puritans*, c 1593.¹

A. J. GRANT.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

Historical subjects may be offered not only for the degrees of M.A. and D.Lit., but also for those of M.Sc. (instituted 1914) and D.Sc. (Economics). Copies of all theses and publications accepted are deposited in the University Library, South Kensington.

M.A., M.Sc., and D.Sc.

Theses accepted for External degrees are not included in this list, as they were not prepared under the direction of the University.

Ancient Indian Education.² By F. E. Keay, M.A., 1917. (Professor Adams.)

Public Administration in Ancient India.³ By P. Banerjea (Bandyopadhyay), D.Sc. (Econ.). 1916. (Mr. Lees-Smith.)

The History of Miletus to the Anabasis of Alexander.⁴ By Adelaide G. Dunham, M.A. 1913. (Mr. M. O. B. Caspari.)

The Campaign of Xerxes from the Persian side. By J. A. Dodd, M.A. 1913. (Dr. J. K. Fotheringham.)

The Legislation of Caius Gracchus. By G. A. Le Chavetois, M.A. 1912. (Dr. J. K. Fotheringham.)

Roman Agriculture in the Time of the Gracchi. By Claire A. J. Moore, M.A. 1914. (Mr. Caspari.)

Sardinia under the Roman Republic. By Ellen M. Adams, M.A. 1917. (Mr. Caspari and Miss A. M. Ramsay.)

Numidia under the Roman Republic. By Sybil M. Gates, M.A. 1917. (Mr. Caspari and Mr. N. H. Baynes.)

The Political Activity of Clodius. By Muriel D. Whitehouse, M.A. 1916. (Mr. Caspari and Miss A. M. Ramsay.)

Hildebrand's Conception of the Church. By Dorothy Dymond, M.A. 1915. (Miss Hilda Johnstone and the Rev. Prof. J. P. Whitney, D.D.)

The Importance of Winchester as the Capital of England from the 10th to the 12th Century. By P. Meadows, M.A. 1911. (Mr. Hubert Hall.⁵)

The Forest of Dean in its Relations with the Crown during the 12th and 13th Centuries.⁶ By Margaret L. Bazeley, M.A. 1911. (Mr. E. I. Carlyle and Miss Hayes Robinson.)

The Local Administration of the Sheriff in the 13th Century. By Margaret A. Hennings, M.A. 1916. (Mr. E. I. Carlyle, Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, and Miss F. Street.)

The English View of Usury and the Distribution of Wealth in the Later Middle Ages. By H. G. Richardson, M.A. 1912. (Mr. Hall.)

English Apprenticeship and Child Labour.⁷ By Olive J. Dunlop, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1912. (Mrs. Lilian Knowles, Litt.D.)

The Italian Merchants in England, 1272-1399; especially in connexion with the Wool Trade. By Ada Neild, M.A. 1914. (Prof. Pollard and Dr. Rachel Reid.)

Archbishop Winchelsey: a sketch of a critical period in the relations between Church and State. By F. Barton, M.A. 1912.

English Nunneries in the Later Middle Ages, c. 1250-1535. By Eileen E. Power, M.A. 1916. (Mr. Hall.)

The History of English Patriotism.⁸ By E. C. Wingfield-Stratford, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1913. (Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson.)

The Household of the Queens of England during the First Part of the 14th Century. By Alice M. Best, M.A. 1916. (Miss Hilda Johnstone.)

Constitutional and Diplomatic Aspects of the Ordinances of 1311. By Mabel H. Mills, M.A. 1912. (Mr. J. W. Allen.)

¹ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1915.

² Milford, 1918.

³ Macmillan, 1916.

⁴ Univ. of London Press, 1915.

⁵ Mr. Hall, as Reader in Palaeography, assists in the general training for research of most London students dealing with medieval subjects; those with whom his name is connected above also prepared their theses under his direction.

⁶ Partly included in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, xxxiii, 1910.

⁷ Fisher Unwin, 1912. Set also *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1911.

⁸ John Lane, 1913.

*Social and Constitutional Tendencies in the Early Years of Edward III.*⁹ By Dorothy Hughes, M.A. 1913. (Mr. J. W. Allen and Prof. Pollard.)

The Date and Authorship of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*.¹⁰ By Dorothy K. Hodnett, M.A., Bristol. 1918. (Prof. Pollard and Miss E. Jeffries Davis.)

The Medieval Irish Parliament. By Helen Scott, M.A. 1914. (Prof. Pollard.)

The Great Council in the 15th Century.¹¹ By T. F. T. Plucknett, M.A. 1917. (Prof. Pollard and Miss Davis.)

The Condition of the Clergy at the Time of the Reformation in England. By Myra K. R. Cotton, M.A. 1916. (Prof. Pollard.)

The Judiciary in Relation to Legislation and Constitutional Development during the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. By J. J. MacGinley, M.A. 1915. (Prof. Pollard.)

The Jurisdiction of the Privy Council under the Tudors. By Edna F. White, M.A. 1918. (Prof. Pollard and Miss Davis.)

The Treason Legislation of the Reign of Henry VIII.¹² By Isobel D. Thornley, M.A. 1917. (Prof. Pollard and Miss Davis.)

The Dissolution of the English Nunneries. By Hilda T. Jacka, M.A. 1917. (Mr. E. I. Carlyle and Miss Street.)

Parliamentary Representation in the 16th Century. By W. S. Dann, M.A. 1911. (Prof. Pollard.)

The Beginnings of English Trade with Guinea and the East Indies, 1550-1599. By Kate M. Eliot, M.A. 1915. (Prof. Pollard and Dr. A. P. Newton.)

The First Settlement of the Maritime Nations in the Spanish Antilles. By P. W. Day, M.A. 1916. (Dr. Newton.)

The Parish in the 17th Century in the North Riding.¹³ By Eleanor Trotter, M.A. 1913. (Prof. Pollard and Dr. Reid.)

The Shipmoney Levies under Charles I. and their Influence on Local Feeling. By Sarah E. Foster, M.A. 1914. (Mr. E. I. Carlyle and Miss Street.)

Irish Trade in the Time of Strafford. By Hilda M. Davis, M.A., 1911. (Prof. Pollard.)

The Relations between England and France during the Great Rebellion.¹⁴ By Dorothy A. Bigby, M.A. 1912. (Prof. Pollard.)

English Taxation, 1640-1799.¹⁵ By W. Kennedy, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1912. (Prof. Cannan.)

The Mercantile Aspect of English Foreign Policy during the Reign of Charles II. By D. G. E. Hall, M.A. 1917. (Prof. Hearnshaw and Dr. Newton.)

The Position of England towards the Baltic Powers, 1689-1697.¹⁶ By Margery Lane, M.A. 1911. (Mr. Hall.)

Social Conditions in Ireland in the 17th and 18th Centuries as Illustrated by Early Quaker Records. By Isabel Grubb, M.A. 1916. (Dr. Caroline Skeel.)

Influences of the Improvements in Agriculture during the Reigns of George I. and George II. By M. J. Truscott, M.A. 1914. (Prof. Pollard.)

Municipal Origins: A History of Private Bill Legislation, 1740-1835.¹⁷ By F. H. Spencer, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1911. (Prof. Sidney Webb.)

Chatham's Colonial Policy.¹⁸ By Kate Hotblack, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1917. (Mr. Hall.)

Emigration from the United Kingdom to N. America, 1763-1912.¹⁹ By S. C. Johnson, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1913. (Dr. Knowles.)

Constitutional Development at the Cape of Good Hope, 1795-1854. By G. W. Eybers, M.A. 1916. (Dr. Newton.)

The Prelude to the Great Trek. By J. E. Holloway, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1917. (Dr. Pember Reeves.)

⁹ Univ. of London Press (Hodder and Stoughton), 1915.

¹⁰ Part of this and one of its appendices were published, with additional material collected by Miss W. P. White and other members of the Seminar, in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1919.

¹¹ Part included in "The Place of the Council in the 15th Century." *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1918. (The Alexander Prize Essay.)

¹² Parts included in "Treason by Words in the 15th Century," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1917, and "The Treason Legislation of 1531-34," *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1917 (The Alexander Prize Essay).

¹³ Shortly to be published by the Cambridge Univ. Press.

¹⁴ For a document appended to this see *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1913.

¹⁵ Bell and Sons, 1913.

¹⁷ Constable, 1911.

¹⁸ Routledge, 1913.

¹⁶ Part published in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1911.

¹⁹ Routledge, 1917.

- The Colonisation of Australia, 1829-42.*²⁰ By R. C. Mills, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1915. (Dr. Pember Reeves.)
- The Development of Rates of Postage.*²¹ By A. D. Smith, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1917. (Prof. Graham Wallas.)
- The Relations of National and Local Finance in England since 1832.*²² By J. W. Grice, D.Sc. (Econ.). 1911. (Prof. Cannan.)
- The Activities of Catholics in Matters of Education in England.* By A. P. Braddock, M.A. 1917. (Prof. Adamson.)
- The Influence of 1848 on Education.* By Olive W. Sinclair, M.A. 1916. (Prof. Adamson.)
- Problems of English Elementary Education since 1870.* By H. A. Grimshaw, M.Sc. (Econ.). 1918. (Prof. Graham Wallas.)
- Economic Phenomena Before and After War.*²³ By S. Secerov, M.Sc. (Econ.). 1918. (Prof. A. L. Bowley.)

D.Lit.

1911. *External.* F. W. Tickner. Patriotism in English Literature, to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.
1912. Catherine B. Firth. *The English Church in the Time of Edward IV.*²⁴ (Prof. Pollard.)
- Rachel R. Reid. *The Council in the North.* (Prof. Pollard.)
- Ext.* P. Studer. *The Oak Book of Southampton.*²⁵
- Ext.* Foster Watson. *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*²⁶; *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England.*²⁷
1913. B. L. K. Henderson. *The Charters of the Protectorate.*²⁸ (Mr. Hall.)
- Bertha C. Rider. *The Greek House: Its History and Development.*²⁹ (Prof. Ernest Gardner.)
1914. *Ext.* W. E. Beet. *The Rise of the Papacy*³⁰; *The Early Roman Episcopate.*³¹
- Ext.* A. P. Newton. *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans.*³²
- A Report upon the Papers of the Royal African Company drawn up for the Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1913; etc.
1915. W. W. Seton. *Two 15th Century Franciscan Rules*³³; *Some New Sources for the Life of Blessed Agnes of Bohemia*³⁴; etc.
1917. B. Barua. *Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha.* (Mrs. Mabel H. Bode, Ph.D.)
- Ext.* E. F. Churchill. *The Dispensing Power in England.*³⁵
1918. *Ext.* G. W. Eybers. *Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating S. African History, 1795-1910,*³⁶ with an Introduction; *Instructien voor het Bestuur van de Buitendistrikten van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1805*³⁷; *The Constitutional History of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1872*; etc.

E. JEFFRIES DAVIS.

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

Historical subjects may be offered not only for the degrees of M.A., Ph.D. (instituted 1918), and D.Litt., but also for those of M.Ed. and M.Com.

M.A. and M.Ed.

The following list includes only those theses produced under the direction of the University or recognised by the University by publication through its Press.

The Senatorial Opposition to the Early Roman Empire. By Winifred Biggs, M.A. 1917. (Prof. Anderson.)

²⁰ Sidgwick and Jackson, 1915.

²¹ Allen and Unwin, 1917.

²² P. S. King, 1910.

²³ Routledge, 1919.

²⁴ Part published in "Benefit of Clergy in the Time of Edward I," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1917.

²⁵ Southampton Record Soc., 1910 and 1911. 2 vols. and Supplement.

²⁶ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1908.

²⁷ Pitman, 1909.

²⁸ Part published in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1912.

²⁹ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1916.

³⁰ C. H. Kelly, 1910.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1913.

³² Yale Univ. Press, 1914.

³³ E. E. T. S., 1914.

³⁴ British Soc. of Franciscan Studies, 1915.

³⁵ Part published in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1919.

³⁶ Routledge, 1918.

³⁷ Prepared for publication by the Historisch Genootschap van Utrecht.

- Pope Eugenius III. By Elsie Tesh, M.A. 1918. (Prof. Tout.)
- The Templars in England. By Agnes M. Sandys, M.A. 1918. (Prof. Tout.)
- The Council of Lyons, 1274. By Ethel M. Woodall, M.A. 1917. (Mr. A. G. Little and Prof. Tout.)
- Some Aspects of the Life and Work of Archbishop Pecham. By Dorothy Sutcliffe, M.A. 1918. (Prof. Tout.)
- The Edwardian Settlement of Wales, 1284-1307.³⁸ By J. G. Edwards, M.A. 1915. (Prof. Tout.)
- The Administration of Cheshire in the 13th and Early 14th Century. By Margaret Tout, M.A. 1918. (Prof. Tait.)
- The Taxation of Wool, 1327-48.³⁹ By F. R. Barnes, M.A. 1912. (Prof. Unwin.)
- The London Lay Subsidy of 1332.³⁹ By Margaret Curtis, M.A. 1912. (Prof. Unwin.)
- Calais under Edward III.³⁹ By Dorothy Greaves, M.A. 1912. (Prof. Unwin.)
- The Societies of the Bardi and Peruzzi and their dealings with Edward III.³⁹ By E. Russell, M.A. 1912. (Prof. Unwin.)
- The Wine Trade with Gascony under Edward III.³⁹ By F. Sargeant, M.A. 1912. (Prof. Unwin.)
- The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole.*⁴⁰ By Margaret Deanesley, M.A. 1915. (Prof. Tout.)
- The Office of Principal Secretary to the Crown under Elizabeth and the Early Stewarts. By Florence M. G. Evans, M.A. 1918. (Prof. Tout.⁴¹)
- The Arian Movement in England.*⁴² By J. H. Colligan, M.A. 1911. (The Rev. A. Gordon and Prof. Tout.)
- Philip Francis and the Problem of British Government in Bengal. By Sophia Weitzman, M.A. 1917. (Prof. Muir and Prof. Tout.)
- The Development of the Capitalist Employer in Industry during the Industrial Revolution. By W. Bradburn, M.A. 1914. (Prof. Unwin.)
- Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education, 1800-1870.*⁴³ By S. E. Maltby, M.Ed. 1916. (Prof. Findlay.)

D.Litt.

1913. The Rev. B. Nightingale. *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmoreland, Their Predecessors and Successors.*⁴⁴ (The Rev. A. Gordon and Prof. Tout.)

T. F. TOUT.

³⁸ Partly published in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1914, Oct., 1915, and Jan., 1916.

³⁹ Published in *Finance and Trade under Edward III.*, edited by Prof. Unwin. Manchester Univ. Press, 1918.

⁴⁰ Univ. Press, 1915. See also *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1914.

⁴¹ Also Professor Firth, of the University of Oxford.

⁴² Univ. Press, 1913.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1918.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1911. 2 vols.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in The Times Literary Supplement, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

WORLD-POWER and Evolution. By Ellsworth Huntington. Yale Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. (p. 359.)

LETTERS, etc., from Erech, Neo-Babylonian Period, in the Collection of J. B. Nies. By C. E. Keiser. 42 pp., 60 plates. Yale Univ. Press (Milford). 21s.

HINDU Achievements (Ancient and Medieval) in Exact Science. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. xiii+82 pp. Longmans. 4s. 6d.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA. By R. Mookerji. xix+229 pp. Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. (p. 433.)

THE SAMKHYA Philosophy. By A. Berriedale Keith. (The Heritage of India Series.) 109 pp. Milford. 1s. 6d.

STUDIES in the History of Ideas. Ed. by the Dept. of Philosophy, Columbia University. Vol. I., 272 pp. Columbia Univ. Press (Milford). 8s. 6d.

THE PILGRIMAGE of Etheria. Ed. M. L. McClure and C. L. Feltoe. (Translations of Christian Literature Series.) xlviii+103 pp. S.P.C.K. 6s. (p. 420.)

THE MASTER OF THE OFFICES in the Later Roman Empire. By A. E. R. Boak. x+160 pp. The Macmillan Co. 4s. 6d.

CONSTANTINOPLE Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant. Par J. Ebersolt. Leroux. 9.50f. (p. 448.)

THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH. By the Rev. C. Callinicos. ix+60 pp. Longmans. 3s. 6d.

THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH from the Earliest Times. By Ninian Hill. xi+263 pp. MacLehose. 7s. 6d.

SIDELIGHTS on Scottish History. By M. Barrett, O.S.B. 244 pp. Sands. 6s. 6d.

ACTA DOMINORUM CONCILII (of Scotland). Vol. II., 1469-1501. Ed. G. Neilson and H. Paton. Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office. £1. (p. 412.)

THE TOURNAMENT. By R. C. Clephan. Pref. C. J. Foulkes. Methuen. 42s. (p. 345.)

VUE GÉNÉRALE de l'Histoire de Belgique. Par H. Vander Linden. 287 pp. Payot. 4.50f.

ESPAÑA vista por los Extranjeros (to end of Sixteenth Century.) By J. G. Mercadal. 2 vols. Madrid: Biblioteca nueva. 3.50 ptas. each. (p. 397.)

HELPS FOR STUDENTS of History. 6. The Care of Documents. By C. Johnson. 6d. 7. The Public Record Office, Dublin. By R. H. Murray. 8d. 8. The French Wars of Religion. 6d. 13. The French Renaissance. 8d. By A. Tilley. 14. English Economic History. By W. Cunningham. 15. Parish History and Records. By A. H. Thompson. 16. Colonial History. By A. P. Newton. S.P.C.K.

THE EXPANSION of Europe, 1415-1789. By W. C. Abbott. 2 vols. xiii+512 +xiii+463 pp. New York: Holt. £1 7s. 6d.

EUROPEAN TREATIES bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648. Ed. F. G. Davenport. vi+387 pp. Washington: The Carnegie Institution. 10s. 6d.

THE BOOK OF DUARTE BARBOSA. (1518 A.D.) Trans. from the Portuguese and ed. M. L. Dames. Vol. I. The Hakluyt Soc. (p. 180.)

LA STORIA D'ITALIA di Guicciardini, sugli originali manoscritti a cura di A.

Gherardi. 4 vols. Florence: Sansoni. 60 lire. (p. 472.)

DIE URSACHEN der Reformation. Von G. v. Below. xvi+187 pp. 1917. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg.

LUTHERSTUDIEN. Veröffentlicht von den Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Lutherausgabe. vi+285 pp. 1917. Weimar: H. Böhlans Nachfolger.

THE HOUSEHOLD of a Tudor Nobleman. By P. V. B. Jones. 277 pp. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois. 6s. 6d.

ELIZABETHAN ULSTER. By Lord Ernest Hamilton. 352 pp. Hurst and Blackett. 16s. (p. 332.)

SCAPIGLIATURA ITALIANA a Londra al Tempo di Shakespeare. By G. S. Gargano. Istituto Britannico di Firenze. 2l. (p. 356.)

THE POLITICAL WORKS of James I. Intro. J. H. McIlwain. (Harvard Political Classics, Vol. I.) cxi+354 pp. Bibliography. Harvard Univ. Press (Milford). 17s. (p. 441.)

THE NOTEBOOK and Account Book of Nicholas Stone, Master Mason to James I. and Charles I. Ed. W. L. Spiers. His diary when in France and Italy, 1638-42. Ed. A. J. Finberg. xviii+208 pp. The Walpole Soc. (p. 375.)

THE THREE STAGES in the Evolution of the Law of Nations. By C. van Vollenhoven. 102 pp. The Hague: Nijhoff. G.1.

THE FREEDOM of the Seas. By Sir F. Pigott. ii+90 pp. For the Historical Section of the Foreign Office. Milford. 3s. 6d.

THE PILGRIMS and their History. By R. G. Usher. xiii+310 pp. The Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d. (p. 356.)

A DESCRIPTION of Plymouth Colony. By John Pory (1622). With contemporary accounts of English Colonisation elsewhere. Ed. C. Burrage. xxiv+65 pp. Houghton Mifflin. £1 1s.

WRITINGS on American History, 1916. Compiled by Grace G. Griffin. xvi+200 pp. Yale Univ. Press (Milford). 10s. 6d.

CHESHIRE CLASSIC Minutes, 1691-1745. Ed. A. Gordon. vii+220 pp. The Chiswick Press. (p. 388.)

MARIA THERESA. Von E. Guglia. 2 vols. vi+388+418 pp. 1917. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg.

THE COLONIES and Imperial Federation, 1754-1919. By A. F. Hattersley. 118 pp. Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis. 4s.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS relating to Canada. Ed. G. M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. Stewart Wallace. Vol. XXII., 1917 and 1918. xiii+203 pp. Toronto Univ. Press. 6s. 6d.

THE MASERES LETTERS, 1766-8. Ed. W. Stewart Wallace. 135 pp. Univ. of Toronto Library (Milford). 5s. 6d. (p. 466.)

THE COLONIAL MERCHANTS and the American Revolution, 1763-76. By A. M. Schlesinger. 647 pp. New York: Longmans. 17s.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Nesta H. Webster. xv+519 pp. Constable. 21s. (p. 443.)

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THE GERMAN EMPIRE and the Unity Movement. By W. H. Dawson. 2 vols. xx+480+xii+512 pp. Allen and Unwin. 16s. each vol. (p. 172.)

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THE LOST FRUITS OF WATERLOO. By J. S. Bassett. xix+289 pp. Macmillan Co. 6s. 6d.

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1700-1850. By A. E. Dobbs. xiv+257 pp. Longmans. 10s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 135.)

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THE RISE of the SPANISH-AMERICAN Republics as told in the Lives of their Liberators. By W. S. Robertson. xvi+380 p. Appleton. 12s. 6d.

CARTAS de Sucre al Libertador. Ed. D. F. O'Leary (1879); reprint ed. B. Fombona. Madrid: Editorial America. (p. 370.)

SOURCEBOOK of Australian History. Ed. Gwendolen H. Swinburne. viii+211 pp. Bell. 5s.

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SCIENCE AND WAR. By Lord Moulton (The Rede Lecture, 1919). 59 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 3s. 6d.

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OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Authoritative statistics for the period 1901-1917, corrected statistics for the period 1788-1900.) xl+1246 pp. Melbourne: McCarron, Bird.

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THE PROBLEM of the Pacific. By Brunsdon Fletcher. xxix+254 pp. Heinemann. 12s. (p. 230.)

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JAPAN in World Politics. By K. K. Kawakami. xxvii+300 pp. The Macmillan Co. 8s.

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THE PARISH of Catton, Norwich. By Walter Rye. (pp. 229—86.) Norwich: W. Hunt. 2s. 6d.

CIRENCESTER Weavers' Company: a review of its records, from 1580. By W. S. Harmer. 31 pp. *The Gloucestershire Standard*. 6d.

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LEEDS. By J. S. Fletcher. *SHEFFIELD*. By the same. ("The Story of the English Towns" Series.) 127 pp. each. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. each.

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GREEK LEADERS. By L. W. Hopkinson. Intro. W. S. Ferguson. vii+259 pp. Constable. 5s. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 111.)

THE CHILD'S BOOK of English Portraits (Richard II.—Lord Roberts). 46 pp.; 13 plates in colour. The Medici Soc. 5s.

THE EDINA Junior Histories. By A. L. Westlake and T. Franklin. Book I., to 1154; Book II., 1154—1485; Book III., The Age of Discovery. 76+71+64 pp. W. and A. K. Johnston. 1s. 4d. each. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 207.)

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BRITAIN in the Middle Ages. By Florence L. Bowman. x+104 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 3s. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 219.)

EXTRACTS (in Latin) relating to English Towns in the Middle Ages. Ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw. (Texts for Students, No. 8.) 63 pp. S.P.C.K. 9d.

REFERENCE HISTORY of England, 1066—1910. By M. E. H. Hunter and G. G. Ledsam. x+543 pp. Melrose. 6s. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 147.)

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E. J. D.

HISTORY

JANUARY, 1920.

THE HISTORY OF THE SCHELDT

THERE is no river in the world that plays a larger part in the economic life of the territories watered by it than the Scheldt. One need only look at the map to see how, in its slow and majestic course across rich and fertile plains, by its numerous tributaries, by the great centres which it touches or with which it is in direct communication, this river constitutes, in a way, the vital artery of Belgian trade and industry. By a curious anomaly, however, this river, so essential to Belgium and so essentially Belgian by its geographical course and its economic activity, ceases to be Belgian during the last few miles of its course and passes through a narrow strip of foreign territory before flowing into the North Sea. This anomaly is all the more singular in that the country thus watered by the mouths of the Scheldt does not need it for economic purposes. The Dutch territories bordering on the Hondt and Western Scheldt are almost entirely agricultural; the port of Flushing has a hinterland circumscribed by the Isle of Walcheren, and the port of Terneuzen owes its activity to the fact that it is at the entrance to the Ghent Canal. The trade of Holland passes to the North Sea by more northerly routes. On the other hand, Belgium cannot do without the only river that connects her directly with the sea, and it is almost entirely Belgian commerce, centralised in the great port of Antwerp, that feeds the navigation of the Lower Scheldt.

Such a situation cannot be due to natural causes. It is abnormal reasons of hard politics which have deprived Belgium of her principal highway and of her free access to the sea. It is with these causes, their development and their consequences throughout the centuries, that this article is concerned.

During the first sixteen centuries of her history Belgium was

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mistress of the Western Scheldt down to the sea. In primitive times, even before its bed was definitely fixed, the river served as the natural boundary between the Celtic peoples, whom Cæsar afterwards annexed to the Roman Republic, and the Batavians of Germanic origin who were settled in the islands and swamps of Zeeland. It was by the Scheldt and by the creeks of the coast that, as soon as civilisation had started commerce, trade was established with England. In their heavy oaken boats, rather the shape of a nutshell and with square sails, whose type is still seen among Flemish fishermen, the sailors of Belgian Gaul sailed down the Scheldt to fetch tin from the banks of the Thames, that precious metal which hardens copper, and marl with which the ancient Belgians used to improve the land painfully conquered from the sea.

This traffic developed still more when, after the invasions, peace encouraged trade. The economic importance of Valenciennes, which, under Charlemagne, had already become an important agglomeration of merchants and boatmen, shows the rôle played by the Scheldt as the line of communication with the very heart of the Carolingian Empire. Afterwards, when the monarchy was breaking up and in the midst of intestine struggles and the invasions of the Normans, feudalism was established, the dynasties which divided the Belgian territories endeavoured, above all, to assure themselves of the mastery of the great national river. Even in these far-off times, the question of the Scheldt was not limited to the simple possession of the river itself and of its access to the sea, but it spread with equal force to the question of communications between the river basin and the valleys of the Meuse and the Rhine.

In fact, the three great rivers, which have, during the course of centuries, played a considerable part in the economic development of the Belgian provinces, flow from south to north, and by this fact the inhabitants of the Southern Low Countries have, from the most ancient times, been obliged to establish artificial ways of communication from east to west. As early as Roman times the great road from Boulogne to Cologne passing by Cambrai and Maestricht was made to connect the shores of the Channel and the Scheldt with the important Roman colonies in the Rhine valley. Throughout the Middle Ages this road, which had been called the road of Brunehaut after the famous Queen of Austrasia who had had it repaired, remained the great way of communication between Germany and the sea. When, at the end of the eleventh century, economic life, which had been para-

lysed by the wars of the Carolingian decadence, the depredations of the Normans, and feudal quarrels, had gained a new efflorescence, Bruges, at the head of the Zwiijn and close to the mouths of the Scheldt, became the most important port of the West, and the necessity of finding more continental openings was imposed on Flemish industry. This industry, originally developed in the basin of the Scheldt, naturally tried to extend first to the Meuse and above all to the Rhine, the great river route to Central Europe, Switzerland, and Italy.

It was thus that, in the middle of the eleventh century, a great mercantile route was opened between Bruges and Cologne, joining the valleys of the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine. On all its length arose important centres of economic life, Ghent, Alost, Brussels, Louvain, Léau, St. Trond, and Maestricht. This last place, established on the banks of the Meuse at the very place where the escarpment of the valley ends, and where, consequently, means of access are easy, became, in a way, the vital spot for Belgian trade and for English transit towards Germany, and the poets of the Middle Ages celebrate its admirable commercial situation. Thus two great commercial currents crossed Belgium—a river route from south to north and a land route from east to west.

The commercial policy of the Belgian princes was from this time on inevitable. It was, necessarily, to maintain the mastery of the great national river, the Scheldt, a task which fell to the Counts of Flanders, and to keep the great land route towards the Rhine, a task which fell to the Dukes of Brabant. The Counts of Flanders, powerful princes who treated almost as equals with the Kings of France and England, had little difficulty in maintaining this policy. Since 1056, Baldwin V. obtained definitely from the Emperor Henry IV. the investiture of the country of Alost, of the Pays des Quatre Métiers (now Zeeland Flanders), and even of the islands of Zeeland, and was thus in full possession of the mouths of the Scheldt. It is true that, three centuries later, to put an end to the quarrels of the d'Avesnes and the Dampierres, Louis de Nevers ceded, by the treaty of 1323, the isles of Zeeland to William I., Count of Hainault and Holland, but the left bank of the river none the less remained entirely Flemish. The "Franc" of Bruges and the Quatre Métiers of Hulst, Axel, Assenede, and Bouchaute shared all the riparian territory of the Hondt; the Western Scheldt and these five areas, depending directly on the Count of Flanders, remained essentially Belgian until the Dutch conquests at the

end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

The task of the Dukes of Brabant was more arduous. For more than a century and a half, from Henry I. to John III., these princes devoted themselves to it with as much energy and perseverance as they had talent and ability. Their march towards the Meuse and the Rhine was methodical and progressive. In 1214 Henry I. obtained from the Emperor Frederick II. the investiture of a part of Maestricht, to which, by the construction of a tower at Wijck, he guarded the entrance. Henry II. acquired, in 1239, the county of Daelhem, which furnished Brabant with an advanced post on the right bank of the Meuse, and got himself named by the Emperor Alfonso "guardian of the vassals and the towns of the Empire" between Brabant and the Rhine and between the limits of the diocese of Treves and the sea. He also, by a wise democratic policy, supported the merchants and burghers against the tyranny of feudal princes. It was this same policy which decided John I. to intervene in the war for the succession in Limburg; and the famous victory of Woeringen (June 5th, 1288) where the valour of the Brabant levies overcame the superior numbers of the German troops, gave the Duchy of Limburg to the Dukes of Brabant, and made them masters of the commercial route between Germany and the North Sea.

John III. followed the traditions of his ancestors; in 1317 he took from the Chevalier Grillard Renaud de Fauquemont, Heerlen, Sittard, and the castle of Fauquemont itself, an important fortress threatening Maestricht. At the same time, in order to make sure of the lower Meuse, he acquired Heusden (1319) and Drongelen (1321) by negotiation from the Count of Holland, and in 1323 bought Grave from the lord of Kuijk. This wise policy had the result of giving to the Dukes of Brabant solid *points d'appui* all along the Meuse and allowed them to turn through Antwerp the trade between the Rhine provinces, England, and Flanders; and their mastery over the Scheldt and its means of access, thus realised by the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Brabant, was all the more important as a little later the port of Bruges silted up irremediably and Antwerp became the splendid metropolis of the trade of Belgium.

The accession of the House of Burgundy and the union—under the sceptre of the "great dukes of the West"—of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries was the triumph of the economic policy of the old feudal dynasties of Flanders and Brabant. Under them the industrial and commercial prosperity

of Belgium was unfettered. Mistress of all water and land ways of communication, trafficking freely in all parts of the world, Belgium developed in every way. For a century and a half her progress was constant. The reign of the Emperor Charles V. and the first few years of Philip II. saw the height of her splendour. No other people had reached such a proportionate degree of riches or enjoyed such universal opulence. A valuation made some years later by the Duke of Alba reckons the value of goods manufactured in the Belgian provinces at forty million gold florins (about £32,000,000).

The textile industry, which, by establishing itself in the country, had succeeded in evading the fetters of the corporations, had attained the highest degree of development, and exported annually eight million gold florins' worth of goods, not including cloth of inferior quality. The linen industry was almost as prosperous, and the reputation of Flanders linen had become universal. Belgian tapestry, in which the two great national characteristics, economic activity and the sense of art, are so happily combined, ornamented palaces and rich merchants' houses all over Europe. Metallurgy, coal production, and the manufacture of firearms¹ combined with these industries to make the Belgian provinces a regular hive of feverish activity.

All this movement gravitated round the great port of Antwerp, of which, throughout all the sixteenth century, the Low Countries were a kind of suburb. This wonderful city became the great market of Europe. Representatives of all nations sheltered daily under the graceful galleries of her Exchange. Contemporary writers are unanimous in exalting her riches and her prodigious activity, and even their exaggerations testify to the incomparable prestige of the great metropolis of the Scheldt.

An account of the commercial movement of Antwerp at the middle of the sixteenth century gives the number of ships seen on certain days in the Scheldt as 2,500. England had the first place in this trade; her ships discharged more than five million écus' worth of fine cloth at Antwerp annually, which was dyed and dressed by Antwerp artisans. Besides cloth, fine wool, tin, lead, sheep and rabbit skins, fine furs, leather, beer, cheese and other foodstuffs, not counting Malvoisie wine, were the principal articles imported by English merchants. In exchange the Scheldt exported to the Thames jewels, silverware, mercury, cloth of gold and silver, silk, gold and silver thread, light textiles made from Spanish wool, linens, glass, ironmongery, arms of all sorts,

¹ Cf. HISTORY, i. 215-221.

furniture, tapestries, salt fish, sugar, drugs and spices of all kinds. One of the best-informed writers on economic subjects of the day, the illustrious Florentine Ludovico Guicciardini, estimates the annual trade between Antwerp and England at twelve million gold écus.

After the English came the Portuguese and Spaniards, grown suddenly rich by the exploitation of India and America. Having no manufactures or industry, they came to exchange their colonial produce against the textiles, furniture, arms and utensils manufactured in Belgium. We may say that no part of the country failed to feel the effects of this activity, and, besides the goods brought down the Scheldt and its tributaries, Antwerp received by road, every week, from the Walloon provinces and the Rhenish districts more than two thousand great wagons, heavily laden. Thus the prosperity of Antwerp and that of Belgian industry were indissolubly linked, and by a perfectly natural phenomenon the first commercial town rapidly became the greatest bank of Europe. It was there that princes negotiated loans for their interminable wars and their sumptuous buildings; there flowed the gold brought from the colonies; there the principal banking houses of Italy and Germany had their counters, and the Venetian Ambassador, Badoero, reckoned the annual movement of capital on the Antwerp Exchange at forty million ducats.

It is important to remember that, to attain this extraordinary degree of wealth, Antwerp had only to allow the free development of the natural factors which assure her prosperity. Thanks to her situation on the Scheldt, free down to the sea, which puts her in contact with the great lines of trans-oceanic navigation, thanks to the valuable hinterland which assures commercial lines towards the valleys of the Meuse and the Rhine, the great port need make no effort to draw towards her the materials and products of all corners of the world. She need not take protectionist measures, nor, as Amsterdam did later, try to secure a monopoly at the expense of her neighbours. It was enough to be welcoming, liberal, benevolent to all in order to see a crowd of merchants in her markets and the artisans of all countries giving to her prosperity a cosmopolitan character of which the whole world felt the happy effects.

This splendour sank in the cataclysm which, at the end of the sixteenth century, entailed the ruin of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries. While Holland emerged free and victorious from the struggle against Spanish tyranny, Belgium, transformed into a battlefield, again fell under the domination of

a monarchy in full and irremediable decadence. Certainly she was not responsible for this sad situation. She had spared no effort to throw off the foreign yoke; but while Holland, succoured by England and France, protected by her swamps, her inundatable areas and her maritime situation, succeeded in resisting the Spanish armies, Belgium, a land of wide plains always open to invasion, sank under the blows of the great military genius, Alexander Farnese. This was a prelude to the rôle of glacis and barrier to which she was assigned by the political policy of Holland. The United Provinces had not given to their Southern sisters all the help that they might have done. In 1585 Antwerp, left to her own strength, had ended by falling, without the fleets of Holland and Zeeland making any strenuous effort to force the formidable barrier by which Farnese had closed the Scheldt; and if, fifteen years later, the Republic defended Ostend with all her might against the archdukes, it was more in her own interest than in order to preserve in Belgium a last bulwark of liberty.

This was because, in addition to the political war waged against Spain, Holland also cleverly conducted an economic war against the great port which was the rival of the growing prosperity of Amsterdam. She made a point of cutting Antwerp from her free communication with the sea and from her ways of communication with her natural hinterland of the valley of the Rhine and Central Europe.

In 1583, even before Farnese had begun the siege of Antwerp, the Dutch set foot in the Pays des Quatre Métiers and made a strongly fortified bridgehead at Terneuzen, thus assuring themselves of the mastery over the mouths of the Scheldt and the entrance of the Ghent Canal. This conquest of maritime Flanders was pursued methodically: in 1586 the United Provinces took Axel, and in 1604 seized the isle of Cadzand, Sluis, Aardenburg, Oostburg and Biervliet. Thus the natural outlets for Belgian trade were definitely in Dutch hands, and, though the truce of twelve years, concluded in 1609, formally stipulated that "the subjects of both sides may freely trade either by sea or other waterways or by land," the Scheldt remained closed, and the decadence of Antwerp was irremediable.

In 1621 war broke out again. Holland extended her conquests in Flanders. In 1633 she took the fort of Philippine, in 1644 Sas de Gand, and in 1645 the town and district of Hulst. While thus denuding Belgium of her great riverway from south to north, the Republic of the United Provinces also took care to

cut Antwerp off from her communications with the Meuse and the Rhine. Following the old policy of the Dukes of Brabant, the Archdukes had tried, in 1627, to join the Rhine and the Scheldt by a navigable channel, and began to cut a canal across Guelder to reach Venloo and the Démer. But this work had hardly begun when it was forcibly stopped by the Dutch, and a few years later, in 1632, the conquest of Maestricht by Frederick Henry definitely deprived Belgium of her outlet towards the Rhine provinces.

The famous treaty of Münster, signed on January 30th, 1648, sealed the ruin of Belgian trade and industry and sanctioned what, up till then, had only existed in fact. It is well known how Philip IV., despairing of ever securing the return of the Dutch provinces to the kingdom of Spain, and wishing to be able to continue the war against France with all his strength, had entered into negotiations with the States General and endeavoured to detach them from the French alliance. To succeed in this object and conclude a separate peace with the United Provinces he was obliged to recognise their independence, to abandon to them all the territory they had seized either in Belgium or in the colonies, and lastly to sacrifice to them the trade of his Belgian subjects.

It was thus that the treaty of Münster definitely severed from the county of Flanders a great part of the "Franc" of Bruges and the Pays des Quatre Métiers with Sluis, Hulst, and Axel; detached from the Duchy of Brabant all its northernmost part, including Berg-op-Zoom, Bois le Duc, and Bréda; and took from Belgium, Maestricht, the vital knot in its ways of communication with the Rhine valley, and part of the three "transmosan" territories of Daelhem, Fauquemont, and Rolduc. Worse than this, the treaty stipulated, in Article XIV., that "The Scheldt, the canals of Satzwinj, and the other inlets of the sea leading to it shall be closed on the side of the States General"; and, as if it were not enough to suppress Antwerp trade, the Dutch, fearing that the trade of Bruges might be artificially revived by means of exemptions of tolls, had a note added to Article XV. to the effect that "The ships and goods entering or leaving the harbours of Flanders shall be liable to the same dues as those payable on goods coming and going along the Scheldt and the other canals mentioned in the preceding Article."

Thus, without the slightest consideration being given to the legitimate interest of Belgium, a treaty was concluded "which annihilated by a stroke of the pen the age-long efforts of the old national princes and tore from the Belgian provinces the outlets

indispensable to their economic existence. Flushing, Middleburg, and especially Amsterdam, were thereby assured of keeping the trade of Antwerp which they had acquired during the wars. From the end of the sixteenth century the commercial houses which had made the prosperity of the metropolis of the Scheldt had begun to emigrate towards the North or had gone into bankruptcy. All the efforts made by the central or local Government to restore the dead city, where grass grew in the streets and where the once prosperous Exchange was used as a library and a tapestry workshop, were in vain. Either for the importation of foodstuffs or for the export of the few remaining products of ruined Belgian industry the Dutch alone were masters. The United Provinces had closed Antwerp to other nations and took care to keep for themselves the last remains of her ancient splendour. Belgium had thus lost the free disposal of the rivers by which she was watered and of the sea which washes her shores. Endowed by Nature with admirable means of communication and transit, she was obliged to renounce them. The triumphal policy of the United Provinces had bereft her of all the advantages of her geographical position, and the activity which had for so long centred in her henceforth converged round the merchant republic of the North.

Transformed during the second half of the seventeenth century into a perpetual field of battle, attached to a ruined monarchy incapable of defending its possessions, Belgium experienced the depths of misery. Holland, militarily and territorially weak and envied by reason of her riches, profited by the existence on her frontiers of a still weaker State which was exposed to all invasions and sacrificed beforehand to any combination of the European Chancelleries. The United Provinces thus escaped from the conquests of Louis XIV., who took some territories from Belgium. Furthermore, Holland endeavoured to make this position of buffer a permanent one and to complete the economic vassalage of Belgium by military servitudes. This was the object of the famous Barrier treaty concluded at Antwerp on November 15th, 1715. The Belgians, whose fate was thus decided, had no voice in European diplomacy; Holland had just played an important part in the League against France and asked for a great deal; Austria was ready to agree to anything in order to acquire the choicest gem in the crown of Charles V. By this treaty Holland obtained, besides considerable military and territorial advantages, the maintenance of all the fetters placed on the economic expansion of Belgium.

But the Belgians never despaired of their fate. During the short period of peace which followed the treaty of Ryswyck in 1697 they spared no effort to rouse themselves. A series of decrees of the Governor-General, Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, published in 1698 and 1699, modified, in a way favourable to commerce and manufactures, the tariffs of exports and imports. A decree of June 7th, 1648, had authorised the promotion of a commercial company with a capital of two million florins "to navigate and traffic in the East Indies and in Guinea." It had been proposed to make the Scheldt and its main tributaries navigable to boats of high tonnage and to join them to Ostend by a maritime canal, and at the same time to dig a canal from Bruges to Antwerp across the Waes country. The death of Charles II. of Spain and the war which followed caused these projects to be abandoned; but there was no doubt that, once peace was signed, the Belgians would try to realise them. The Dutch wished to prevent this, and, under pretext of military security, acquired the right to flood some regions of Flanders, thus assuring themselves the mastery over the water system of the country. Further, the Barrier treaty, Article 26, stated that "The trade of the Austrian Netherlands and everything depending on it shall be on the same footing as that established by the treaty of Münster, which is confirmed." The Scheldt thus remained hermetically sealed, and the Belgians could not even modify their customs tariff without the consent of their northerly neighbours.

Belgium was thus under the ban of all nations. While the Dutch levied the most onerous duties on her trade, she had to permit her rivals to feed her own markets without being able, in her turn, to make conditions. Deprived of an outlet *via* Antwerp the Belgians determined to have another commercial centre. Ostend, connected by canal with Bruges and Ghent and all the Scheldt basin, seemed likely to be the centre of Belgian trade. In 1716 the idea germinated in Belgium to develop her maritime trade. Trial voyages to Africa, to the West Indies, and to the China Seas gave such encouraging results that soon the famous Ostend Company, with a capital of six million florins, was formed, and sent Belgian products to the most distant shores. But, interpreting some clauses in the treaty of Münster which forbade the Spanish to trade in the East Indies as being applicable to the Belgians, even though these were now Austrian subjects, the States General demanded the suppression of the company. Once more in the name of the general interests of European peace

Belgium was sacrificed to Holland. The Emperor Charles VI., who at that time was trying to regulate the delicate question of the Austrian succession, dared not resist the demands of Holland when supported by England, France, Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden; and by Article V. of a treaty concluded at Vienna on March 16th, 1731, he definitely suppressed this promising enterprise.

Belgium, thus deprived of any hope of improving her maritime trade, set herself to improve her agriculture. We know what marvellous results were obtained and how she soon deserved to be called the garden of Europe. But, however highly developed, agriculture was not enough to absorb the energy of the Belgian people. Their eyes were always turned towards the sea, and especially to the Scheldt, still obstinately barred by the Dutch. When Joseph II. succeeded his mother, Maria Theresa, he tried to obtain the goodwill of his Belgian subjects by repairing the faults of his grandfather and regaining the freedom of their great river for the Low Countries. Holland at the time was in a critical situation; her power had diminished, she was torn by internal struggles between the party of the Stadholder and that of the "patriots," and ill fulfilled the obligations imposed on her by her treaty of alliance with Great Britain, then at war with France and Spain. George III. had, in fact, just notified the States General, by a declaration of April 17th, 1780, that "the subjects of the United Provinces would henceforth be on the same footing as those of other neutral countries not privileged by treaties; that all the special stipulations destined to favour the navigation and trade of the Dutch in war time were suspended until further orders." The alliance between the two maritime nations was thus in fact broken, and Joseph II. tried to profit by this to free the Belgian provinces from the economic and military servitudes imposed on them by the Barrier treaty. He began by demolishing the fortifications of the places which the troops of the States General had been incapable of defending against the French in the War of the Austrian Succession. As Holland, in disagreement with Great Britain, was thinking of a *rapprochement* with France, an alliance which would have rendered these fortresses useless, the States General withdrew their troops without much difficulty (1782). Encouraged by his first success Joseph II. occupied a certain number of forts along the Bruges Canal to Sluis. These energetic acts gave rise to some conferences which were held at Brussels on May 4th, 1784. Discussion of all outstanding questions was begun. The dele-

gates of the Emperor demanded the evacuation of the forts on the Lower Scheldt, the freedom of the river, rectification of the frontiers of Brabant, and the restitution of Maestricht, of the county of Vroenhoven, and other territories on the Meuse.

These conferences might have lasted a long time if Joseph II. had not suddenly cut the knot. On August 23rd he sent a kind of ultimatum in which he announced that it was, above all, the freedom of the Scheldt that he wanted, with the right of the Belgians to trade with the Indies. He stated at the same time that he intended to make Antwerp a free port.

The Dutch protested. They invoked Article XIV. of the treaty of Münster and Article V. of the treaty of Vienna of 1731; they intrigued in all the capitals of Europe, specially at Paris, where Mirabeau was induced to support their pretensions in a work entitled *Doubts on the Liberty of the Scheldt demanded by the Emperor*; they raised troops and sent a squadron commanded by Admiral Reynst to occupy the mouths of the Scheldt. Joseph II. wished to know how far these demonstrations would be carried in fact. An armed brig which was at Antwerp flying the Imperial flag was ordered to proceed down the Scheldt to the sea. When the little ship appeared to take no notice of the signals made by the Dutch patrol, a cannon shot was fired and hit a cauldron which happened to be on the deck. This tragi-comic episode gave its name to the fight for the liberty of the Scheldt. The Imperial brig turned back, and the "Guerre de la Marmite" made no more victims. The event, however, seemed to portend a serious war; the Emperor was very angry at the insult to his flag, both sides took up arms, and the Dutch placed their land forces, which were almost entirely composed of German mercenaries, under the command of a Prussian General, and concentrated their Fleet before the Flemish coast and in the Lower Scheldt. But while preparing for war the States General did not neglect diplomatic measures.

Meanwhile the internal crisis had come to a climax at The Hague. The Stadholder had lost all power and the "patriot" party was openly negotiating with France. The States General counted on the French alliance, both to make sure of their victory over the Orangists and to face the threats of the Emperor. France, on the one hand, saw that the re-establishment of the Stadholder would infallibly bring about the return of English preponderance at The Hague, and for this reason wished to interfere; but, on the other hand, the Versailles Cabinet hesitated to quarrel with Austria, which had become the faithful ally of

France since the beginning of the Seven Years' War, all the more that the marriage of Marie Antoinette with Louis XVI. had cemented by family ties the political alliance between the two monarchies. France, therefore, would not openly take up the Dutch cause, and contented herself with offering to mediate. In order to stimulate the interest of the Court of Versailles in their favour the States General appeared willing to renew their old friendship with England, and ostentatiously began negotiations with the British Minister at The Hague. This manœuvre had all the success hoped for by its authors. Louis XVI. informed the Emperor that he would oppose by force of arms any attempt against the United Provinces, and at the same time he renewed his offer of mediation.

Joseph II., who already meditated vast schemes of internal reform, hesitated to begin international complications. He accepted the mediation of his brother-in-law, and conferences began at Versailles in December, 1784, which lasted nearly a year. The Dutch succeeded in keeping all the advantages given them by the treaty of Münster, though the Emperor obtained some satisfaction on points of secondary importance. The treaty of Fontainebleau, concluded on March 8th, 1785, made no mention of the Barrier treaty or the treaty of Vienna; it prescribed the evacuation of the forts of the Lower Scheldt, conceded to the Emperor a rectification of the frontier of Dutch Flanders and Brabant, even gave him a financial indemnity, but, on points of vital interest for the economic development of Belgium, on the opening of the port of Antwerp and on the possibility of re-opening the great way of communication with the Rhine valley, the Belgians had to renounce all hope. The town of Maestricht and the contested territories across the Meuse remained to the States General, as did the sovereignty of the Scheldt from the end of the territory of Saeltingen to the sea. This part of the river, as well as the canals of the Sas, of the Zwijn and the other inlets of the sea, remained closed on the Dutch side.

CH. TERLINDEN

(To be continued.)

THE NEED OF NAVAL HISTORY.

HISTORY may be regarded as the memory of a community. The eighteenth century was a century of war, and the Navy has never entirely forgotten the lessons and traditions of these times. In the nineteenth century, a century of peace, large portions of the community forgot the innate meaning of war and the methods essential to success in war, and became immersed in industry and the arts and crafts of peace.

Now war and industry work on different planes. In trade and business one man contends with another on a basis of law, behind which there looms the element of force, inconspicuous and often unobserved. In engineering and the great industries man contends with nature, whose laws can be studied and foreseen. In the office and on the bench things can be considered deliberately, and if a mistake is made it can often be rectified.

In war alone man contends directly with man—that is, with human intelligence equal to his own and consciously directed to his own destruction. Therefore the whole rhythm of work is changed. The clock ticks in seconds instead of hours. An armed enemy determined to appeal to the arbitrament of force allows no time for deliberation and delay. There is no time for slackness or ca'canny¹ work at a six-inch gun. The man must be drilled. There is no time either for "back talk." Obedience must be instant and immediate.

Great stress is therefore placed on the word of command and on authority, not because officers are obsessed with the idea of discipline, but because discipline is necessary in times of crisis and in war. This tradition of the importance of smartness and of authority (a tradition essential to the highest human efficiency whether in peace or war) is nursed in the fighting services because it is essential to success in war. But during the nineteenth century, the general tradition of authority slowly waned and was not emphasised by the historian. Great stress was laid on the liberty of the individual as if the individual were always

¹ Ca' canny from the Scots word "caw" or "caa," meaning to drive.

perfect. Great emphasis was laid on the liberty of the workman as if workmen always did their best and never required correction. The Englishman's house was always to be his castle even if it were a pigsty. These ideas have their place in social evolution, but they do not conduce to success in war, and our shortcomings in this war were largely due to the fact that we clung conservatively to a mental attitude appropriate only to times of peace. All this has a lesson for the historian. J. R. Green in the preface of his popular text book talked contemptuously of military history as a "thing of drums and trumpets," and never regarded it as an expression of the doctrine of force. Lecky in all his dozen volumes had hardly six consecutive pages on the subject of war. Right up to the end of the last century the British Empire, founded on sea power and maintained by naval supremacy, could not produce one naval historian of repute. Naval history was also taboo amongst those who studied only "economics," and reached the conclusion that economic relations would eliminate war between nations.

It is the function, then, of naval and military history to emphasise the elementary axioms of war, and to remind the economist that he will not have an opportunity of testing his theories unless he remains master in his own house. Schleswig-Holstein was averse to militarism, but had to supply soldiers to fight for the militarists of Prussia. The war history of a nation is an essential part of its education and constitutes a large portion of the Jewish scriptures.

Apart from this duty to the nation, the historian has a duty towards the Navy, for the history of this war is our Station Bill¹ for the next war. In a ship where people are too lazy or too busy to compile a Station Bill the work never rises above a certain level of efficiency, and unless the Station Bill is corrected the same mistakes are repeated again and again. Moltke's ideas on war were largely based on an intensive study of Napoleon's campaigns, and history was the cornerstone of his Staff system of training.

The reason why history is depreciated by so many is that the meaning of the word is misunderstood and confused with the sketch of history to be found in school text books. A captain when he sends for the correspondence of his predecessor is studying the history of his ship; and whether our work is chemistry, engineer-

¹ The Station Bill of a man-of-war contains the "station" of each man for each particular item of work, such as coaling, prepare for action, action, etc.

ing or naval war, much of our efficiency will depend on our knowledge of what others are doing and have done, and this constitutes history.

In its simplest form naval history is a record of what the Navy wished to do, tried to do, was thwarted in doing, and did or didn't do; but in its ulterior aspect it constitutes the crucible of doctrine. Great departments, such as the Trade Division, sprang up almost in a night, and their work, genesis, and evolution must be made intelligible to the next generation. Problems of great import loomed ahead of us: the adaptation of new methods of blockade, the capacities and limitations of the mine and submarine, the vast growth of transport and auxiliary services—all these constituted new spheres of naval experience, and the reduction of this experience to a shape from which some unity of doctrine can be evolved is the business of the historian, and constitutes a work of prime importance.

In the turmoil of war we were inclined to forget that the Navy owes a great deal to the War College and the school of naval history which found expression there. For the first time a school began to rise which was essentially naval and combined the requisites of historical training, historical research, and constant reference to contemporary naval opinion. The school founded by Julian Corbett is an essentially naval school in close touch with the Admiralty, the Fleet, and the sources of naval history, and has done much to stimulate naval thought on historical lines. Its way had been prepared by the Navy Records Society, which has engineered a road through the intricacies of old naval literature, and done much to resurrect the doctrine of the old Admirals who had seen the dawn of sea power and had studied the anatomy of Empire in its birth. It received little enough encouragement, and yet it is an essential part of naval education.

Long accustomed to think only in calibres and sizes of shell, ensconced in the fastnesses of technical thought, the naval mind requires something more abstract to sharpen its acumen. The cult of the severely practical means that nothing can be decided except by experiment, and as war cannot be waged for purely experimental purposes, a substitute must be found in abstract and historical thought. Prescience is an imperative necessity to a war community. For the study of war differs from every other business in that we are always preparing for our business, but rarely performing it, and a large degree of prescience is required to apply the axioms of the old masters to the changed conditions of

industry and trade. Instead of trusting to history and the traditions of Nelson and Drake, the Navy trusted to mathematics and other Departments of State. Constantinople is the postern gate of the East and one of the focal points of European polity, and there German influence had been grubbing and burrowing for a score of years. Had we truly learnt the magistral doctrines of the past, our eyes would have been rivetted on Gallipoli for years before the fateful hour struck. The Dardanelles expedition, grand in its conception and conceived in full accordance with the doctrine of sea power, started too late and transgressed in its execution the first canon of amphibious warfare—the canon of contemporaneous attack. History had been neglected, and we suffered terribly for this neglect.

If we are to profit by our mistakes their history should be written, and it should be written (as far as possible) now. Our labours may be sufficient for themselves, but can never help others till they are enshrined in some form of record. It is the task of the historian to gather into one focus all the ramifications of naval work and to give it one general expression. There is no greater stimulus to efficiency in any business than an accurate knowledge of the work actually done, and an accurate history of the war in its earlier stages would have helped us considerably in its later developments. Thus there are solid arguments for history being written closely on the heels of the event. A large virtue belongs to the contemporary point of view when valuable light can be thrown on incidents by the actors themselves, and much useful knowledge lies in solution in every squadron, port, and base.

The historical section of a war-staff is as important to the navy as a laboratory to a big industry. In both cases it is necessary to observe what has been done and to reduce it to simple but exact expression, a task which requires special training and the co-operation of the great schools of history. Modern naval war is largely a matter of experiment, and a record of the experiment as one connected whole is required as soon as possible. It is a cardinal error to regard history as a subject merely of academic interest. History has a direct relationship to efficiency in business. It is the work of the historian to forge into definite shape a vast heap of disconnected information, and to place in true perspective the work of the various departments, squadrons, and fleets.

The history of this war is going to be our principal reservoir of instruction, and its compilation is therefore a work of prime importance. This task cannot be done by those actually making history; for, overwhelmed by the tide of daily business, they

have neither time nor inclination for reducing it to abstract principles. Careful and troubled about many things, current business has no time for history, and its view is necessarily a departmental one. But this is no reason for the neglect or postponement of historical work. There are glands in the body of minute size and apparently insignificant, which, nevertheless, secrete essences which exercise a controlling influence on the proper functioning of the system. If the thyroid gland does not do, or is not given an opportunity to do, its work, the person grows up fat, heavy and slow-witted.

A neglect of history means that we shall be slow-witted in meeting the changing horizons of our work. A tendency to depreciate history is indicative of a tendency to slovenly thought, expressing itself in unbalanced judgments or in the apotheosis of some particular point of view. The Grand Fleet was more important than history, but the history of the Grand Fleet will be of great importance to its counterpart ten years hence. We cannot say that the work of such and such a department is of great importance, and that history is of no importance, any more than we can say that the heart is more important than the lungs. The two differ in function and their values are incommensurable, for they are of import only in their relativity to the whole. It is not a mere question of size and energy output. The heart appears much more important than the thyroid gland and doubtless is so, but if the latter is inhibited from doing its work the whole body will suffer, and if the function of history is necessary to the Navy, the Navy will suffer if it is neglected.

It is the duty of the historian to deal with the Navy as a whole and to combat the natural tendency towards disparate thought. The old departments have expanded to an enormous size, and new departments have sprung up almost in one night. This means an increased tendency towards departmental thought and towards the growth of more and more auxiliary services. The antidote to this is history, for it is her function to gather up the elements of new experience into new combinations. Insisting on an exact and unbiassed narrative and reducing this to a single focus, history represents the community, self-conscious and examining its own work in its relationship to the object aimed at and the results achieved. And what is true of the Navy is true of all the great spheres of human effort. History is the ledger of human affairs, and historical method is the way in which the ledger has to be written up.

A. C. DEWAR

SCHOOL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE following papers are the outcome of a ten days' Conference of History Masters, which was held last August at Eton under the auspices of the Board of Education, and discussed, among other things, the subject of School Societies in connexion with History teaching.

One of the objects of history teaching is the production of citizens able to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of their country. Moreover, the study of the past can be vitalised if an interest is taken in the present-day problems that have arisen largely as a result of past history; "the past," as Bishop Stubbs once said, "is no more a whole without the present than the present without the past." Present politics, however, have to be treated by a teacher with a considerable amount of discretion. Care must be taken not to make a boys' Political Society a suitable field of operations for the conversion of its members to one's own views—though my impression, derived from considerable experience, is that a pupil is just as likely to oppose his teacher's opinions as to endorse them.

At Eton in the Political Society the boys have tried to obtain a variety of opinions, and owing to the kindness shown them they have succeeded. Archbishops and Disestablishers, pillars of the Unionist Party and ardent Home Rulers, Collectivists and Individualists, big manufacturers and officials of Trade Unions, enthusiasts for the League of Nations and those who want to see it banished to some other planet, have been good enough not only to give us their views, but to submit to the "heckling" they received. And, at any rate, boys, if they learn nothing else, may learn that there are two sides to every question and probably more; and may apply, it is hoped, that principle to the controversies of the past. And we are not quite sure that the Political Society has been altogether valueless to those who have kindly come down; it has, at any rate, given them the opportunity to

clarify their views—for boys are no respecters of persons, and put questions with a directness which is sometimes embarrassing.

Not all schools would be willing perhaps to risk a Political Society; but, at all events, such objections as there may be to a Political Society do not apply to the Archæological Society which Mr. Heard describes. Every teacher will agree that it is one's duty to show to pupils the memorials of the past—nothing is more likely to encourage an interest in past events than to see the places associated with them. Most teachers will, however, sorrowfully confess that they have missed many opportunities that a society such as Mr. Heard's would have compelled them to utilise. And Mr. Heard has delightfully interpreted archæology to include many subjects not strictly associated with that word; so that his society has done a variety of interesting things besides visiting ancient buildings. Many of us will wish to imitate his example.

C. H. K. MARTEN

II. THE ETON POLITICAL SOCIETY.

It has been said that though Aristotle is right in describing man as a political animal, the same description does not hold good of boys. The political sense, it is asserted, does not develop till manhood, and the feeling of citizenship and civic rights and duties comes with the attainment of majority. How far this may be true, it is not the subject of this paper to discuss; but it is certainly the case that political ideas and discussions have proved of enormous interest to boys in the experiment recently tried at Eton. Some two years since, during the war, it occurred to a group of Eton boys that the Press was not always to be relied upon to state the political views of any party or body fully and fairly; and that the chance of an hour's discussion with a living enthusiast was worth more than many hours of academic study or desultory reading.

They therefore formed a small "Political Society" and very rightly enlisted the sympathies of the authorities from the start. At first "open meetings" were held to which boys, masters, and other residents were invited, a subject proposed and opened by two or three boy speakers, and a representative politician, statesman, or orator, especially chosen for the occasion, requested to discuss the speeches made, and sum up the debate. This method led to several interesting discussions—on housing, land questions, the League of Nations, the Enabling Bill, and so forth; but it was always found that the rather mixed nature of the meeting

did not give the boys full play. In opening the debates the speakers sometimes did not know how to attack the subject, and sometimes followed up side-issues or repeated platitudes. The audience was, perhaps, somewhat cold and frigid, and the atmosphere was not conducive to much discussion after the external speaker had concluded. Though many of these meetings were successful, the general feeling was that they partook too much of the nature of lectures, and had little effect in forming debating power. About a year since, therefore, the method was changed, and the "open meetings" discontinued except on rather special occasions. The Society restricted its membership to fifteen or twenty, and met in a private house for more informal discussion. Here, in a much freer atmosphere, subjects were broached and discussed with great warmth and candour, and it was soon decided to invite representatives of movements—industrial, political, social and ecclesiastical—to come and be heckled. The speaker was confronted at once with a group of eager and well-informed boys, asked to express his views, as informally as he liked, for twenty or twenty-five minutes, and then mercilessly bombarded with questions for some thirty or forty minutes—the whole hour being one of refreshing keenness and stimulus.

The experience of a year of this method has been that the boys, some of whom were dumb and inarticulate at the open meetings, have become keen and rapid debaters at the arm-chair conferences, and have learnt to take a quick and comprehensive view of a subject, put vividly and attractively before them. The lecturers or speakers from outside, often rather sceptical beforehand of the use and value of such informal talks, invariably rise from them enthusiastic and full of praise. Indeed, more than one distinguished statesman, emerging somewhat ruffled from the fiery contest, has said that the quick direct criticisms of boys seem to go more immediately to the heart of a subject than the more calculated and dispassionate utterances of grown men. That the subjects discussed are wide may be seen from the following list of matters debated in the last few months: Trade Union Policy, the Triple Alliance, Indian Unrest, Overseas Trade, the Balkan Question, Nationalisation of Mines, the New Age, Industrial Peace, the Armies of Occupation, Factory Conditions. And the programme for this winter includes Railway Unrest, Politics as a Career, Dominion Government for Ireland, and the Faults of Bureaucracy.

It is a very humble beginning, but it has the merit of adaptability; and so far has shown the remarkable appeal that political

questions do make to the right-minded boy of seventeen and eighteen, and the interest evoked by meeting and talking to living exponents of the theories and movements of the day.

C. H. BLAKISTON

III. THE NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME HIGH SCHOOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Archæological Society was founded in 1913, and was the offspring of a particularly healthy Natural History Society. It has never attempted to usurp the functions of either the Debating or the Literary Society. The reason for starting it was that although the Natural History Society was immensely popular in the lower and middle parts of the school, many of the older boys desired something more than beetles, and held aloof from the summer excursions owing to their mixed character.

It is necessary to confess at the outset that the name is misleading because, although Archæological was the original title, it has perforce developed into a Historical Society in the widest sense. There were grave doubts in the minds of some of the founders whether a district such as "the Potteries" could furnish material to sustain the Society, but these were soon dispelled. The history of the district—unfairly described as "the history of the most commonplace people of the ugliest district in England"—has proved interesting and at times almost romantic.

May one here make a suggestion with regard to the initial difficulty of starting a society—that is to say, the difficulty in getting boys to read papers? In our darkest days due to the war we decided to have a series of lectures on the Middle Ages. We took the headings of six of the most suitable chapters from Barnard's *Companion to the Middle Ages*, and drew lots amongst six volunteers which of the subjects they should each get up with the aid of Barnard and other material at hand. This led to a revival, and might furnish a method of starting.

With regard to the actual work of the Society, we aim at holding eight meetings and three excursions every year. To the lectures there is little expense attached, as the School Library furnishes generally any necessary books. Every member is encouraged to take up some particular branch, of which architecture is the most popular; others go in for brass-rubbing and the study of inscriptions; a few for ancient glass and for heraldry, which seems to be too large a subject for boys. A member this term has launched out in a new direction, and we are to have

lectures on "Dress." The books we find most useful for beginners are published by the Cambridge University Press and known as the "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature." Amongst this series may be mentioned those on Brasses (Ward) and Ancient Glass (Eden), and there is also the Grammar of Heraldry (St. John Hope).

Although we are affiliated to the local Society, we rarely now have to depend on outside assistance. Our meetings are often composed of two or three twenty-minute lectures of local interest, illustrated sometimes by drawings or slides. One of the great difficulties which had to be faced was to cater for the science boy who largely predominates in this school. This was overcome by having lectures on different great potters and the growth of local industries, etc., and the Society has not, therefore, been the monopoly of the historians. Our annals are kept in a book in which each lecturer writes a *précis* of his lecture after it has been delivered.

With regard to the excursions, everything depends on the locality. It is generally a visit to some local church of interest, and the services of the vicar are enlisted to expound its history. We have also visited Letocetum (Wall), some local excavations at Audley, and the battlefield of Bloreheath. Every term our work (brass-rubbing, etc.) is shown at the Natural History Society's Exhibition, and we have got the nucleus of a collection of coins. We are, however, ambitious and hope that when things get normal we may be able in the Summer holidays to do some excavating on our own and to justify our title of "Archæological."¹

NIGEL HEARD

¹ The following is a specimen series of a year's eight lectures, which might possibly furnish some hints to a kindred society :—(1) English Architecture up to 15th Century. (2) Butterson Church. (3) Ancient Newcastle. (4) The Site of the Old Castle at Newcastle. (5) Development of Medieval Castle in England. (6) Brass-Rubbing and Exhibition of Coins from Letocetum. (7) The Early History of Potting. (8) Dieulares Abbey.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—In the interesting article on “Nationality” in the October number, Mr. Ernest Barker speaks of “the easy-going Victorian cult of nationality (as embodied in Kossuth and Garibaldi),” and shortly afterwards in the same paragraph of “a broad inclusive Nationalism after the heart of Mazzini—a Nationalism which makes a nation ask itself, *What can I do for the world?* and then go and do it.” The juxtaposition of these two sentences implies that Garibaldi’s Nationalism was of the type of Kossuth, and not that of Mazzini. So far as my knowledge of Garibaldi goes, the opposite was the case. Kossuth’s Nationalism, that would have forced all the races (or “nations,” as Mr. Zimmern would call them) of Hungary into one Magyar mould, was one of the chief causes of the late war, and doomed the Austro-Hungarian State to dissolution. Mazzini’s Nationalism, well-defined by Mr. Barker, was the opposite of this, and it was Garibaldi’s. Garibaldi had no more wish than Mazzini to impose Italy’s yoke on alien peoples. And he was always asking himself, “What can I do for the world?” His passionate sympathy for the cause of the North in the American Civil War, his feeling for the oppressed Christians against the Turks, his crusade undertaken as an old man on behalf of the French Republic against the Prussian military monarchy in 1871, were all outcomes of the spirit of Mazzini’s broad Nationalism as defined by Mr. Barker. His opposition to Conscription and standing armies was part of the same set of ideas and emotions. After his death his disciples went in their red shirts to fight for Greece in 1897, because he had taught them to ask, “What can I do for the world?”—and not merely, “What can I do for Italy?” In his mind, as in Mazzini’s, the two questions went together. If all the victors and all the vanquished in the late war had believed in the Nationalism of Garibaldi instead of the Nationalism of Kossuth, Europe would be in a very different plight to-day.

G. M. TREVELYAN.

SIR,—As a contribution to the discussion of the content of history in secondary schools, I venture to submit the following scheme, which has been found, so far as it has yet been worked out, to have satisfactory results. Its aim, as well as its details, differ from those of most working schemes. In general, all that has been sought in the past has been to give the child as extensive a knowledge as possible of the history of Great Britain, with multitudinous details of the lives of national heroes and picturesque incidents. The story of the greater world was only introduced where it became essential to the understanding

of the incidents of British history, too often presented merely as a series of more or less related incidents. Thus the child was liable to acquire the impression that, for example, the Investiture Controversy was a quarrel between Henry I. and Anselm—a quarrel rendered sufficiently picturesque by the violence of the times—or that the Emperor and the King of France rose to prominence in the sixteenth century in order that Henry VIII. and Wolsey might be occupied in maintaining a balance of power between them—a process enhanced by the splendour of the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The syllabus here detailed was framed to prevent such unfortunate distortions of perspective. Its first theme is civilisation, not Great Britain. Not until a good foundation of world history has been laid is the child asked to grapple with the details of the British Constitution or similar matters, which, indeed, at the age of twelve to fourteen, he is incapable of understanding. National heroes belong to the story period of historical study, and may well be relegated to it. Nor is history to be presented as a mere series of incidents arranged chronologically, but as a process of evolution by which, in various movements, the world has reached its present stage of development.

No real history teaching can advantageously be given to children under the age of ten. Their sense of time is not sufficiently developed for genuine historical study; for them are the stories, biographies, etc. The scheme is framed, therefore, for a normal secondary school, in which a large proportion of the children enter at the age of twelve from the elementary schools, but which has also children entering at ten. The first two years are then in the nature of preparation for the course proper, which covers five years, and terminates naturally with the school certificate of one of the universities.

1st year.—Social history of England.

2nd year.—Rise of the British Empire—mainly as a story of adventure and connected as closely as possible with the geography done in Form. I. Children entering at the beginning of the 3rd year are counted upon as having been taught the outlines of British history. Much of it was instilled when their time sense was deficient, and they therefore have often little sense of the relation of events, but they can be expected to recognise outstanding incidents when introduced.

3rd year.—History of Civilisation, Part I. Eastern civilisations very briefly. Greece.—Rome.—The rise of Christianity.—The Barbarian invaders.—The break-up of the Roman Empire.

4th year.—History of Civilisation, Part II. Medieval Europe. The revivals of the Empire,—its meaning.—The Social system of the Middle Ages.—Feudalism.—The manor.—The monastery.—The Catholic Church.—The Crusades.—The development of modern Society.—Towns.—Nations.

5th year.—History of Civilisation, Part III. Modern Europe. The Renaissance.—The Reformation.—The religious wars.

6th year.—Colonisation and commerce. Especially the industrial and colonial development of Great Britain.

7th year.—The British Constitution.—Europe since 1789.

Thus in the school course a comprehensive sketch of world history has been given, and in addition the industrial and constitutional development of Great Britain have been traced, and in their continuity serve as example of industrial and constitutional progress generally. As a matter of fact, Great Britain is the centre of interest from the sixteenth century onward, because it is from that time in the main stream of civilisation, and not, as previously, on its edge.

The history of Greece and Rome is treated mainly from the point of view of culture; their contributions to modern institutions and ideas are indicated so far as possible.

In mediæval history illustrations are extensively drawn from the history of Great Britain, so that by the end of the fifth year, taking into account his attainment before the age of twelve the child has gathered all the essential facts of English history, but with a clear understanding of their place in the development of the world. For instance, he has been obliged to recognise that for long England was as much as a hundred years behind the rest of Europe—he has seen it in architecture, in the standard of comfort, in the growth of towns, and so on.

In practice it has been found that a keen interest is aroused, partly because the subject is not staled by almost meaningless repetition at too early an age, and that a perfectly adequate appreciation of mediæval ideas can be gained.

One of the greatest difficulties has been the dearth of suitable textbooks for all stages, and the non-existence of original documents in a form accessible to children. Probably if European history is more generally taught, these difficulties will be removed.

Various arguments have been urged against the adoption of the scheme. It has been alleged that the child who leaves school before the end of the course does so without a knowledge of the history of his own country. As a matter of fact, he knows quite as much of it as he would if taught on the ordinary lines, and he sees it in its proper perspective. Again, it has been protested that too much is demanded of the teacher—the history specialist becomes essential; but why not?

GLADYS M. MORSE.

SIR,—In reference to the letter of Miss Challoner and others (October, p. 149) about the introduction of world history into the schools, I am writing to point out that Professor Graham Wallas's suggestion has been misunderstood. He proposed that world history of the nineteenth century should be studied in the two years at school *after* the matriculation examination. He hoped that teachers would approach the London University Extension Board, so that the regulations for the Higher School (not the General School) Examination might be altered, in order to allow candidates to offer general world history of the nineteenth century, or some particular aspect of it, as an alternative subject. A statement to this effect appeared in "Notes and News" in July (p. 88), and suggested that teachers who were willing to prepare candidates for the Higher School Examination in recent world history should inform Miss Curran, so that a joint appeal to the Board could be made through the Historical Association.

MARGARET CURTIS.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

XII.—ENGLISH CRAFT GILDS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.¹

It was of the essence of the gild system in its ideal that every master craftsman was at once capitalist and worker, manufacturer and merchant; he bought, or received from his customers, his own raw material, and sold in his own workshop the finished product of his labour. It was of the essence of the gild system, also, that there was no such thing as a permanent wage-earning class; the apprentice who had trained for seven years under a master was himself qualified to set up as a master. He might have to work for a few years as a journeyman for wages, in order to accumulate a little capital on which to set up shop, but he had no thought of remaining permanently as a servant hired at a wage. Further, it was of the essence of the gild system that the affairs of each craft, comprising prices, workmanship, and the standard of life of the workers, were regulated by the whole body of masters, working through officials. It was in its ideal a perfect industrial democracy.

The obvious advantages of this system have caused a wholesale idealisation of the middle ages by many modern writers, and in particular by those romantic socialists who followed William Morris, and by their less romantic successors, the Gild Socialists, who follow Mr. G. D. H. Cole. Now Gild Socialism is an exceedingly interesting theory, and will stand or fall upon its own merits; in any case, the fact that it envisages national and not municipal gilds, and industrial and not craft organisation, makes it essentially different from the craft gilds of the middle ages. But in their enthusiasm for the gild idea modern reformers have not infrequently delivered themselves of rash generalisations about history, which are in need of

¹ The best introduction to English craft gilds is E. Lipson, *Economic History of England* (1915), ch. viii. The best introduction to craft gilds in general, concerned mainly with Continental crafts, is a recently published translation of part of a larger work by Georges Renard, *Gilds in the Middle Ages*, translated by Dorothy Terry and edited with an introduction by G. D. H. Cole (Bell, 1919), which is very convenient and cheap; Gild Socialists are usually somewhat wild in their references to history, but Mr. Cole's introduction is moderate and suggestive. Good chapters on English crafts are to be found in W. J. Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History*, Part I. (1888), ch. ii.; Part II. (1893), chh. i.-iii.; and W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce (Early and Middle Ages)* (1910 edition). J. M. Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life* (1891), is mainly a study of the gilds of Kingston-upon-Hull, useful for its reprints of gild regulations. Regulations of many craft gilds are printed in *English Gilds*, ed. Toulmin Smith, with an introduction by L. Brentano (*Early English Text Soc.*, 1892), but Brentano's introduction has been superseded by later works. The best, almost the only, work on the gilds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is G. Unwin, *Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1904). See also his valuable *The Gilds and Companies of London* (1908) for London gilds throughout their history.

correction. The average socialist and the man in the street are apt to regard the gild system as one which flourished widely and with excellent results in England, for a halcyon period of nearly three centuries in the middle ages, at the close of which period it abruptly broke down. Their explanation of its disappearance is exceedingly simple. "In Western Europe," says Mr. Arthur Penty, the real inventor of Gild Socialism, "the gilds existed until the close of the middle ages. They fell before the economic and political upheavals, which accompanied the discovery of America and the sea route to Asia, which involved as a natural consequence the change of trade routes and the growth of capitalism."¹ The artificial simplicity of such an explanation is enough to make any historian doubt it at once, and, indeed, it bears singularly little relation to the real history of the decline of the gilds.

There are two mistakes in the popular view: (1) It is far too sweeping a generalisation, and (2) it considerably post-dates the appearance of capitalism. It is true that gilds were found in many English towns from the thirteenth century onwards, but there never was so to speak, a *gild period*; that is to say, a period at which the gild system of organisation was in full working order all over the country. No century can be pointed out as the century in which the gilds everywhere flourished, no century as that in which they everywhere decayed. The only generalisation which can ever be safely made in mediæval economic history is that no generalisation can be made; all development is local, and the solution of most of the vexed questions of agrarian and industrial organisation and of many strange divergencies of evidence lies in this fact. The development of the English craft gilds varies not only from time to time (which is the only variation allowed by the average person), but from town to town, and even from craft to craft. At one and the same moment one town will have no craft gilds at all, a second will have craft gilds in full working order, a third will have strikes and unions of wage-earners. At one and the same moment in the same town one craft will be a perfect little industrial democracy, and another will be a seething struggle of labour against capital.

In some towns craft gilds appear very early. London seems never to have gone through the preliminary stage of a general Gild Merchant for the regulation of both industry and trade; and in most of the important trading centres, such as Bristol, York and Coventry, the Gild Merchant was superseded by the crafts at an early date. But in other towns craft gilds only developed quite late in their history, and in some there were never a sufficient number of workers in the different occupations to necessitate separate organisations; in such towns the old gild merchant, or the general governing body of the town, sufficed throughout the middle ages to supervise industry. At Cambridge, for instance, in spite of the demands of the University upon industry, no craft gilds ever existed; and several great modern centres, such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, remained mere agricultural villages without crafts all through the middle ages. Thus craft gilds were at no period universal in English towns.

¹ A. J. Penty. *Old Worlds for New* (1917), pp. 44-5. An even more grotesque account of the appearance of capitalism and the disappearance of a mythical "distributive" State is given by Mr. Hilaire Belloc in *The Servile State* (1912).

On the other hand, the appearance of capitalism must not be post-dated. It is true that both trade and capitalism received a great impetus with the discovery of new routes and markets at the close of the middle ages; but that impetus only hastened a process which had begun long before. The fourteenth century showed a very advanced state of capitalism in certain towns and in certain trades. The market for goods was growing steadily all through the later middle ages, and a wide market always brings with it a capitalist. Thus, though in smaller towns and crafts the gild system might be working very well in the fourteenth century, in larger industrial centres and in the more important crafts it had begun to break down. It depends essentially upon a small and stable market, a *town* market, in which the master craftsman can be his own merchant and need not depend upon a middleman to distribute his goods. It depends also upon an approximate equality of wealth among masters. But these conditions no longer existed in London and in the larger towns in the fourteenth century. The market had grown wide, and certain men had grown rich. It became increasingly difficult for the small master to distribute his goods over a wide market, and the richer masters began to specialise in distribution, rather than in production, thereby growing richer still. Under the name of the *Livery* they monopolised the government of the craft, which became an oligarchy, instead of a democracy. In order to raise profits by diminishing competition, they entered upon a narrow and restrictive policy of keeping would-be apprentices out of the gilds, by high entrance fees and a variety of other devices. It is possible that craft gilds, even at their height, did not contain all the workers in any industry, but now a great and increasing mass of labour was outside the gild system. Many boys remained outside as skilled labourers, but many were employed in the workshops of masters as "serving men," who, although never apprenticed, must for all that have been skilled. It seems probable that many of these "yeomen," or "serving men," of whom we hear in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were not *journeymen*, in its gild meaning of fully trained apprentices working for a wage. Moreover, the capitalist masters not only made it difficult for boys to be apprenticed; they also made it difficult for fully trained apprentices to set up shops of their own, by making the mastership an expensive privilege. Thus many journeymen had to hire themselves out permanently at a wage, and what was meant to be a mere stage in their career became a permanent condition. The result was that already in the fourteenth century, in large towns and in important industries, there was a fully-established wages system and an acute divergence between capital and labour going on side by side with the gild system. The journeymen protected their interests as best they might, by forming associations of their own (yeoman gilds), to keep up wages, and by organising strikes; and the unapprenticed serving men seem to have made common cause with them. All this took place, not at the close of the middle ages, but in the very heart of the fourteenth century.

Similarly it seems probable that the outwork system, by which workers work in their own homes for a capitalist entrepreneur, was beginning to gain ground in industry long before the sixteenth century, when it became prominent. The untrained "serving men"

probably began at quite an early date to accept work in their own homes for the richer of the shop-keeping masters; and the more these rich masters specialised in distribution, the more likely they were to give out work to be done in this way, and even to take work done by smaller masters, who found it impossible to sell their own wares in the face of the competition of the large shops. We see this happening quite clearly in the early sixteenth century, and it was a well-established practice by that time. Moreover, in the fourteenth century, there began in large towns the tendency for separate crafts to amalgamate, and for the lesser handicrafts to become absorbed into a mercantile craft. Thus in the fourteenth century the London pursers, pouchers, and glovers seem to have worked primarily not for the public, but for the leathersellers; all are separate crafts with separate gild organisations, but one craft acts as a middleman to the others. By the sixteenth century the leathersellers have completely swallowed up the three lesser handicrafts, which no longer have a separate organisation, but are organised as a dependent branch (*Yeomanry*) of the Leathersellers' Company; the individual purser, poucher, or Glover is now working on an outwork system for a capitalist middleman.

The net result is that in the fourteenth century, and possibly earlier, the market was wide enough and capitalism sufficiently developed to have broken up the gild system in the larger towns and industries, which were affected by the wider markets. In these a wages system and an "outwork" organisation had appeared. In smaller towns and crafts the gild system still flourished. It is unfortunate that we know much more about the decaying gilds of London and the large towns, than we do about conditions in smaller places; though this fact makes the rash generalisations of the man in the street all the more surprising. A great deal of very careful research is still needed as to—(1) the prevalence of craft gilds in the smaller English towns; (2) the question whether at any time the craft gilds in any particular town contained the whole or the greater number of the workers in the occupations so organised: it seems probable that they did not; (3) the process by which the gild organisation declined. Professor Unwin has given us excellent studies of the process in London, but a great deal of work has yet to be done among the records of other towns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Meanwhile it is wise not to be too glib about the gild system in the middle ages.

EILEEN E. POWER.

REVIEWS

Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition.

By Leonard W. King. The Schweich Lectures, 1916. The British Academy (Milford). 1918. 155 pp. 3s.

THE main point of this work is a discussion of the earlier and later forms of the Deluge and Creation Legends which have lately been published. Apart from such matters, which relate to comparative mythology rather than history, there are several details of historical interest. In the first place, the records that were recovered from the library at Nineveh, of about 650 B.C., are now seen to be a later version of far more remote Sumerian documents written before 2100 B.C., and these in turn seem to preserve what are very probably the ideas of ages long before that. The changes in 1,500 years are no more than must be expected in transference from an earlier to a later race and language.

Another general result is that the dynasties and kings of early ages recorded by the Græco-Babylonian Berosus can now be identified as genuine copies of documents two thousand years older. The adapter of the ancient histories to the new Greek dress is fully vindicated in his lists, as he was lately in his exact chronology. This substantiates the whole position of the transcribers of a perishing literature and civilisation. It is unfortunate that Dr. King has thrown a stone at Herodotus by saying that "In Egypt his report of the early history is confused." Dr. Apostolides long ago pointed out that a roll had been transposed in the second book, and we can trace that book having consisted of twelve rolls, and see that the transposition of one of them was due to similar catchwords of the beginnings. When this accident is set right there is not any error in the order of the Egyptian history of Herodotus.

The question of the period in common between the Mesopotamian and the Hebrew is discussed—whether it was primitive, before 2000 B.C., or at the settlement in Canaan, or during the Judean monarchy. Dr. King rather inclines to the last period. Yet surely the whole tone of the opening of Genesis is not that of a literary preface to a history; it has as primitive a breath in it as anything of the Sumerians. When it is already granted that the Hebrew race came from the Euphrates valley, there seems no ground for supposing that they did not share the beliefs of others there, whose Sumerian documents are now in our hands.

The Arabian source of the Semites is assumed and positively stated by Dr. King, who seems to disregard entirely Dr. Clay's Amorite theory of the Semites holding Northern Syria and thence

descending the Euphrates, and into Arabia, and along Syria. The fertile and valuable region of Northern Syria is certainly a more likely home for an active people than is half-desert Arabia; and, moreover, Syria is "to let"; no other more capable people can be shown to have occupied it before 2000 B.C.

Some bye questions might be remarked, but they are only subsidiary, and as a whole the account gives a valuable summary of the present state of knowledge; it has been greatly confirmed and expanded in recent years; what may it not be when the early civilisations are at last thrown open to regulated research!

It is sad to think that the early death of Dr. King will so cripple Eastern research, of which he was the principal exponent. It is the heaviest blow to historical study.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

Ancient Indian Education. By the Rev. F. E. Keay. 191 pp. 1918. Milford. 4s. 6d.

A History of Education in Ancient India. By Nogendra Nath Mazumder. vii+128 pp. 1916. Macmillan. 2s.

THE first four chapters of Mr. Keay's well-written book deal with the more or less remote past, starting from the dim times of the Rigveda. Those chapters exhibit the result of much laborious research, and deserve to be studied carefully. The author has attained a high standard of accuracy, so that his errors are few and venial. Our old friend "Bakhtiyār," instead of "Muhammed, son of Bakhtiyār," reappears twice. The doubts expressed about the well-established fact of Akbar's formal illiteracy are not justifiable. The two remaining chapters—namely, the fifth—which describes popular elementary education as it existed in recent times, and survives even now to some extent; and the sixth, which presents certain general conclusions—are the most important in the volume. The available space must be devoted to them.

Before the British Government took over control of education in India a widespread, popular, indigenous system existed in most provinces. The Bengal schools were fully described by Ward, and at a later date by William Adam (1835-6). An excellent account of the institutions in the Madras Presidency was printed by Gover in 1873 (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II., pp. 52-6). Even then the "pyal" schools were "going to the wall," and seemed likely to become "as rare as the *megatherium*." No doubt the process has continued in Madras as it has elsewhere. The *pyal* needed no school-house, the class usually meeting in the verandah of the headman's house. The master was requited by fees and presents of various kinds, which gave him a reasonably adequate subsistence, and the boys used to bring him fuel daily, as the children in an Irish "hedge-school" used each to bring a sod of turf or peat. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught, while literature and morals were communicated by making the boys learn by heart the aphorisms in the *Kural* and other ancient Tamil books. Northern India does not possess any literature equal to that of the far south in ethical value. Every pupil received individual attention, sometimes in very

painful forms, and was made "a fair scholar." Writing was taught before reading "in the very best possible mode—in conjunction with the reading lesson. The pupil begins his writing lessons when he commences to learn his alphabet. . . . His first lesson is a complete letter, and thus he can feel that every day he makes real and useful progress. The alphabet is almost everywhere written with the finger on the sanded ground." No apparatus costing any appreciable expense was required. A "point of great excellence" in the village schools of both Madras and Bengal was that the children were taught the system of traders' and agriculturists' accounts, the forms of leases, agreements, etc., and the business current hand, which everywhere differs widely from the literary script. Such sensible instruction, I fear, is not to be looked for in a modern Government school, modelled in all its arrangements on unsuitable English notions.

Monitors were commonly chosen from the more advanced scholars to help the master with the juniors. All were taught together, no division into classes being made, and the lessons were conducted with an amount of noise very trying to European ears. But the system suited the country, and it is a thousand pities that it has been nearly killed by the unintelligent introduction of inappropriate foreign methods.

The monitorial system commended itself to Mr. Andrew Bell, who was in charge of an educational institution at Madras in the closing years of the eighteenth century. He brought the idea home, where it was taken up by his follower and rival, Lancaster, but soon degenerated into a "caricature" of the Indian system. Montessori copied the Indian practice of teaching writing before or simultaneously with reading. Thus it appears that in two particulars the proud West has learned something from the humble village schools of the East.

"Few countries," Mr. Keay writes, "and certainly no Western ones, have had systems of education which have had such a long and continuous history with so few modifications as some of the educational systems of India." Although records of institutions so obscure as village schools are necessarily rare, there is reason to believe that such schools existed in extremely ancient times. It is highly probable that during the early centuries of the Christian era, when Buddhism was a power in the land, the monastery schools did much for popular elementary education, as they do still in Burma and Ceylon. It is certain that the greater monasteries served the purpose of universities and maintained a high standard of secular as well as of religious learning. The Chinese pilgrims of the seventh century give abundant details.

Professor Mazumder's little book is much slighter than Mr. Keay's, and hardly justifies its title. It is based upon lectures given to the students at the Dacca Training College, and owes its origin to the rude and untrue remark of an American writer that, "despite all the Hindu's fineness of intellect and his idealistic religion, India seems typically 'barbarian.'" The author sets himself to prove, by copious quotations from the ancient scriptures, that India possessed a high degree of culture from remote antiquity. That proposition will not be disputed by any person acquainted with the facts.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

The Patrimony of the Roman Church in the Time of Gregory the Great. By Edward Spearing. Edited by Evelyn M. Spearing. Cambridge Univ. Press. 1918. 6s.

A BOOK based on the unfinished work of a young Cambridge scholar, killed in France at the head of his company in 1916, and completed and prepared for the press by his sister amidst the distractions of work in a military hospital, has a double claim to kindly consideration. Yet no real indulgence is needed in the case of this useful and unpretentious treatise. It is written from the sources; it is clearly expressed and well arranged; and it supplies a real gap in the scanty literature in the English tongue dealing with the administrative history of the Papacy. It is seldom realised, even by scholars, how the possession of a great private estate, scattered over Italy and Sicily and extending into Illyria and Africa, had already in the sixth century supplied the papacy with a large income, and compelled it to organise an administrative system which could in due course extend its sphere from the government of a large territorial possession to the superintendence of the Church universal. All this development up to the time when the process of administration is revealed to us with comparative fulness in Gregory the Great's correspondence is set forth fully in the late Mr. Spearing's book. If here and there there may be a phrase, especially dealing with general matters, that we could have wished expressed somewhat differently, the general impression leaves nothing to be desired. The book deserves the attention of students of both ecclesiastical and administrative history, as a careful and scholarly survey of the facts on record relating to an important subject. A short but touching preface tells us something of the life and death of the writer. Miss Spearing is to be congratulated on the skill and discretion with which she has set up this memorial to her brother. It was worth doing.

T. F. TOUR.

Texts for Students. Nos. 2-8.¹ General editors: C. A. J. Skeel, H. J. White, J. P. Whitney. S.P.C.K. 1918-19. Nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9d.; Nos. 4, 5, 7, 6d. each.

THE Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has done well in adding to its useful little "Helps for Students of History," a parallel series of "Texts for Students." The two series have in common the advantages of scholarly editing, adequate get-up, and extraordinary cheapness. The design of the present venture seems to be to put in the hands of students cheap texts and translations of original documents, sufficiently short to make it likely that they will be read, and at a price which will enable each individual to possess a copy of his own. The variety of texts chosen is considerable, and the principles of selection not too rigidly uniform. In several cases we have complete editions of short documents, adequately but briefly annotated by competent editors. These are perhaps the most obviously useful of the whole series. It is a great thing to be able to buy for sixpence either a good text of the complete *Latin Writings of St. Patrick* (No. 4), well edited by Professor White, of Dublin, or the original Greek of the whole of the *Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Church of Corinth* (No. 7). Another type,

¹ For No. 1 see *ante*, iii, 185.

almost as useful, is the translation of similar documents, such as is illustrated by Professor White's *Translation of the Latin Writings of St. Patrick* (No. 5). The more booklets of this type that the series can publish, the more they will be welcomed by those who have the spread of scholarship at heart. A second class of texts consists of select extracts from books too long to be printed in full, or of select documents illustrating a particular point of view. The former is represented by Miss Skeel's two contributions, *Selections from Giraldus Cambrensis* (No. 3), and *Selections from Matthew Paris* (No. 2), and by Dr. H. J. White's *Selections from the Vulgate* (No. 6). The selections from Paris are perhaps the least useful of the three, because the least coherent; but the extracts from Giraldus give quite a good idea of the Norman-Welsh scholar's restless and energetic personality. And the whole of mediæval literature is so penetrated by the language and spirit of the Vulgate that any means of making the mediæval student familiar with its phrases is to be commended, the more so when undertaken by a specialist like Dr. White. The other sort of selections is represented by Professor Hearnshaw's *Extracts from Chronicles and Records relating to English Towns in the Middle Ages*. Here, again, a specialist is at work, and we may generally trust his selections and guidance. Some of the notes, however, need revision. "Solarium" normally means, not a "balcony," but an "upper room" or "story"; "togati cives," as opposed to "armatus miles," surely suggests "civilians," as opposed to the military, rather than "citizens of the lower orders." A "Charter of Southampton" is dated "1341," though the text shows that the true date of the *inspeximus* from which it is printed is 1340. And the list of witnesses shows that they certainly do not belong to any document of that date, and, indeed, raises other questions. Probably the congestion caused by omissions is the source of these difficulties, but they will surely confuse the intelligent student who happens to notice them. Or is the text a corrupt one? Anyhow, these doubts should be solved in a new edition.

T. F. Tout.

Medieval Reckonings of Time. By Reginald L. Poole. 6d. *The Public Record Office*. By Charles Johnson. 6d. *The Public Record Office, Dublin*. By Robert H. Murray. 8d. (Helps for Students of History. Edited by C. Johnson and J. P. Whitney. Nos. 3, 4, and 7.) 1918. S.P.C.K.

THERE are a few things which every member of the Historical Association ought to know, but which, unhappily, few people are mentally so constructed as to be able to remember. The way in which time was reckoned in the Middle Ages is one of these things. How few of us, after any amount of study, would be able to define an indiction or have courage to explain the famous controversy on the date of Easter. How impossible should we find the task of a simple unseen translation from the *Calculus Pisanus* to the *Calculus Florentinus*. Yet a knowledge of the mediæval reckonings of time, with their elusive details, has saved men from countless errors and equipped them for the discovery of literary crime. And, apart from its professional value, the understanding of mediæval chronology is in some sort a key to the working of the mediæval mind, for the chronological framework upon which events were stretched was an index to, or at least suggested, the ultimate meaning of things.

In his excellent essay Dr. Poole, of course, does not deal with the problems of medieval cosmology. He has given us what we needed: practical help. He describes in the simplest and clearest way how time was reckoned, and explains the meaning of the chief terms or practices. Even the skill of Dr. Poole will not make these matters easy, but his compact little guide should be carried about and studied by anyone who is working upon medieval documents; and it should be read by all.

Mr. Johnson's pamphlet on the Public Record Office is equally useful and timely. Mr. Johnson has been a living help to many students, old and young. He understands the Record Office, its history and structure, as very few people do. As an archivist and historical scholar he knows how close the connection is between the history of public documents, the history of public departments, and the general history of England. Each is required to interpret the others. In the present essay he does not catalogue the contents of the Public Record Office; he has given a demonstration (necessarily slight) of its organic character. The classes of records are briefly described in the light of the history of the department from which they came, and in turn they are used to explain the development of the administration. One wishes that this was the forerunner of a larger work.

Dr. Murray's guide to the Public Record Office in Dublin is in another class. It is a careful and useful compilation, arranged without much regard to chronology or the relative importance of the various classes of documents. Dr. Murray, I think, would have been better advised if he had given a few pages to the medieval records and administration and to later developments before plunging into a detailed description of the present contents of the Record Office. But as a guide his work will be most useful, and it should do much to clear the minds of students both in the United Kingdom and in Ireland. The wealth of material, the amount of fine work which has been and is being done upon it by commissions and officials and learned societies, and the interesting similarities and contrasts between the English and Irish records, will be noted with surprise by most readers. It is true that, perhaps, the finest contributions to Irish history were made, in the middle of last century, by a group of men, O'Donovan and Reeves and their circle, who were also great Irish scholars; it is true also that a new generation of scholars who would possess their qualifications is much to be desired; but the persons who suggest that good historical work on Ireland cannot be done by students ignorant of Irish ought to know better. No post-graduate student anywhere could desire a better opportunity than he would find in the Public Record Office at Dublin, both of learning his way about historical material and of breaking new ground.

The *Helps for Students of History* would appear to have been intended originally for students of ecclesiastical history, and Mr. Johnson professes to write for their special benefit. The limitation was impracticable, and has been tacitly abandoned. The series deserves as wide a circulation as it can reach. I should like to see volumes on the Scottish records, on the French archives and the papal archives in Rome, on the contents of typical medieval libraries, on the results obtained by recent work in Byzantine history; also

a volume or two by some expert in the Public Record Office on the technical aspects of the most familiar incidents in the text-books of English history, between 1485 and 1815. F. M. POWICKE.

Henry II. By L. F. SALZMANN, F.S.A. Pp. viii+267. 1917. Constable. 7s. 6d.

MR. SALZMANN has produced a sketch of the reign of Henry II. which is at once interesting and scholarly. It is obviously based on a careful study of original sources, both chronicles and records. Particularly notable is the excellent use to which the evidence of the Pipe Rolls is put. Not only is it employed to provide material for an admirable chapter on Angevin finance; it is also made to furnish many curious items of information concerning social life, the administrative system, and the military organisation of the period. To many readers, for instance, it will be news that a sister of Thomas Becket, by name Roese, enjoyed a pension from the Crown during the years 1174-1188.

A topical rather than a chronological arrangement has been adopted by Mr. Salzmann as the framework of his book. This has made it possible for him to treat such subjects as the Welsh Wars, the Irish Conquest, and the Becket Quarrel continuously and completely. But it has inevitably detracted from the biographical vividness and the historical movement of the narrative. The volume, indeed, is a study of the reign rather than a life of the king. A number of controversial matters has necessarily come within Mr. Salzmann's purview. He has dealt with them in a manner marked by commendable impartiality, brevity, and sanity. He holds, against Mr. Round, that there is adequate evidence for the truth of the story of Henry's attempt at an invasion of England in 1147. He contends, against Mr. Orpen, for the authenticity of the letter of Pope Adrian IV. to Henry (1155), encouraging him in his "laudable purpose" of conquering Ireland and bringing it under the Roman discipline, although he agrees that not even in Ireland could the letter be properly called a "bull." He maintains, against Professor Gwatkin and most other historians, that Henry emerged triumphant from the Becket broil. "The final issue of the conflict," he says, "was thus decidedly in Henry's favour, and the murder, instead of proving, as it must have done in the case of a less able man, disastrous, had actually been beneficial" (p. 123).

Mr. Salzmann has formed a high estimate of Henry's character and ability. To those who are acquainted with the scandals and dissensions of Henry's Court it is amusing to read that "the weak spot which was to prove his ruin lay in his most unselfish and amiable trait, his affection for his family" (p. 15). Nevertheless, Mr. Salzmann makes out a good case for his novel view. In short, he has written a fresh and stimulating study.

F. J. C. HEARNshaw.

The Early English Customs System: A Documentary Study of the Institutional and Economic History of the Customs from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century. By N. S. B. GRAS. Harvard Economic Studies. Vol. XVIII. Harvard Univ. Press. (Milford.) 1918. 15s.

SETTING out from an investigation into the English corn bounty which pushed back its origin from 1689 to 1673, Professor Gras was

led to make a comprehensive study of the "Evolution of the English Corn Market" from the manorial economy of the twelfth century to the metropolitan economy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The "Customs Accounts" were one of the chief sources for that work, and in the present volume Professor Gras has attempted, with conspicuous success, to represent by samples and to elucidate that great mass of highly valuable material for economic history, and to provide a more adequate account of the origin and development of a national system of customs in England.

The gist of his explanation lies in the view that local customs, claimed, in the first instance, by prescription, and later authorised by charters, were prior in time and in formative influence to the national customs. The best-known case of local custom, the tolls of Billingsgate, dates from about the middle of the eleventh century, whilst the first permanent system of national customs were those of 1275 on wool, fells, and hides, which were, according to Professor Gras, entirely new taxes established by Parliament, and not old taxes authorised or standardised. Previous attempts at a national system are represented by the Winchester Assize of 1203, and the New Aid levied on the merchants in 1266, both of which proved to be of a temporary character; and the restricted incidence of the customs of 1275 was not widened so as to cover all the import and export trade of the country until the tonnage and poundage, imposed on aliens by the *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303, were exacted from native merchants by the Crown in 1347-50 and authorised by Parliament in 1373.

The researches of Professor Gras have shed new light on the whole development of English customs during the Middle Ages, but the contribution on which he lays most stress lies in the clearer definition he claims to have established of such general taxation on foreign trade as existed before 1275. The only regular items of such taxation for which he can find evidence are those of "lastage" on general exports, scavage on general imports, and the custom and prise on imported wine. These he calls semi-national customs because, though levied by the King on national trade, they were modelled on local customs, and tended to be alienated and decentralised, and thus to become assimilated to local taxation. That there was any regular system of prisage or levy in kind on general imports or exports, and in particular that there was any regular prise of wool which as the *antiqua custuma* was commuted for the 6s. 8d. per sack of 1275 he gives us serious reasons to doubt. "Until 1303," he says, "it was the exception rather than the rule for aliens to pay national duties. This held true for denizens until 1347. After the consolidation of the customs and subsidies in that year, however, all persons paid duties on all commodities except when a subsidy lapsed. This view is diametrically opposite to that held by Hall . . . that all goods were taxed from an early date, and that the customs of 1275, 1303, 1347, and so on were but substitutes for earlier duties."

Here we venture to think Professor Gras pushes his dialectical opposition to what he calls the "prise theory" of the origin of customs too far. He narrows it down and gives it greater precision in order to refute it. It is possible that, whilst his refutation represents a great advance in accurate scholarship, the theory

contains an important element of truth which he has not fully recognised. He concludes "that the ancient custom of 1275 was not of royal origin, was not a reform of past practices, and was not an outgrowth of the prise; that it was a really new custom, new in kind, in the machinery of collection and in the authority establishing it." But the authorisation by Parliament, the new form and the new machinery, do not necessarily exclude a royal origin for the tax nor its connection with the reform of past practices. Professor Gras is perhaps too much concerned with "formal causes," and too little with efficient causes. Yet he has just pointed out that the prohibition of the export of wool to Flanders, except under license since 1270, "had prepared the minds of members of Parliament (Hall said of the merchants), especially of the owners of wool, for a tax as the price of freedom of exportation formerly enjoyed. This device was reverted to, for example, in the year 1336 to wring from Parliament a subsidy on wool." And he might have added that the device of purveyance was used with the same result in 1294 and 1337. Since at every stage in the expansion of the customs it was the royal right of pre-emption and the royal power of restraint of trade which furnished the leverage for that expansion, and which had supplied, however irregularly, an alternative revenue, it is not without some justification that these royal prerogatives have been regarded as the origins of the customs. The antecedents of the grant of 1275 are not yet sufficiently known to admit of dogmatic conclusions; but, as in 1273 an export trade in wool amounting to 32,743 sacks had been carried on by special license, this could hardly have been without fiscal results, and the statement that the custom of 1275 was granted "*ad instantiam et rogatum mercatorum*" seems to point clearly to a bargain with the merchants and a *quid pro quo* which is certainly not excluded by the fact that a full Parliament was summoned. The meaning of the grant of 1275 is still an unsolved problem, but no one is so likely to solve it as Professor Gras if he brings to the task the critical acumen and the realistic method which he has already applied to the fiscal problems of a later period.

Of the rest of the *Introduction* it must suffice to say that it furnishes an illuminating account of the later consolidation of the customs during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and makes a helpful contribution to the study of the important question of the revision of customs rates during the sixteenth century. Of still higher value to the student and teacher of economic history are the *Documents with Comments*, which constitute three-quarters of the volume. These give selected particulars of customs from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, in which every branch of indirect taxation on commerce, every important port, and all the leading aspects of foreign trade are well represented. On the basis of these materials, which are selected and edited in a most scholarly fashion, it ought to be possible to give a full account of English foreign trade at such epochs as 1275, 1303, 1347, 1421, 1466, or 1504 in regard to the commodities imported and exported, the foreign or native agencies employed, the character and nationality of the shipping, the prevalence of partnerships, and the share system and many other points. The book of Professor Gras will add to the already high reputation of the *Harvard Economic Studies*.

GEORGE UNWIN.

The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768. Edited, with an introduction, notes, and appendices, by W. Stewart Wallace, M.A. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1919.

It is perhaps a question whether the letters contained in this book were worth publishing. They do not make any substantial addition to our knowledge of Canadian history, nor do they solve any difficult problem of importance in connection with that history, though, in the words of the preface, "they throw light on some obscure passages in the politics of that time." Their author was an interesting man, mainly because he was a man of varied interests, but he was not a man of political foresight or measured judgment, and he only spent three years in Canada. On the other hand, the letters have been extremely well edited, and Mr. Stewart Wallace's introduction and notes will be most useful to those who are closely studying the particular period in the evolution of the Canadian nation. Furthermore, the book is evidence of the quantity and high quality of research which is being carried out by the modern school of historians in Canada.

Maseres was of Huguenot parentage, with strong Protestant bias, a Cambridge mathematician, and a barrister who had not yet achieved success. He was appointed Attorney-General of Quebec in 1766, and his arrival in Canada coincided with that of Carleton, who took James Murray's place, acting at first as Lieutenant-Governor, and being subsequently confirmed as Governor-in-Chief. Murray had incurred the virulent hostility of the very small British minority in the province of Quebec by his kindly and tolerant attitude towards the French Canadians; he had been recalled to answer the charges brought against him, and the agent in London of his opponents, Mr. Fowler Walker, was the correspondent to whom most of these letters were written. The disparaging references to Murray made in them show that Maseres had gone out strongly prejudiced against the late Governor, whom he represents as having been unpopular with French as well as English. If this was so, it was because, as Maseres states, Murray had, by an ordinance of September, 1764, passed in accordance with the general tenor of his instructions and of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, introduced English law and English judicial procedure into the province. The result was confusion, hardship, and prolonged discussion as to the best course to take under the circumstances. Maseres wrote much on the subject, and eventually a compromise was embodied in the Quebec Act of 1774, which was passed long after he had left Canada, but which he opposed in England. By that act the Canadians regained their old laws and customs in civil matters, while on the criminal side the law of England was left in force. The Quebec Act was passed on the very eve of the American Revolution, and contributed to it, more especially by annexing to the province of Quebec a great part of the hinterland of the British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. Yet it was a statesmanlike act, and well thought out, and the resentment which it caused is evidence of the extraordinarily difficult position which was created for the home Government by the conquest of Canada. Any concessions to Canada and Canadians were so many irritants to the English colonies, now no longer in need of help against an enemy on their borders, and any claims and preten-

sions put forward by the handful of English merchants in Quebec, however extravagant, were likely to find sympathy among the colonists to the South. Prior to 1769, however, when Maseres left Canada, the worst of the crisis had not begun, and, as Attorney-General, his most important work was to report upon the laws and administration of justice, while the most important case in which he was concerned was the notorious Walker case, the outcome of friction between soldiers and civilians at Montreal. While he was in Canada the short-lived Secretaryship of State for the American department was created, of which he fully approved. "I have this day learned from the New York papers the changes in the Ministry, one of which I like, which is the appointment of a Secretary of State for the plantations." The first holder of the office was Lord Hillsborough, whom Maseres credited with intending to give to Canada a House of Assembly "which we all fear here will increase the confusions of the province." But if a House of Assembly was to be given, Maseres was quite sensible and broad-minded enough to see that it could not be composed of Protestants alone, and he proposed that every seignior should send two members to the Assembly, one chosen by the seigniors and one by the habitants—a plan for which there was much to be said, but which would not have commended itself to the majority of the British section in the province. It was in the fact that he exercised a restraining influence on the extremists of that section that Mr. Wallace finds the chief value of Maseres' stay in Canada. Otherwise his three years were not fruitful years, his health suffered, and he became increasingly anxious to return to England, while Carleton, who had begun by thinking well of him, ended with the contrary opinion. It is perhaps not an unfair summary of his letters from Canada to say that they are as instructive for what they do not contain as for what they do. They are the letters of an undoubtedly clever man and one who was by no means wrapped up in his profession and oblivious to everything else. Yet there is nothing in them giving the slightest indication that the American revolution was near at hand, and with it a life and death fight in and for Canada. They give the impression of a somewhat self-centred community and a narrow horizon, the questions of the time and place being important, no doubt, but seeming to be of little more than local interest and importance. They suggest either that the little world of Canada, as it then was, was an isolated world, or that even men who were in a good position to know had little to warn them of the coming storm.

C. P. LUCAS.

Modern France, 1815–1913. By Emile Bourgeois. (Cambridge Historical Series.) 2 vols. Cambridge University Press. 1919. £1 1s.

THE publication of these volumes will be of great service to students of French history. Nowhere can they find the events of the last hundred years recounted and criticised by a writer with such thorough knowledge in at all the same limits of space. M. Bourgeois has chosen his own line, as he has a perfect right to do, and he has chosen to avoid almost completely any narrative of the military history of the time. Military events are not entirely omitted as they are in Seignobos's *Political History of Contemporary*

Europe, but they are given in the most meagre way and in so far only as they are necessary for the understanding of the political and diplomatic fortunes of France. The student must go elsewhere if he wants vivid pictures of the French part in the Crimean War, or of the liberation of Italy, or of the catastrophe of imperial France at Metz and Sedan. After all, it is easy to find these stories well told by other writers. What I am inclined to regret rather more is that episodes in the external life of France which are less known to English readers have not received a rather fuller and more illuminating treatment. How few of us know much about the Mexican expedition of Napoleon III., or of the long struggle by which France established her power on the north coast of Africa. There is a good deal about this last in M. Bourgeois's book, but the story is not told continuously, nor is it assisted by maps. The result is that we are left with only very hazy notions of a series of events whose importance, both administrative and military, has not been sufficiently recognised by the ordinary Englishman who is interested in history.

M. Bourgeois has confined himself to tracing the domestic life of France—her political life chiefly, but with many interesting and penetrating glances on her social and intellectual history—and everywhere he gives his readers the feeling that he speaks out of the fulness of knowledge and reflection. Dr. Prothero, in the little introduction that he has prefixed to the volumes, tells us how long and deep have been M. Bourgeois's studies of his subject, and he probably has found the limits imposed by these two handsome volumes rather irksome. Often after a perspective of interesting discussion has been opened the reader sees it close with regret.

The treatment of the reign of Louis Philippe is particularly interesting. No one will think that M. Bourgeois has any sympathy with the ideals of a *régime* during which "the French *bourgeoisie* spread themselves out in France as if in a conquered country." But he treats the King and his policy without any of the contempt that has been so freely poured upon him. He gives the King credit for good intentions and ability and for a strength of will that he has not always been allowed. He shows us the remarkable advance in well being that was made by all classes in France during his reign. He gives us admirably and with a touch of irony the growth of the Napoleonic legend until France became infatuated for "the beautiful, pale, pensive face of the martyr of St. Helena." He examines with much care the part played by Palmerston in raising up difficulties in the way of a *régime* which was, after all, very English in its main features, and he expresses himself more freely against the English Minister than is usual with him, for his judgments on most politicians are guarded, and certainly he cannot be accused of any bias against Great Britain.

The Great War has given a new interest to the causes of the Franco-German War of 1870. M. Bourgeois has some kind words for the personal character of Napoleon III. He recognises his goodness of heart and the strength of his imagination, but his verdict is unfavourable on every debated issue. He explains, but he finds no excuse for the *coup d'état*; he does not seem to think that Napoleon was a convinced believer in plebiscitary government; he sums up his verdict in the sentence, "No government has ever come under the analysis of the historian whose actions both at home and abroad

have been so lacking in coherence, whose language has been more uncertain, whose purposes have been so obscure, whose efforts to reconcile the unreconcilable have been so sterile." In the crisis of 1870 he shows him to us as an intriguer rather than a statesman, hoping to elude the danger rather than meet it, not playing the game even with his own ministers. He does not lay much stress on the machinations of Bismarck in bringing on the war, and he speaks more gently of the Ems telegram than the facts seem to me to warrant.

A few words must be said about the style of the book. There are many pages that have a great deal of the charm that belongs to French prose, and, though the book demands attention in the reading of it, if that is given it will all be read with great enjoyment. But there are passages where the English seems to be a not quite transparent medium for a French original. There are many sentences where relatives seem to search rather doubtfully for their antecedents. There are a few places where one wonders whether a French word is rightly represented by an English one. When a social writer of 1834 is said, on p. 189, to recommend men "to study the duties of the State in social matters, the question of salaries, and the conditions of labour," I suspect that his real interest was in wages rather than salaries.

M. Bourgeois is concerned with the past, and does not allow himself to glance into the future. But on one of his last pages he tells us that just before the Great War "the feeling of instability in the authority of Parliament was constantly in the air." The reading of this most valuable and interesting book strengthens the feeling that some revision of the constitution is one of the probabilities in the future of France. The stability of her political life is henceforth a matter of vital concern for all Europe.

A. J. GRANT.

Securities of Peace: A Retrospect (1848-1914). (Helps for Students of History, No. 12.) S.P.C.K. 3s.

The Period of Congresses. (Helps for Students of History, Nos. 9, 10, 11.) S.P.C.K. 3 vols in one. 3s. 6d. By Sir A. W. Ward, Litt.D., F.B.A.

IN the smaller of these books, "Securities of Peace," Sir A. W. Ward has provided a convenient little summary of the history of the attempts made, in modern times, to prevent particular wars and war in general. The book is valuable for its story of the negotiations preceding the main wars of the nineteenth century, and of the still more troubled years of the twentieth century. The impartiality with which the author discusses the diplomatic attempts to prevent the outbreak of the European War in 1914, and the balanced examination of the projects for a League of Nations should be of value to students. Unfortunately, in his desire to be inclusive, the author has occasionally sacrificed clearness; the discussion of the Schleswig-Holstein War (pp. 23-27) is a case in point. In many places—notably in the story of the diplomatic prelude to the Franco-German War (pp. 27-32)—there is perhaps too much emphasis on the written word and too little on the personal and impersonal rivalries which were—and are—the dangers to European peace.

The larger volume, on "The Period of Congresses," is less satisfactory. The purpose of a series of "Helps for Students of History" should be either the elucidation of small points, or a general discussion of larger questions. Sir A. W. Ward, in attempting to steer a middle course, has only added one more to the many existing narratives of the achievements and failures of European diplomacy between the Congress of Vienna and the Congress of Verona; and this particular narrative is perforce so brief that it is only a compressed record of well-known names, facts, and sequences. Thus, although certain neglected features, such as the careful moderation of Wellington towards the French after 1815, are admirably brought out, the student is given no insight into the actual method of procedure at the Congress—he never gets, as it were, inside the Congress Hall; and, on the other hand, there are no luminous suggestions, no critical discussions. For example, no mention is made, in the account of the settlement of Germany, of the influence upon German opinion of the ideas of the French Revolution and the political experiments of Napoleon; no explanation is given why the period of Congresses is, from one point of view, a complete break with, and from another point of view, the logical outcome, of the theory and practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the character-sketches of the chief actors in the period are brief, impersonal, and lifeless. The author's decision to confine himself to facts that are, as it were, neither general nor particular is the more to be regretted in that his great knowledge gives him the dangerous rights of generalisation and of describing individuals.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the style which the author has chosen to adopt in both his books. The tortuous accuracy of the interminable sentences is in no way a "help to students"; there is a curious preference for mixed classical tags where plain English would suit the purpose—*e.g.*, "quantum valeret," "a versatile famulus," "analogon, analoga," "Herculean amphictyony" (*sic*); "impar congressui" (*sic*); and, when "Francis Joseph" and "Frederick William" are allowed to stand, why speak of King "João" of Portugal?

E. L. WOODWARD.

The Century of Hope. By F. S. Marvin. Clarendon Press. 1919. 6s.

THIS is a remarkable and challenging book, which is likely to provoke healthy discussion on the meaning and the teaching of history for some time to come. It is written with wonderful vigour and a picturesque power which only very occasionally falls into exaggeration. The writer's buoyancy of spirit sweeps the reader along with him; it is with difficulty that he at last recovers his breath and finds the power of reflecting on the wonderful things that have been shown him. Such a book would have been remarkable whenever it was written, but it is doubly so when we reflect that it must have been composed during the course of the Great War, and that it was amidst all its untold horrors that Mr. Marvin found the faith and the charity to sing this psalm of hope.

The book is an illustration of a method of writing history and the exposition of a doctrine. Let us take the points separately.

The book is the history of the nineteenth century, or rather the

years between the battle of Waterloo and the outbreak of the Great War. Mr. Marvin sets out to tell what he thinks most important during those years and to put the various forces in their proper relation to one another. Politics and war, which take up nine-tenths of the space in an ordinary history, are here subordinated to social, literary, and religious history; but the progress of science is given the place of chief importance. Not only are the political chapters less prominent than the others; they are also the weakest. The chapter on "nationality and imperialism" seems to me not quite worthy of the rest of the book. Mr. Marvin dashes along through the story of the unification of Italy and Germany, certain of the motives of all the actors, distributing praise and blame without appeal, not condescending to defend Cavour's breach of international right, confident that the war of 1870 was the fault of the French Government and of the Emperor. The chapter was probably written after the reading of Mr. Trevelyan's books on Garibaldi, and if so the tone of rhapsody is easily explained; but I cannot think that it is thus that history should be written, especially in a book which is a eulogy of the spirit of science. The chapters on the history of science (V., VI., and X.) are the most interesting experiment in history writing. It is a very difficult task that is attempted; I am not sure that it has ever been attempted before in English. For Mr. Marvin tries to make clear to the non-scientific mind the real meaning of the scientific advance of the century and to show its relation to the political, social, and religious development of the time. These chapters seem to me (and my ignorance of science is an advantage to the formation of my judgment here) to be wonderfully successful. There are paragraphs which it is difficult to understand without some knowledge of science; but on the whole they are admirably clear, and, without a word of false rhetoric, they appeal wonderfully to the imagination. The book justifies itself if only for these chapters. I am convinced that the writer and the teacher of history in the near future will be compelled by logic to include the development of science in their survey. Mr. Marvin is a pioneer, but many will follow him to victory.

The book is also the exposition of a doctrine. Among its contentions are the following: That science is the central fact of all history, and especially of modern history; that the growth of scientific conceptions is closely linked to all other branches of history, and explains many of them; that science not only gives power, but also tends to fraternity and the recognition of the unity of the human race; that under the guidance of science, though with the co-operation of other forces, the world between 1815 and 1914 made great strides towards social justice and happiness and international concord; that in spite of the Great War we may look with confidence to these same forces to carry us forward to the triumph of this ideal.

This is no place for a discussion of this thesis, but perhaps I may be allowed to make two points that have struck me during a careful reading of the book.

Mr. Marvin, probably unconsciously, selects the evidence that tells in favour of his views, and will not, or at least does not, admit the strength or the existence of the facts that point the other way. Names, movements, and books are omitted or hardly touched if they

would break the grand uniformity of his picture of humanity sweeping forward to a peaceful and fraternal activity based on science. Thus there is little of Cobden and his doctrine of international individualism, and less of Newman and the revival of Catholicism, of Robert Browning and the strong current which he represents. There are two passages which it is impossible to read without a smile. On p. 128 he finds some consolation for the eight million deaths and the forty million wounds that scientific weapons have inflicted during the war in the thought that "nearly all the achievements of science in fabricating weapons of destruction can be converted with little change into constructive channels." And on p. 314 he sees in the attitude of the populations of the Allied countries in face of the war a proof "that we have advanced notably in wisdom since the mistakes and apathy of 1864 and 1870." But the other half of Europe showed an equal unanimity, an equal determination, in a cause which Mr. Marvin regards as wholly wrong. It needs a very robust optimism to get much comfort out of either consideration.

Lastly, and very briefly, I cannot think that Mr. Marvin gives at all its proper importance to the war that is just over. It cannot be dismissed as an awkward bump that inconvenienced for a moment the triumphal chariot of civilisation. Is it not rather the bankruptcy of the preceding civilisation? More than once in the book the mind of man in the nineteenth century is compared to an aeroplane making its splendid and rapid way among the clouds. May we not say that in 1914-1919 European civilisation nose-dived and crashed to earth? It is not enough to recall the delights of the former journey and to start again with the same machine and the same principles. The whole machine must be overhauled; the capacity of the pilots demands careful examination; science herself stands at the bar of humanity.

A. J. GRANT.

Memories and Impressions of War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-1917. By General Basil Gourko. With maps and illustrations. Murray. 1918. 18s.

The New Eastern Europe. By Ralph Butler. Longmans. 1919. 10s. 6d.

A SOLDIER who rose to be chief-of-staff to the Tsar, and thus practically commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, even though it was for a brief and inglorious period, necessarily has something to say of interest and importance, and the value of General Gourko's testimony is enhanced by the tragic fact that few of his colleagues have survived to bear their witness to the truth. Alexeiev, Ruszky, Kornilov, Kaledin have all disappeared, and Gourko himself was lucky in escaping from the SS. Peter and Paul prison to which a distinguished career led so many Russians. He fought in the war so long as Russians fought the Germans rather than one another. When it broke out he served in East Prussia, and was employed in an adventurous but unsuccessful attempt to save Samsonov's army from destruction. In the winter he helped to save Warsaw on the Bzura, and in the summer of 1915 he assisted in checking Mackensen's advance in eastern Galicia. Thence he was transferred to a command on the Dvina front, and in the summer of 1916 to

Brussilov's armies in the south. In November, when Alexeiev's health broke down, Gourko was selected as temporary chief of staff, and he held that post until March, 1917, when, on the eve of the Revolution, Alexeiev resumed his duties. In April he succeeded Evert as commander-in-chief of the Western armies, but increasing Bolshevism in the army and in the Russian Government made his position, like that of every other Russian general, impossible. In June he was dismissed, and after Kornilov's failure and a temporary imprisonment on suspicion he was allowed to proceed to Archangel and thence on a British vessel to England. His preface is dated from Paris in March, 1918.

The contents of his book are accurately indicated by its title. It does not profess to be a history of Russia's part in the war, and only those episodes in which Gourko was personally concerned are related. There is nothing about Erzerum, Lemberg, or the conquest of the Bukovina; there is not even a mention of Ruszky's victory at Prasnysz, although it was won on a front on which Gourko himself was then serving. Still less is there reference to the war in non-Russian spheres: the Dardanelles and the Somme are not mentioned, and the Marne and Verdun are the only struggles in France to which he alludes. The Austrian offensive from the Trentino in 1916 is introduced, like the Marne, to illustrate the services Russia rendered to the common cause by Rennenkampf's invasion of East Prussia and Brussilov's offensive, which are said to have been undertaken at the request of France and Italy respectively; but no mention is made of Allied offensives undertaken in response to Russian pleas, and the Allies are accused of having done "practically little or nothing" for Russia (p. 242). This attitude is the least generous in the case of Rumania, whose defence in the autumn and winter of 1916 is represented as a Russian achievement without any acknowledgment of Rumania's share or of the relief which Rumanian intervention afforded to the whole of the Russian front. Nor are General Gourko's explanations quite consistent, for after relating that Rennenkampf "decided to invade East Prussia without waiting for the complete organisation of his rear," he continues: "What urged him to this decision was his desire first to take the initiative, and, secondly, to take advantage of the small number of German troops concentrated on the East Prussian frontier" (p. 61).

There is nothing particularly novel in the reasons General Gourko alleges for Russia's misfortunes, though he makes a point which has a bearing upon our own controversies when he develops (pp. 105-6) "the paradox that the shortage in artillery ammunition had been our salvation"; for "if we could have supplied our artillery with shells, in the last part of the [1914-15] campaign, as lavishly as we did in the first months of the war . . . we should not have had a single gun fit to be fired," and lack of guns was much more difficult to supply than lack of shells. An unlimited supply of shells would therefore have been a disaster; and when asked to fix the rate of manufacture he laid down the principle that it must be based strictly on the rate at which guns could be produced. General Gourko eschews politics as a rule, but he commits himself to the statement that Brussilov's advance was stopped prematurely on orders from headquarters "under a pretext which could not be openly spoken about" (p. 146). He also remarks somewhat enigmatically that

the real cause for the supersession of the Grand Duke and assumption of the command by the Emperor was unknown (p. 151), and that the pro-German Prime Minister, Stuermer, was the *protégé* of the Empress (p. 180; he does not, of course, use the unofficial terms Tsar and Tsaritsa). As temporary chief of the staff, he was, however, forced into politics, and made various representations in favour of Trepoff against Protopopoff and of a liberal settlement of the Polish question. But the staff was quite unable to outweigh the influence which the Empress exercised over the Emperor on behalf of her *protégés*; and Russia went to ruin in 1916-17, not because she was exhausted or her army was unsound, but because her government was at the mercy of politicians who had no political system to restrain their evil tendencies. Over this General Gourko draws the veil; he will not even commit himself with regard to Rasputin, and he throws no light on the Revolution, of which he was not an eye-witness. Still less does he sit in judgment on the Emperor, and the record of his "memories and impressions" is conditioned by a cautious regard for what the future might bring forth. The book would have been improved by a more careful translation; we do not suppose that the General himself is responsible for the statement on p. 273 "it is possible that this move was the greatest consequence of what followed," for the negative on p. 270, line 9, which makes nonsense of the sentence, or for the remark (p. 165) that Kornilov was "by birth a Cossack from beyond the Balkans."

Mr. Butler's volume is a useful foil to General Gourko's. It deals with politics, not with war, and illumines the problems which have emerged through Russia's military failure. The "New Eastern Europe" consists exclusively of the fragments which have broken away from the old Russian Empire, Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine. Mr. Butler probably exaggerates the general ignorance of these countries; there were popular histories of Poland before the war, and even Lithuania was known to students through the work of Lelewel, while the Polish Information Committee has filled the post-bag of every promising recipient with a vast assortment of selected facts and figures. A critic might also retort that Mr. Butler's own work is a superior kind of journalism, and that while he does it with gracefulness and skill he sometimes skates over ice that is rather thin. The explanation of the fall of Poland on p. 5 is vague and not particularly satisfying, and we are not quite sure that the "Agrarian Revolution in Russia has been based on the principle of communal ownership" (p. 3); at any rate, General Gourko attributes the disintegration of the Russian army partly to "that economic reform which brought about the transition of the peasantry from common to single ownership." Pan-slavism also goes back beyond the days of Peter the Great (p. 22).

Russia proper has not, however, been the subject of Mr. Butler's investigations, and his account of the emancipated borderlands contains much that is valuable and interesting. He lays bare the follies of Russian autocracy, which ignorance, affection, and the censorship concealed from British eyes and now make British support of restoration movements a practical impossibility. For Russian autocracy set its face like a flint against every kind of self-expression on the part of its subject nationalities, and thus drove them into the arms of the Germans. Even the Baltic barons had

no desire for Prussian rule until Russia sought to sweep them into the Panslavist net. Nor was Panslavism the real stumbling-block, but bureaucratic centralisation, which concealed itself under that cloak. For the Poles and Ukrainians were alienated as much as the Baltic barons or the Finns; stories of Polish laments over the Russian evacuation of Poland in 1915 were merely eye-wash, and the Grand Duke's promise of autonomy was a fraud. The great majority of Poles were heartily glad to see the Russians go, while Lithuanians sided with Germany from the first. Even in Galicia Russian autocracy blindly ruined its cause by seeking to crush the racial and religious dissidence of the Ukrainians which the Habsburgs had tolerated and even encouraged.

But Mr. Butler wisely warns us against attributing too much nationality to these movements. Even in Finland, which has a stronger national consciousness than most of these young States, the "Reds" would welcome reunion with a Bolshevik Russia; and the Letts were largely Bolshevik at first. Nationality is not a primitive instinct, and the masses in these countries are as primitive as the followers of Wat Tyler or Jack Cade. Self-determination on national lines is a doubtful prescription for peasants in revolt or a proletariat on strike. These are problems which cannot be solved by armed intervention, but only by social evolution. Mr. Butler's pages were most of them written while the German cause was in the ascendant, and it required some moral courage to reprint the prediction on p. 118 that Poland's future is bound up with the destinies of Central Europe. Mr. Butler is also rather severe on Polish politicians, but his criticism is a refreshing contrast to the inane ignorance in which public opinion has been officially kept in the interests of a short-sighted Eastern policy. His book is to be heartily commended as throwing some, albeit a fitful, light on obscure problems of vital import to the future peace of the world.

A. F. POLLARD.

Imperial England. By Cecil Fairfield Lavell and Charles Edward Payne, Professors of History, Grinnell College. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1919. \$2.

Imperial England is the work of two American professors of history. It was written during the war—the preface is dated May, 1918—primarily to give to American readers a better understanding of the British Empire and to portray it as an encouragement and, within limits, a model for a wider League of Nations, as "a prophecy of a wider union." But it will be at least as interesting to British readers and students as to American, and possibly of even more service, for it tells the story of the British Empire in the way in which it ought to be told, but is rarely told, as the result of growth not of design—a truth which has been perpetually obscured by the word "Empire." The conception and the scheme of the book are fundamentally sound; the authors are extraordinarily accurate in their facts, the presentation of the story is vigorous and picturesque, and an English reviewer must gratefully acknowledge the generous appreciation which inspires the writing. Not for the first time by any means, but never to a greater degree, have English readers of

English history owed a debt to American inquirers into and interpreters of that history.

The book gains by the space which is given in it to individual men—much more than might be expected in a general sketch of three centuries of history. At the beginning of Chapter V. the authors speak—and all will agree with them—of “the lack of conscious construction, the lack, so to speak, of any Imperial architect,” as being a general characteristic of British expansion. Later, at the end of Chapter VIII., they sum up that the beginnings of England’s Empire in India, Australasia, and South Africa were “through the instrumentality of three very different men—Clive, Cook, and Livingstone. All saw what they were doing, and did it with their might. Not one saw the Empire even in vision.” It is true that the early builders of the Empire built better than they knew, though possibly Clive may not have been wholly unconscious of the coming future; and it is just as true that the Empire was in very large measure the work of a few self-reliant individual men of action, leading on a self-reliant and practical race. To group the history round the individuals not only adds to its interest, but represents the strict historical truth. Conversely, but with equal accuracy, Cecil Rhodes is given as one of the few who were not unconscious Empire-builders. “He was the exception to the rule, one of the few Englishmen who have seen visions.”

Another merit of the book is unusual felicity of phrase. The words “After all, public safety is more insistent than public liberty” deserve to be set side by side with Adam Smith’s famous dictum in regard to the navigation laws that “defence is of much more importance than opulence.” The statement “Trade no doubt follows the flag, but it is often equally true that the flag follows the trade,” is, as regards the British Empire at any rate, very much within the truth, as is recognised by another terse and happy expression to the effect that the British Empire in India has grown out of “the desire to trade and the desire for safety in trading.” The “academic ignorance of the home Government” aptly sums up the attitude of that Government towards the native question in South Africa in the days of Lord Glenelg, and the weak side of President Kruger’s ambitions for “a vast extension of the Boer power” is pointed out in the suggestion that “he forgot that empire and isolation are incompatible, that in seeking the one he was risking the other in a perilous venture.”

The authors are very rarely to be caught tripping, in spite of the fact that so much is compressed into small compass. There is a slip on p. 197, Murray being made Governor-General of Canada from 1763 to 1774, whereas he was succeeded by Carleton in 1768. The account given on p. 137 of the extent of British rule in Asia, Africa and America by the middle of the eighteenth century leaves out of sight the islands—Newfoundland, the British West Indian Islands, and St. Helena—presumably because special regard is being had to the continents, and no mention is made of the Gambia. On p. 162, no doubt for want of space, the retrocession of the Cape Colony and its second capture are ignored. It is hardly accurate to say that responsible government came slowly in Australia and after long agitation. In reality it came as soon as it was justified by the numbers of the citizens and the conditions of the colonies.

Nor, again, is it quite safe to say that "the third quarter of the nineteenth century found nine self-governing British colonies south of the equator." Full responsible government in Western Australia dates only from 1890, and in Natal from 1893. When we come to the present day there is necessarily wide scope for difference of view. Many Englishmen would not appraise Lord Northcliffe's services to his country quite as highly as they are rated in this book, or credit Mr. Lloyd George with "a remarkable grasp of finance." On p. 343 Mr. Balfour should be described as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, not merely as Secretary of State, for in England there are five Secretaries of State.

When writing of the great duel with France in North America in the eighteenth century, the authors are very much on their own ground, and, in accord with all the high authorities, they emphasise the danger of the great French scheme to hem in the English North American colonies by a chain of inland forts, culminating in Fort Duquesne. It seems presumptuous to criticise a view universally held that English expansion was thereby imminently and seriously threatened. But was the menace in point of fact ever a living reality or at most more than a transient danger? It is true that the French had, as is pointed out, "unity, skilful leadership, military spirit," but they were attempting to hold two sides of a triangle, the base of which was the sea. On the sea their rivals had the upper hand, while on land the French were outnumbered by, so we are told on p. 81, twenty to one—in any case, by thirteen to one. Only through the native races could the French make good, and among the advantages on their side is given on this same page "the alliance of countless Indian tribes." But surely the North American Indians were comparatively few in number. There was no opening in North America for building up a Franco-Indian empire such as Duplex came near achieving in Southern India, with its multitudes of peoples far more advanced in civilisation than the natives of North America. Unless there was some wholesale and final *débâcle* in Europe, complete subjection of England to France, and probably not even then, it can only have been a question of time, and as soon as the English in North America really roused themselves and made a concerted effort, the French design must have collapsed.

It is strange how much water has flowed under the bridge since the preface to this excellent book was dated in May, 1918, and the words were written that "the end of the Great War is not in sight." The war has ended, but we have yet to justify the generous terms used with regard to our efforts at reconstruction. The French Canadian problem has not been made easier by the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, nor the South African by that of General Botha, greatest by far of the sons of South Africa, and worthily eulogised in the penultimate chapter. The Irish question is as yet no nearer solution, and only time can tell whether, when both the effort made in the war and the reaction from the overstrain of the war recede into the past, the new labour democracy of the United Kingdom will rise to the management of an Empire. A very great American writer and thinker in a very great book, Captain Mahan in *The Influence of Sea-power upon History*, had misgivings as to the effects of democratic government in England with regard to her

sea-power. He might well have been reassured had he lived to see the war, but it is still an open question whether or not the lessons of the war will be forgotten in normal times. What is needed is to bring home to the coming generation the true meaning of the Empire, and no book is more likely to effect this object than *Imperial England*.

C. P. LUCAS.

The Work of The Hague. Vol. I., *The International Union of The Hague Conferences.* By Walther Schücking, Professor in the University of Marburg. Vol. II., *The Problem of an International Court of Justice.* By Dr. Hans Wehberg. Both translated from the German by Charles G. Fenwick, Ph.D. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. each.

To many observers the outbreak in 1914 of the most comprehensive war in history appeared as an emphatic and conclusive demonstration of the utter futility of The Hague Conferences and Conventions of 1899 and 1907. The proof seemed equally convincing whether, like the pacifists, we regarded the work of The Hague as first steps towards the organisation of permanent peace, or, like some Germans, regarded it as fortifying war by making its practice respectable and giving it, when decently waged, the sanction of international law. The peace was not kept, and "civilized warfare" became as distant a dream as permanent peace; and the consecration of the labours of The Hague in these sumptuous volumes, purveyed to the public at a price far below their cost, may be thought a waste of money. That view is probably superficial, and to the mind of posterity the Great War is less likely to appear as the destruction of the work of The Hague than as the desperate protest of reaction against tendencies adumbrated at The Hague, strengthened by the experience of war, and at length given form and substance at Versailles. The Covenant for a League of Nations is not historically comprehensible apart from the movements which found expression at The Hague; and the historical student will therefore give a sympathetic attention to their record. Nor will the judicious reader permit his mind to be prejudiced by the fact that the authors of these two volumes are Germans; for both are extreme pacifists, and even the militarist only objects to pacifism in his fellow-countrymen. Professor Schücking has, since he wrote his volume, achieved a further distinction in becoming the principal German jurist on the delegation to Versailles.

But, while the historian may not be prejudiced either by the pacifism or the nationality of these writers, he will find some difficulty in assimilating the *Weltanschauung* or *façon de concevoir le monde* which seems to characterise the mind of the international lawyer of the philosophical German type; and his criticism may on that account be not quite fair. But presumably it is historical and not juristic comment that is expected of a historical journal; and juridical schemes which embrace so political an ambition as the "organisation of the world"—the title of another of Professor Schücking's books—require to be tested by history as well as by jurisprudence. Nor does Professor Schücking himself refrain from

criticising the historical school of his own country, and on the substantial ground that that school was dominated by the experience of Germany between 1864 and 1914 to the exclusion of lessons to be learnt from a wider survey of human development. The next generation will see a German school of historians very different from Treitschke's, and, we hope, a school of international lawyers a little less "ideological" than Professor Schücking and Dr. Wehberg; for their works almost suggest that the inability of German publicists to give rational and practical expression to their pacifism left Germany no option but to seek expression in militarist brutality.

There is much that is admirable and even sound in Professor Schücking's aspirations, but they often seem to have a very remote connexion with practical politics; and we are constantly reminded of Prince von Bülow's gibe at the abstract grounds upon which German politicians find it necessary to base the most trivial measure of expediency. The book is not so much a description of the work done by the two Hague Conferences as an argument to show that that work must bear a vastly more transcendental interpretation than is usually placed upon it; and Herr Schücking is less concerned with things themselves than with putting ideas into what he conceives to be their orthodox verbal, logical, and juristic pigeon-holes. His real object seems to be to discover how much theory can be read by implication into the constitution and procedure of the Permanent Court set up by the first Hague Convention. He contends that it is "an organ of the community of States" in order to prove that there is such a community; and from "community" he proceeds to "union," and from "union" to "federation." "I believe," he triumphantly concludes this argument (p. 86), "that I have now proved my thesis that in the year 1899 The Hague Conference, although not *expressis verbis*, yet *implicite* and *ipso facto*, created a world federation." Of course, he is not using the British terminology, in which a union is a much closer formation than a federation; nor by federation does he mean a *Bundestaat*, but only a *Staatenbund*. But what is the ground for this victorious conclusion? Simply this: "that I have brought proof to show that when the juristic idea of federation is understood as it is in Germany according to the prevailing theory, the work of The Hague must be pronounced a world federation." Yet, we are told on p. 119, the Convention which embodied this work "is merely an international treaty," and (p. 121) "a corporate union does not exist." *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus*. The First Hague Convention was simply a temporary international agreement for certain limited purposes, not unlike the Postal Union and other formations, yet because this *ad hoc* arrangement can be called a union we are adjured to see in it the federation of the world. Abominable, indeed, was the desolation which military realists made of this nominalist dream!

Having thus demonstrated to his own satisfaction the foundation of a federation of the world in 1899, Professor Schücking proceeds to show how the Second Hague Conference in 1907 built upon that foundation by drafting schemes for a Permanent Court of Arbitration and an International Prize Court—both of which failed to materialize. He then drafts a programme for a Third Conference which never met, and concludes with some reflexions on the effects of this new but non-existent system. Significant of his whole atti-

tude are his desire (p. 314) for a world-parliament, coupled with a refusal to grant it "a legislative power of its own," and his alarm lest a Hague Conference should "take a hand in any way in such purely political affairs [as Alsace-Lorraine] which involve the relations of one State to another" (p. 254). States must be protected against this danger, and the protection is also necessary "in order to preserve the character of the Peace Conferences as international law conferences." All that the professor really seems to desire is a permanent focus for the ventilation of the truth about international law; but in that case it is a pity to talk so much about the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

Dr. Wehberg was not, we believe, summoned to Versailles even to protest; and we cannot think that the absence of such international lawyers from the decisive counsels of Versailles seriously impeded the progress there made towards the organisation of peace and judicial settlement of disputes. Dr. Wehberg starts, however, with the sound point that economic interdependence automatically limits the hypothetical sovereignty of States; and he does useful work in elaborating the distinction drawn by Dr. Scott between arbitration and judicial settlement. But the animus of the international lawyer comes out in his antipathy to arbitration on the ground that while it settles disputes, it does little to settle international law. Equity is, indeed, nothing to the pharisees of international law, for "the decision of a dispute according to equity entirely excludes a development of international law" (p. 46). Arbitration is anathema because it leads to compromise and admits the presumption that both parties to the dispute may be partly right and partly wrong, whereas judicial settlement implies that one was wholly right and the other wholly wrong. "Arbitration" (p. 52) "merely seeks to dispose of disputes. It has little concern to decide the law between the parties. That, and that alone, is the aim of an international judicial system." And the international judicial system is merely to construct a body of dogma, a sort of judicial creed to save the world. The ambiguous court projected by the Second Hague Conference is to be definitely made a court of judicial settlement and not of arbitration. But cases involving the honour or vital interests of States—about which alone they go to war—are to be excluded from its competence, and there is not even any need for "an executive power in international law" (pp. 90, 106, 108, 117). No wonder Dr. Wehberg believes that "everything argues against a development in the direction of a world federation," even though he supports his argument by the astonishing statement that "the States of the world are not under the necessity of arming themselves against a foreign foe" (p. 123). If these two books are fair samples, the discussion of international law by German jurists must be a twentieth-century reproduction of the debates in early Church Councils on the Athanasian creed.

A. F. POLLARD.

SHORT NOTICES

It is one of the ironies of our national literature that the most glorious chapter in the history of England before the Norman Conquest should be also one of the most obscure. We know much about the troubled times of Alfred the Great and Ethelred the Unready; of the brilliant age of Athelstan, Edmund, and Edgar we know next to nothing. Students of Anglo-Saxon England will therefore appreciate the debt which is owing to the Dean of Wells for the light which he has shed upon many dark places of tenth-century history in his *Saxon Bishops of Wells* (The British Academy, Supplemental Papers, IV., 69 pp., 5s.). With regard to the origin of the See of Wells, the Dean finds nothing improbable in the story of the five-fold subdivision of the West Saxon dioceses by Archbishop Plegmund, and the consecration of seven bishops in a single day, although he rejects as legendary the supposed intervention of Pope Formosus. His account of the career of Athelm, the first Bishop of Wells, is of first-class importance; for his investigations show that the accepted chronology of the succession to the See of Canterbury during the first half of the tenth century is in several respects erroneous. Archbishop Plegmund is generally assumed (upon the authority of Bishop Stubbs, misled by an interpolation in the text of Florence of Worcester) to have died in 914, and his successor Athelm in 923; but the Dean has proved conclusively that Plegmund held the See till the later of these two dates, and that Athelm, who then succeeded, survived till 926. This discovery, in turn, throws light not only upon the question of the coronation of Athelstan, but upon the more vexed problem of the date of Dunstan's birth, which the Dean is indubitably right in assigning to a period some sixteen years anterior to 925, the date usually accepted by modern historians. These and similar problems are discussed in much detail, and furnish admirable material for the exercise of the writer's exceptional critical acumen. The Dean's view that Edward the Elder died in 924 may be open to objection, but in other instances the conclusions which he reaches will carry conviction to the reader. M. L. R. B.

HISTORY'S BACKGROUND (Book III., The British Isles. By J. S. Townsend and T. Franklin. W. and A. K. Johnston. 2s.) is a book of a type that is needed, but is not put together to be as useful as it might have been. The authors are ardent geographers, but seem to have crammed their history, and not always judiciously. They think that Cæsar landed at Dover, and the West Saxons from Southampton Water—for which, indeed, they may be pardoned, as historians have only recently and reluctantly accepted the Thames Valley line of invasion,—that Edwin and Morcar kept aloof from Harold, and never "did their bit" at Fulford Bridge, that in the eighteenth century the French had strong naval bases in the Channel—it seems funny that an historian should have to remind geographers of the law of the eastward drift,—that invasions of Ireland can be mentioned without reference to Strongbow and the Norman conquest of South Wales, or invasions of Scotland without reference to Bruce's method of defence.

Even on ground apparently more familiar to them they make mistakes—e.g., if they go to Luton they will find no straw-plaiting

there to-day, but much making of hats from imported plait. And they have missed one of the most interesting of modern industrial developments—viz., the introduction of new industries, such as engineering, to places like Luton, which were already labour centres, although not actually on a coalfield.

Their method is somewhat annoying, for the Roman and Saxon invasions are described more than once, and so, too, is industrialism in Lancashire. We could have spared several of the earlier pages, so as to have had a fuller account of the growth of towns in the last chapter; a great chance is missed when the historic importance of Stirling has five inadequate lines; Cambridge receives two lines, and Stourbridge fair is not mentioned; Stamford, Winchelsea and Rye, amongst others, are omitted; no geographical reason is assigned to the choice of Aldershot as a military centre; and so on. Thus an historian would have to fill in so many details that he would hardly care to use this book in class, but would prefer to make his own background to illustrate lecture or lesson.

J. E. M.

CHRONOLOGICAL outlines of History usually offer much the same prospect as the Valley of Dry Bones, but three now at hand come to life, partially at least, under the eye of the reader. The *Notes on English History*, 1485–1688, by O. Martyn and W. Harvey (Wellingborough: Perkins), intended for Middle School Forms, are clearly and systematically arranged, but history teachers of to-day should combine to refuse to allow such facts as petty battles at Dixmude, Stoke, and forty-four places in the Civil War to be put before juvenile minds, whatever the claim of examinations. The writers speak of “severe restraint in the presentation of matter,” but the mind can hardly conceive what their unbridled licence might involve in the way of knowledge. A *Handbook of European History*, 1789–1917, by S. E. Maltby (Headley Bros., 1s. 6d.), is a thoroughly useful compilation of dates and facts connected with the history of every European country since 1789. Brief biographies add much to the interest of the book, and the comparative chronological chart of Western civilisation is quite intriguing in its inclusions and omissions; among the latter such items as Rodin, the Salvation Army, Montessori and the Boy Scout movement are remarkable, as so many less significant have been inserted. This cheap little volume would be invaluable as a book of reference for older students reading modern European History. Mr. W. E. Haigh’s *Outlines of English History* (Milford, 3s. 6d.) is intended for students reading for Matriculation and higher examinations, and his twofold analysis of events in their evolutionary and chronological order places his work far above a mere summary. So thorough and complete is this twofold treatment that the student might be tempted to believe that to have mastered this work is to have studied history; but a book of this kind is a bad master though a good servant, and to gain a mental training from the study of history the student must dare to make his own analysis. To teachers and examinees, however, these outlines would be of great value for reference.

M. H. S.

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH.*

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

PRIZE ESSAYS.

The *Adam Smith Prize* (triennial) is for a subject in economic science or economic history. The *Hare Prize* (quadrennial) is for a subject in ancient Greek or Roman history. The *Le Bas Prize* (annual) is "for the best English essay on a subject of general literature, such subject to be occasionally chosen with reference to the history, institutions, and probable destinies and prospects of the Anglo-Indian Empire." One of the *Members' Prizes* (annual) is for "an English essay on some subject connected with British history or literature." The *Prince Consort Prize* and *Thirlwall Prize* are given in alternate years for historical essays.

During the period 1911-1918, many of these prizes were not competed for, or not awarded, or were given for other than historical subjects.

Adam Smith.

1915. A historical study of the changes in the localisation of industry in England. By C. W. Guillebaud.

Hare.

1914. Carneades. By J. Brennan.

Prince Consort.

1912. Monastic Finance in the Middle Ages. By R. H. Snape.

1914. { *The Navy of the Restoration*.¹ By A. W. Tedder.
 Palmerston and the Hungarian Revolution.² By C. Sproxtton.

1916. Lanfranc of Canterbury. By W. F. W. Mortlock.

Thirlwall.

1911. *The Theory of Religious Liberty in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.*³ By H. F. Russell Smith.

1913. *Bartolus of Sassoferrato, his position in the history of medieval political thought*.⁴ By C. N. S. Woolf.

1917. { *The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif*.⁵ By B. L. Manning.

*The Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*⁶ By J. Conway Davies.

RESEARCH DEGREES.

Historical subjects may be offered for the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Doctor of Philosophy (instituted 1919), and Doctor of Letters.

Research B.A.

Candidates for this degree carry on their work "under the direction and supervision prescribed by the Degree Committee, and under such conditions, if any, as may be laid down by that Committee."

1915. *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*⁶ By J. Conway Davies.

D.Litt.

Candidates for this degree must be Masters of at least five years' standing, or Bachelors of Medicine of at least seven years' standing, and must submit printed work which claims to be an original contribution to the advancement of science

* For the plan of this series see HISTORY, October, 1919, p. 176.

¹ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1916.

² *Ibid.*, 1919.

³ Camb. Univ. Press, 1911.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1913.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1919.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1918.

or learning. Since the Degree Committee never specifies the extent to which the several works submitted to them by the same author have influenced their favourable judgment, it is only possible here to specify one or two of the author's principal works.

1912. Sir W. St. John Hope. *The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of Rochester*⁷; *The Abbey of St. Mary in Furness*⁸; *Windsor Castle, an Architectural History*⁹; etc.

1913. D. H. S. Cranage. *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire*¹⁰.

1914. J. E. G. Gardner. *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara*¹¹; *The King of Court Poets, a study in the life and times of Ariosto*¹²; *St. Catherine of Siena*¹³; etc.

J. H. Clapham. *The Causes of the War of 1792*¹⁴; *The Abbé Sieyès*¹⁵; etc.

H. D. Hazeltine. *The Early History of Specific Performance of Contract in English Law*¹⁶; *The Gage of Land in Medieval England*¹⁷; etc.

T. W. Arnold. *The Preaching of Islam*¹⁸; etc.

Lionel Cust. *Anthony Van Dyck, an Historical Study*¹⁹; *A History of Eton College*²⁰; *History of the Society of Dilettanti*²¹; etc.

L. W. King. *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*²²; *A History of Sumer and Akkad*²³; etc.

1915. R. A. S. Macalister. *A History of Civilisation in Palestine*²⁴; *The Philistines*²⁵; *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*²⁶; etc.

1917. H. P. Stokes. *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History*²⁷; *The Chaplains of the Chapel of the University of Cambridge*²⁸; *History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*²⁹; etc.

E. H. Pearce. *Annals of Christ's Hospital*³⁰; *The Monks of Westminster*³¹; *Sion College and Library*³²; etc.

1918. C. Sanford Terry. *The Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, First Earl of Leven*³³; *The Rising of 1745*³⁴; *The Scottish Parliament, its Constitution and Procedure*³⁵; *John Graham of Claverhouse*³⁶; etc.

G. G. COULTON.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

M.A.

These lists take no account of the fact that in the University of Liverpool students who have graduated in Honours proceed to the M.A. degree by reports on research work in progress, under the supervision of approved teachers.

The Hundred of Leyland after the Conquest. By F. Jackson. 1913. (Professor Ramsay Muir and Mr. J. A. Twemlow.)

Pre-Edwardian Castles in North Wales. By Hugh Owen.¹ 1914. (Mr. W. Garmon Jones.)

Monasticism in Cheshire, 1285-1377. By H. J. Hewitt. 1917. (Dr. Coopland, Mr. W. Garmon Jones, and Mr. J. A. Twemlow.)

The Concordats between England and the Holy See in the 14th and 15th Centuries. By Mary J. George. 1915. (Mr. J. A. Twemlow.)

The Part Played by England in the Great Schism of the West. By Catherine S. Saum. 1916. (Mr. J. A. Twemlow.)

⁷ Mitchell and Hughes, 1900.

⁸ *Country Life*, 1913.

¹¹ Constable, 1904.

¹³ Dent, 1907.

¹⁵ P. S. King, 1912.

¹⁷ Harvard Law Review Association, 1904.

¹⁸ Constable, 1886, 1913.

²⁰ Duckworth, 1899.

²² Chatto and Windus, 1910, etc.

²⁴ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1912.

²⁶ D. Nutt, 1897, etc.

²⁸ Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., 1906.

³⁰ Methuen, 1901, and Rees, 1908.

³² *Ibid.*, 1913.

³⁴ D. Nutt, 1900 and 1903.

³⁶ Constable, 1905.

¹ Partly printed in *Trans. Cymmrodorion Soc.*

⁸ Kendal : T. Wilson, 1902.

¹⁹ Wellington : Hobson, 1894-1912.

¹² Constable, 1906.

¹⁴ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1899.

¹⁶ Stuttgart, Enke, 1909.

¹⁷ Bell, 1900, etc.

²¹ Macmillan, 1914.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁵ The British Academy, 1913.

²⁷ Edinburgh : Ballantyne, 1913.

²⁹ F. E. Robinson, 1898.

³¹ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1909.

³³ Longmans, 1899.

³⁵ Maclehose, 1905.

Sir John Wynne's History of The Gwydir Family as an Hist. Document. By Gwladys Pierce (Mrs. D. E. Roberts). 1912. (Mr. W. Garmon Jones and Mr. Glyn Davies.)

The Heresies of William Tyndale. By H. W. Callow. 1911. (Professor Mackay.)

Sir Thomas More and the Divorce. By Enid Edkins. 1916. (Mr. W. Garmon Jones.)

The Earl of Tyrone's Rebellion. By Retta Singleton. 1915. (Mr. W. Garmon Jones.)

The Political Career of General Conway. By Hilda I. Clark. 1917. (Dr. Veitch.)

Sir George Savile. By Teresa Lightbound. 1916. (Dr. Veitch.)

Lord George Germain. By Grace H. Gilchrist. 1914. (Dr. Veitch.)

The [Third] Duke of Grafton. By Gladys M. Imlach.² 1914. (Dr. Veitch.)

The Movement of Public Opinion in England on the American Question from the Stamp Act to the Declaration of Independence. By D. G. Martin. 1911. (Professor Ramsay Muir and Dr. Veitch.)

The Duc de Choiseul. By Mary Josephine McCormick (Mrs. Clark). 1911. (Professor Ramsay Muir and Dr. Veitch.)

Turgot. By Eliza Annie Gearing. 1911. (Professor Ramsay Muir and Dr. Veitch.)

Jean Baptiste Carrier and the Terror in the Vendée. By Elsé Haydon Carrier. 1915. (Dr. Veitch.)

The Constitutional relations of the Marquess Wellesley with the Home Authorities. By Beatrice L. Frazer. 1917. (Dr. Veitch.)

The Risings of 1811-12 throughout the Cotton Area. By Dora Halstead. 1917. (Dr. Veitch.)

Lord Liverpool as Prime Minister (1812-1827). By Stella Y. Mathias. 1913. (Dr. Veitch.)

The Movement for Catholic Emancipation from 1807 to the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. By Anastasia Quirk. 1913. (Dr. Veitch.)

The Political Life of Henry Brougham from 1805 to 1830. By Nellie Williams. 1913. (Dr. Veitch.)

Litt.D.

1913. G. S. Veitch. *The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform.*³

1914. G. W. Coopland. *The Abbey of St Bertin.*⁴

C. K. WEBSTER.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

PRIZE ESSAYS.

The Lothian Prize is awarded for an essay on some point of foreign history, which may be either the result of research or of skilful compilation; essays awarded either the Arnold or the Beit and Herbert Prizes all represent research, the Arnold in some subject of Ancient and Modern history alternately, the Beit and Herbert in Imperial history. All three prizes were suspended in 1917-18.

Lothian.

1911. *The Cardinal de Retz.*¹ By D. Ogg.

1912. *Henry the Lion.*² By A. Lane Poole.

1914. *The False Decretals.*³ By E. H. Davenport.

(In 1913 and 1916 there were no candidates, in 1915 the prize was not awarded.)

Beit and Herbert.

1911. The Making of Rhodesia. By R. S. Soltau.

1912. The English West India Colonies during the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. By N. G. Laski.

1913. Proposals in the direction of a closer union of the Empire before 1887. By (1) L. B. Naymier, (2) A. Le Roy Burt.

1914. The Colonial Administration of Lord Grey, 1846-52. By (1) H. J. Laski, (2) L. L. Dixon.

² Appendix printed in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1915.

³ Constable, 1913.

⁴ Printed in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* (ed. P. Vinogradoff), Vol. IV. Clarendon Press, 1914.

¹ Methuen, 1912.

² Blackwell, 1912.

³ *Ibid.*, 1914.

1915. *The Case of the American Loyalists.* By (1) E. M. Wrong, (2) R. S. T. Chorley.
 1916. *Relations between the American Colonists and the Indian Tribes during the 18th Century.* By (1) H. L. Bruce, (2) C. Eagleton.

Arnold.

1911. *The Auxilia of the Roman Army.*⁴ By G. L. Cheesman.
 1912. *The Office of Archdeacon.* By J. R. H. Weaver.
 1913. *Ancient Eugenics.*⁵ By A. G. Roper.
 1914. *The Relations of Queen Elizabeth with Henry IV. of France.*⁶ By J. B. Black.
 1915. *The Roman Senate in the 3rd Century A.D.* By G. D. Brooks.

RESEARCH DEGREES.

Historical subjects may be offered for the degrees of Bachelor of Letters, Doctor of Philosophy (instituted 1918), and Doctor of Letters.

B.Litt.

Candidates for this degree carry on their work under the supervision of the Board of Faculty within whose sphere their subject falls, and that Board subsequently appoints the examiners of the candidates, and recommends those approved for the degree. It is not always possible to say under what particular professor a candidate's work was conducted, and therefore the Boards are mentioned instead.

Indo-European Influence in Hellenic Civilisation down to the end of the Bronze Age. By V. G. Childe. 1916. (*Literae Humaniores.*)

The Peoples of Syria and Asia Minor from Egyptian Sources. By G. A. Wainwright. 1913.

Christianity and Education in the first Five Centuries. By J. V. Patton. 1916. (Theology.)

*The Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus.*⁷ By M. Platnauer. 1914. (Lit. Hum.)

Schools of Gaul from the defeat of the Franks by Julian to their rise under Chlodwig. By T. J. Haarhoff. 1918. (Lit. Hum.)

Religious Teaching in Early English Literature before the Conquest. By A. J. Freeman. 1914. (Theology.)

*The Abbey of St. Alban.*⁸ By L. F. R. Williams. 1913. (Modern History.)

Hywel Dda, and the Laws called after his name. By W. H. Harris. 1913. (Modern History.)

*The Armourer and his Craft.*⁹ By C. Foulkes. 1911. (Modern History.)

Foreign Chivalry at the Court of Edward III. By F. Schenck. 1912. (Modern History.)

The English Mystics of the 14th Century. By W. B. Brash. 1918. (Theology.)

Henry Bullinger of Zurich and his place in the Reformation, with special reference to England. By T. S. Taylor. (Theology.)

*Puritanism in its Presbyterian Development in the Reign of Elizabeth.*¹⁰ By A. Peel. 1911. (Modern History : Prof. Firth.)

The Origins of the Petition of Right. By L. Ehrlich. 1915. (Law.)

Sir Robert Moray (1608-73). By A. Robertson. 1912. (Modern History : Prof. Firth.)

The First Dutch War. By A. C. Dewar. 1917. (Modern History : Prof. Firth.)

*The House of Lords in the Reign of William III.*¹¹ By A. S. Turberville. 1912. (Modern History : Prof. Firth.)

The Fourth Parliament of William III. By J. F. H. Beddow. 1914. (Modern History : Prof. Firth.)

*The Various Societies in the Church of England in the First Half of the 18th Century.*¹² By G. V. Portus. (Modern History.)

The Occupation and Rural Administration of Bengal by the English Company from the time of Clive to the Permanent Settlement under Cornwallis. By W. K. Firminger. 1917. (Modern History.)

⁴ Clarendon Press, 1914.

⁵ Blackwell, 1913.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1914.

⁷ Milford, 1918.

⁸ Longmans, 1917.

⁹ Methuen, 1912.

¹⁰ Afterwards printed under the title of *The Seconde Parte of a Register.* See *History*, October, p. 177, under University of Leeds.

¹¹ Clarendon Press, 1913.

¹² Printed under the title *Caritas Anglicana, 1678-1740.* Mowbray, 1912.

The Fiscal Relations of Great Britain and the Colonies from the Recognition of American Independence to the Adoption of Free Trade. By A. Le R. Burt. 1914. (Modern History.)

*The Contemporary English View of Napoleon.*¹³ By F. J. MacCunn. 1913. (Modern History.)

The Foundation of South Australia. By R. J. Rudall. 1911. (Modern History.)

*Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada.*¹⁴ By C. Martin. 1912. (Modern History.)

The Inheritance Taxes in the American Commonwealth. By G. E. Putnam. 1911. (Modern History.)

Agricultural Co-operation in British India. By J. Matthai. 1917. (Modern History.)

The Incidence of Local Rates and Taxes upon the Unearned Increment of Land. By W. B. Cowcher. 1914. (Modern History.)

D.Litt.

Candidates for this degree must submit evidence consisting of papers or books containing an original contribution to the advancement of learning which has been published for at least a year.

1911. B. W. Henderson. *History of Merton College*¹⁵; *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*¹⁶; *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire*¹⁷; etc.

1914. G. H. Jones. Edition with translation of *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*¹⁸ Vol. II.; *The Dawn of European Civilization*¹⁹; *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*²⁰; etc.

The Viscount St. Cyres. *François de Fénelon*²¹; *Pascal*.²²

1916. H. E. E. Craster. Vols. VIII., IX., and X. (Tynemouth, Earsdon and Horton, and Corbridge) of *A History of Northumberland*²³; etc.

1918. F. P. Barnard. *Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland*²⁴; *Antiquarian Companion to English History: Middle Ages*²⁵; *The Casting Counter and the Counting Board*²⁶; etc.

J. E. Lloyd. Edition of Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*²⁷; Articles contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography*; *Carnarvonshire*²⁸ (Cambridge County Geographies); *A History of Wales to the Edwardian Conquest*²⁹; etc.

C. H. FIRTH.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES.

M.A.

The theses in the following list are arranged under the names of the Colleges to which the students belonged. The work is largely independent, but initial guidance and some suggestions afterwards are given by the Professors of History.¹

Aberystwyth (Professor Edward Edwards).

1911. The Castle and Town of Welshpool during the 12th and 13th Centuries. By Alicia G. Jones.

The Boroughs of Radnor. By R. M. Morgan.

The Policy of Powys in the 12th and 13th Centuries. By F. L. Rees.

1912. The Castle, Town, and Lordship of Kidwelly to 1300 A.D. By A. J. Richard.

The Welsh Church under Edward I. By Elizabeth Thomas.

1913. The Jews in England in the 13th Century. By E. Dakin.

The Castle, Town, and Lordship of Newcastle Emlyn to the Act of Union, 1536. By T. J. James.

Clarendon as a Historian. By D. D. Richards.

¹³ Bell, 1914.

¹⁵ F. E. Robinson, 1899.

¹⁷ Macmillan, 1908.

¹⁹ Kegan, Paul, 1903.

²¹ Methuen, 1901.

²³ Newcastle-on-Tyne: Reid. For the Northumberland County History Committee.

²⁴ D. Nutt, 1887.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1916

²⁸ Cambridge Univ. Press, 1909.

¹⁴ Clarendon Press, 1916.

¹⁶ Methuen, 1903.

¹⁸ Quaritch, 1892.

²⁰ Cymmrodorion Soc., 1912.

²² Smith, Elder, 1909.

²⁵ Clarendon Press, 1902.

²⁷ Elliot Stock, 1889.

²⁹ Longmans, 1911.

¹ Several of the theses were recommended for publication, but reasons, mainly financial, have unfortunately so far prevented this in most cases.

- The Rebecca Riots in Wales. By Mabel Williams.
 1914. The Influence of Asceticism on Ideas of Christian Morality from Clement and Tertullian to Siricius. By D. T. Davies.
 Wales in the Reign of Edward II., 1307-27. By J. Conway Davies.
 Welsh Schools of the 15th and 16th Centuries. By L. S. Knight.
 Henry VII. and Wales. By W. T. Williams.
 1915. Welsh Seamen, Navigators, and Colonisers, Elizabethan and Jacobean. By E. R. Williams.
 The Welsh Soldier in England's Armies of the 13th and 14th Centuries. By T. Ll. Williams.
 1917. The Puritans and Music. By W. M. Lewis.
- Bangor** (Professor J. E. Lloyd).
 1911. The Attitude of Wales towards the Reformation. By A. Davies.
 1912. Hubert de Burgh. By C. Ellis.
 1913. The Friars in Wales. By Ruth C. Easterling.
 The Earls and Earldom of Chester to 1254. By A. B. Targett.
 1914. Wales under the Propagation Act, 1650-3. By T. Richards.
 The Counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth during the Great Civil War. By Letitia J. Thomas.
 1917. The History of the Cluniacs in England and Wales. By Ethel M. Fussell.
 The Connexion between England and France in the Reign of Louis XI. By T. G. Griffiths.
- Cardiff** (Professor Herbert Bruce).
 1911. The Charges brought against the Friars by Matthew Paris. By Winifred Alty.
 1912. Wales and the Marches, with special reference to Glamorgan, in the Reign of Edward II. By T. A. Dyke.
 1913. The Political Influence of Pope Gregory the Great in Italy. By H. V. W. Lewis.
 1914. The Church in the Reign of Edward III. By Hilda M. Jones.
 The Lordship of Brecon, 1066-1325.² By W. Rees.
 The Battles of Edward I. By J. R. Richards.
 The Ecclesiastical History of Glamorgan, to 1188. By L. C. Simons.
 1915. Commercial Fluctuations and Currency Disturbances of the 17th Century. By W. J. Hinton.
 A History of Waterford, 1150-1800. By F. C. Morris.
 Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham. By G. Thomas.
 1918. The Fate of the Knights Templar in England, with special reference to their Lands. By H. I. Millard.

D.Litt.

1912. E. A. Lewis. *The Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia*³ (Aberystwyth).
 HERBERT BRUCE.

² Published in the *Transactions* of the Soc. of Cymmrodorion, 1916.

³ H. Sotheman, for the Welsh Guild of Graduates, 1912.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

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| THE EMPIRE OF THE AMORITES. By A. T. Clay. 192 pp. Yale Univ. Press. Milford. 10s. 6d. (p. 688.) | xx+466. Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d. (p. 539.) |
| ETHNOGRAPHY and Condition of South Africa before A.D. 1505. By G. M. Theal. 2nd edn., enlarged. | THE ANNUAL OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS. No. XXII., Sessions 1916-1917, 1917-1918. vii+272 pp. Macmillan. 25s. n. |

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO WAR. By C. J. Cadoux. xxiii+272 pp. Headley. 10s. 6d.

PHASES OF IRISH HISTORY. By E. MacNeill. 364 pp. M. H. Gill & Son. 12s. 6d. (p. 608.)

BENEDICTINE MONACHISM. By the Right Rev. Cuthbert Butler. vii+488 pp. Longmans. 18s. (p. 558.)

THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN in Anglo-Saxon Times, and other addresses. By the Right Rev. G. F. Browne. 194 pp. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. (p. 601.)

ST. OSWALD AND THE CHURCH OF WORCESTER. By J. Armitage Robinson. 51 pp. Milford. 3s. 6d. n.

ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By T. P. Taswell-Langmead. 8th edn. by C. Phillipson. xxiv+830 pp. Sweet and Maxwell. 21s.

A SHORT HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE. By W. H. Hudson. xix+305 pp. Bell. 6s. n.

HENRY THE SIXTH. John Blacman's Memoir. Trans. and Notes by M. R. James. xvi+60 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 5s. (p. 601.)

THE MAKING OF MODERN WALES (the Tudor Settlement). By W. Ll. Williams, K.C. viii+336 pp. Macmillan. 6s. (p. 625.)

THE DUTCH DISCOVERY AND MAPPING OF SPITSBERGEN (1596-1829). Ed. F. C. Wieder. 124 pp. 45 plates. Amsterdam: Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Royal Dutch Geographical Soc. (p. 556.)

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S HISTORY OF the World. By C. H. Firth. 20 pp. The British Academy. 2s.

SURVEYS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY. By P. Hume Brown. xi+192 pp. Maclehose. 7s. 6d. (p. 496.)

THE RIDDLE OF THE RUTHVENS. By W. Roughead. xiii+544 pp. W. Green & Son. 25s. (p. 662.)

SIDELIGHTS on the History and Social Life of Scotland (17th century). By L. A. Barbé. xiii+319 pp. Blackie. 10s. 6d. (p. 648.)

THE DRAMATIC RECORDS OF SIR Henry Herbert, 1623-1673. Ed. J. Q. Adams. xiii+155 pp. Yale Univ. Press. (Milford.) 10s. 6d. (p. 559.)

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LIFE in the Country Parish. By Eleanor Trotter. xiv+242 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 10s. (p. 620.)

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF IRELAND in the Seventeenth Century. By G. O'Brien. viii+283 pp. Maunsell. 10s. 6d. (p. 582.)

THE PORTUGUESE IN BENGAL. By J. J. Campos. Intro. by F. J. Monahan. xxvi+283 pp. Butterworth. Rs.6.8 n.

BOLINGBROKE AND WALPOLE. By J.

M. Robertson. 266 pp. T. Fisher Unwin. 12s. 6d. (p. 563.)

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY of the Armed Neutralities, 1780 and 1800, with selected documents relating to the wars of 1776-84. By Sir F. Piggott and G. W. T. Omond. xxxix+541 pp. Univ. of London Press. 42s.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE HOLY SEE, 1792-1806. By Cardinal Gasquet. 56 pp. Desclée.

JOHN COAKLEY LETTSOM (1714-1815) and the Foundation of the Medical Society. By Sir St. Clair Thomson. 63 pp. Hodson. 2s. 6d.

SIR T. S. RAFFLES, founder of Singapore (1819). By J. A. B. Cook. 205 pp. Stockwell. 7s. 6d.

BRITISH SUPREMACY AND CANADIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT, 1839-1854. By J. L. Morison. xiii+369 pp. Maclehose. 8s. 6d. (p. 523.)

TREITSCHKE'S HISTORY of Germany in the Nineteenth Century. Trans. E. and C. Paul. Intro. W. H. Dawson. Vol. VII. xiv+632 pp. Jarrolds. 15s.

THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1515-1915. By A. A. Mumford. xi+563. Longmans. 21s. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 555.)

AMERICA AND BRITAIN. By H. H. Powers. iv+76 pp. The Macmillan Co. 2s.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY (Helps for Students of History, No. 19). By Carl Russell Fish. 63 pp. S.P.C.K. 1s.

FIGHTING the Spoilsmen: The Civil Service Reform Movement, 1883-1914. By W. D. Foulke. vi+348 pp. Putnams. 10s.

JOHN REDMOND'S LAST YEARS. By Stephen Gwynn. viii+351 pp. Arnold. 16s. (p. 642.)

REPORT on Progress of Education in East India, 1912-17. 2 vols. H.M. Stationery Office. 4s.+2s.

ARMED PEACE: A Non-Technical History of Europe, 1870-1914. By W. S. Davis, W. Anderson, and M. W. Tyler. viii+391 pp. Heinemann. 10s. 6d.

RACE AND NATIONALITY. By J. Oakesmith. xix+300 pp. Heinemann. 10s. 6d. (p. 600.)

ABRIDGED POLITICAL HISTORY OF RIEKA (Fiume). By F. Šimič. Imprimerie "Graphique." (p. 506.)

IL TRENTINO. By A. Brunialti. Unione Tipografico-editrice Torinese. 15 lire. (p. 692.)

OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA (Authoritative statistics for the period 1901-1916, corrected statistics for the period 1788-1900). xl.+1.198 pp. Melbourne: McCarron, Bird.

CANADIAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By

A. E. F. Lefroy. Intro. W. P. M. Kennedy. xlviii+322 pp. Sweet and Maxwell.

MEXICO To-day and To-morrow. By G. D. Trowbridge. The Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d. (p. 259.)

THE PROBLEMS of the Pacific. By Brunson Fletcher. xxix+254 pp. Heinemann. 12s. (p. 230.)

CHINA'S New Constitution. By M. T. Z. Tyau. xv+286 pp. Sweet and Maxwell. 25s.

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INDIA'S GOAL (the Montagu-Chelmsford and other Schemes). xv+160 pp. Madras: G. A. Natesan.

JOHN REDMOND. By Warre B. Wells. 210 pp. Nisbet. 8s. 6d. (p. 271.)

IRELAND and the Peace Conference. By L. G. Redmond-Howard. 132 pp. Dublin: Riersey. 3s. 6d.

THE "TIMES" Documentary History of the War. Vol. IX.: Diplomatic, Pt. 3. vii+535 pp. 21s.; 15s. to subscribers.

MY WAR MEMORIES, 1914-1918. By General Ludendorff. 2 vols. xi+401

pp. + xi + pp. 403-793. Hutchinson. 34s. n. (p. 557.)

BRITISH CAMPAIGNS IN THE NEARER EAST, 1914-1918. By E. Dane. 2 vols. xv+237 pp. + xv+240 pp. Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. each. (p. 683.)

REPORT of the Dardanelles Commission, with documents and maps. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 6d.

REPORT of the War Cabinet for 1918. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s. 6d.

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THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD WAR. By J. B. McMaster. 485 pp. Appleton. 12s. 6d.

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S DESPATCHES (December, 1915-April, 1919). Ed. by Lieut.-Col. J. H. Boraston. xviii+378 pp. 10 maps. Dent. 42s. n. (*The Times*, Nov. 25.)

NELSON'S HISTORY of the War. By J. Buchan. Vols. XXIII., XXIV. 312+317 pp. Nelson. 2s. 6d.

THIRD REPORT of the Royal Commission on Public Records. Vol. III., Pt. 1, 6d. Pt. 2, 1s. 6d. Pt. 3, 1s. 5d. H.M. Stationery Office. (p. 684.)

SCHOOLBOOKS, ETC.

CITIZENSHIP: Its meaning, privileges, and duties. By F. R. Worts. Hodder & Stoughton. 4s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 543.)

HISTORY of the ENGLISH CHURCH. By A. A. Parker. xxviii+212 pp. Robert Scott. 3s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 555.)

A HISTORY of FRANCE. By H. E. Marshall. With pictures in colour by A. C. Michael. xviii+549 pp. Hodder & Stoughton. 12s. n.

MODERN EUROPEAN CIVILISATION. By R. L. Ashley. xxii+710 pp. Macmillan Co. 8s. (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 531.)

SURVEY of MODERN HISTORY (from 1815). By H. W. Hodges. x+282 pp. Blackie. 6s.

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BRITAIN and GREATER BRITAIN IN THE 19TH CENTURY. By E. A. Hughes. 295 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 5s.

FIFTY YEARS of EUROPE, 1870-1919. By C. D. Hazen. 428 pp. Bell. 14s. A reprint of the chapters in Prof. Hazen's *Modern European History* which bear upon the period, with an additional chapter (99 pp.) on the War. C. S. P.

CORRIGENDA.

In the October number, p. 130, line 19, for Bruges read Bourges; and on p. 151, line 9, for 350 read 250.

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- Corbett, Sir Julian S., *History of the Great War: Naval Operations*, vol. i, 182.
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HISTORY

APRIL, 1920

THE HISTORY OF THE SCHELDT (*continued*)

THE troubles caused by the political-religious reforms of Joseph II., followed first by the revolution of Brabant and then by the French invasion, paralysed the efforts of the Belgians to obtain the freedom of the Scheldt. In spite of incalculable evils, crushing requisitions, and a reign of terror, the French conquest had at least the advantage of giving to Belgium the free disposition of her ways of communication. The treaty signed at The Hague, on May 16th, 1795, between the French and Batavian Republics obliged the Dutch to abandon all the conquests they had made at the expense of the Spanish Netherlands, and in Article 10 stipulated that "the navigation of the Rhine, of the Meuse, of the Scheldt, of the Hondt and all their branches down to the sea shall be free to the two nations, French and Batavian, and that French and Dutch ships shall be indifferently received on the same conditions." The same treatment was accorded to all friendly nations. Unfortunately, though the Scheldt became free, Belgium, incorporated with the French Republic, had ceased to be so. Dragged into all the Napoleonic Wars, she got very little profit from the enfranchisement of her great river. It was only during the short interval that followed the signature of the peace of Amiens that Antwerp was able to revive her activity. In 1802, 969 ships, making a tonnage of 39,817 tons, entered the port that had been so long closed. The customs receipts rose with prodigious rapidity. In 1803 they were 6,088,770 francs; in 1804, 8,237,078 francs; and, in 1805, 16,062,403 francs. Chambers of commerce were reorganised and multiplied by a decree of 3rd Nivôse in the year of the Republic XI. Besides this, great works began at Antwerp, where two magnificent docks were constructed in hewn stone, one of them able to hold twelve and the other forty warships.

This prosperity was only ephemeral. The renewal of war, the ruin of the French naval forces at Trafalgar and the famous decree of November 21st, 1806, establishing the Continental blockade and forbidding all trade between the British Isles and the countries under the influence of the French Empire, took from the Belgians all hope of regaining their maritime trade. Antwerp, transformed into a war port, was watched by the English fleet cruising off the mouths of the Scheldt, and, until the fall of Napoleon, only knew the sterile activity given by the establishment of military dockyards.

The entrance of the Allies into Belgium was hailed by the Antwerpians with incredible delight. Their hopes were not disappointed, the second paragraph of Article 3 of the Secret Treaty of Paris (May 30th, 1814), which decided the annexation of Belgium to Holland, stipulated the principle of the free navigation of the Scheldt; and the Congress of Vienna caused regulations to be made by the special commission on international rivers (and annexed to the general settlement concerning the navigation of international rivers) specially for the navigation on the Neckar, the Mein, the Moselle, the Meuse and the Scheldt. Article 117 of the General Act of Vienna declared that these two arrangements had the same force and value as if they had been textually inserted in the treaty.

The trade of Antwerp immediately began with new splendour, and in 1815 alone three thousand ships entered the harbour. But the jealousy of Amsterdam merchants was still awake; the Government of the Netherlands wished to benefit the traders of the North at the expense of the manufacturers of the South, and by lowering tariffs opened national markets to foreign trade. These unfortunate measures provoked a sharp crisis, as the importation of foreign goods did not profit the trade of Antwerp, but was carried on through the Dutch ports, which were better equipped. Thus the Scheldt was only used by 999 ships in 1817 and 585 in 1818. This decadence was due to artificial reasons and did not last. The Scheldt was free, and was not long in feeling the happy effects of this freedom. Until the end of the Dutch *régime* the prosperity of Antwerp trade grew steadily, and, following the trend of affairs, the most important firms of Amsterdam and Rotterdam established branches at Antwerp, some of them even transferring the main offices of their establishment.

The revolution of 1830, which violently separated Holland and Belgium, again brought up the question of the Scheldt. At the

beginning of the trouble King William had sent strong naval forces to Antwerp, and the bombardment of October 27th, 1830, concentrating the fire of both the fleet and the citadel on the warehouses and principal commercial establishments, was intended quite as much to destroy the rival of Amsterdam and Rotterdam as to prevent the Belgian volunteers from taking possession of the town. The Scheldt was strictly blockaded, and, on November 21st, 1830, when the Provisional Government of Belgium gave its consent to the suspension of hostilities proposed by the Conference of London, it was clearly understood that this consent was conditional on perfect reciprocity on the part of Holland, by sea and land, "including the raising of the blockade of ports and rivers." King William consented to raise the blockade of Ostend and the coast, but kept the Scheldt closed on the excuse that this was a right which Holland had enjoyed previously, even in peace time. Belgium hastened to protest, and would not transform the suspension of hostilities into a regular armistice except on condition that the navigation of the Scheldt should be entirely free.

In the same way, when, in a protocol of December 20th, 1830, the Conference proclaimed, in principle, the separation of Belgium and Holland, and invited the Belgian Provisional Government to send commissaries to London, the president and members of the Diplomatic Committee of the National Congress declared that the freedom of the Scheldt was one of the necessary conditions required by Belgium to make her an independent State. The Netherlands Government steadily refused to raise the blockade of the Scheldt; but the Belgian Provisional Government had a pledge on the other side, and, in spite of the armistice, continued to invest Maestricht, the only point in Limburg where the Dutch had succeeded in keeping a footing. In order to put an end to this state of affairs, which compromised their efforts, the Conference of London took energetic measures, and while the Belgians raised the siege of Maestricht King William, still protesting against the violence done to him, was obliged, on January 20th, 1831, to open the Scheldt without establishing any right of tolls or of search.

The liberation of the Scheldt was confirmed on June 26th by Article VII of the preliminaries known under the name of the Treaty of the XVIII Articles, which referred to the arrangements made in the general Act of the Vienna Congress relating to the free navigation of international rivers. This same article provided for separate negotiation to assure to Belgium participation in the navigation of the Rhine by interior waterways between the Scheldt and the Rhine as well as dealing with the use of the

Ghent-Terneuzen and Zuid-Willems-Waart canals. The Belgian National Congress adhered, on July 9th, 1831, by 126 votes to 70, to the draft of the treaty. Holland, however, refused her consent.

Less than a month later, on August 2nd, King William, who had reorganised his army and incorporated in it many German and Swiss mercenaries, violated the armistice and invaded Belgium. The latter, surprised in the middle of her military reorganisation, enfeebled by Orangist conspiracies and overconfident from her successes of the previous September, opposed an honourable resistance; but, after ten days, the little Belgian Army was surrounded at Louvain, and would have been reduced to impotence but for French intervention accompanied by a naval demonstration on the part of England.

The results of this disastrous campaign were most prejudicial to the economic and political interests of Belgium. Not only did the Belgians have to renounce all hope of seeing their former provinces of Limburg and Luxemburg returned in their entirety, but they also suffered in the division of the debt of the old Kingdom of the Netherlands. As for the Scheldt, the Conference, having heard both sides, drew up a project of a treaty containing, in XXIV articles, the "final and irrevocable" decisions of the five Powers who, furthermore, took on themselves to see to their execution. The Belgian chambers authorised the Government to accept the project of the treaty, which was signed by the Belgian plenipotentiaries and the plenipotentiaries of the five Powers on November 15th, 1831, in spite of the continued opposition of the Cabinet of The Hague.

Article IX of the Treaty of the XXIV Articles regulating the question of the Scheldt recalled the dispositions of the General Act of Vienna, and entrusted the supervision of pilotage, buoying, and conservation to a mixed commission. Moderate pilotage dues were to be fixed by agreement. As the adhesion of Holland seemed likely to be delayed, Article IX stipulated that, in the meantime, navigation should be free to both countries, and the tariffs and other details should be similar to those provided by the Treaty of Mayence, March 31st, 1831, for the free navigation of the Rhine. Holland did everything in her power to avoid adhering to the XXIV articles. She refused to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp and kept the commercial metropolis of Belgium under her guns until the British laid an embargo on Dutch ships and blockaded the Dutch coast, while the French sent an army to besiege the fortress, which was energetically defended by the old General Chassé.

As far as the Scheldt was concerned, the Dutch Government was as determined as it had been over territorial questions. On December 14th, 1831, it stated that "by the separation of Belgium and Holland Article XIV of the Treaty of Munster comes into force again." But such pretensions were no longer compatible with the spirit of economic liberalism which had arisen in all European countries. It would be tiresome to relate all the notes and counter-projects in which Holland tried to maintain her ancient privileges; but at last, while still refusing her adhesion to the XXIV articles and abandoning none of the principles to which she was so attached, she consented, on May 21st, 1833, to sign a preliminary arrangement which left the navigation of the Scheldt entirely free. But this *modus vivendi* had only a temporary character, and it was highly important for the security of the trade of Antwerp to arrive as soon as possible at a definite arrangement. Pourparlers went on from 1833 to 1839, and it appeared, after a time, that Holland was prepared to give way and to permit the free navigation of the Scheldt on consideration of the payment of a toll calculated on the size of the ships at the rate of two florins per ton. The Belgian plenipotentiaries, anxious to settle this most important question for the country, recognised the principle of the toll, but reduced it to one florin per ton.

Here was a basis of an *entente*, and when, in March, 1838, the King of the Netherlands informed the Powers that he was ready to adhere to the Treaty of 1831 with reservations on a few articles, it became evident that Article IX, dealing with the *régime* of the Scheldt, would not present the most difficulties. In fact, while territorial questions and the division of the debt became the subjects of lively debates and a fierce resistance on the part of Belgium, an arrangement as regards tolls on the Scheldt was fairly easily reached. It was decided that, in addition to the terms of Paragraph Z added to Article IX of the Treaty of the XXIV Articles, a toll of 1 florin 50 cents should be levied by the Government of the Netherlands on all shipping on the Scheldt and its mouths, that is to say, 1 florin 12 cents on ships which go up the Scheldt from the high seas and 38 cents for ships leaving Belgium for the sea. Article IX, thus completed and amended in various points, was inserted in the solemn Treaty, signed on April 19th, 1839, which put an end to the long Dutch-Belgian disagreement.

The freedom of the navigation of the Scheldt was not, how-

ever, complete; it was hampered by tolls which weighed very heavily on the traffic of the port of Antwerp and put her in a position of inferiority as regards Dutch ports. In order not to refuse foreign vessels, the Belgian Government thought it best to bear the cost of the tolls. A law, promulgated on June 5th, 1839, decided the principle that "the tolls payable to the Government of the Netherlands on the navigation of the Scheldt . . . shall be reimbursed by the State to the ships of all nations."

We need not go into the details of the various treaties and conventions concluded between Belgium and Holland to regulate the execution of the 1839 treaty, to interpret and complete it. We may only say that the payment of the tolls on the Scheldt constituted a more and more onerous burden for the Belgian Treasury, but this intervention had a most happy effect on the development of the navigation of the Scheldt. Arrivals were constant at Antwerp. In 1839, that is to say, at the end of the Dutch domination, Antwerp received 971 ships; in 1840 this number mounted to 1,158, and to over 3,000 in 1862. This ascending movement was not less remarkable at Ghent. In this inland port, reached by the Terneuzen canal, 147 ships discharged in 1840 and 279 in 1862.

The rapid progress surpassed the expectations of the negotiators of the 1839 Treaty. The annual sacrifice imposed on the Belgian Treasury had been valued, at a maximum, at 508,000 francs per annum. Now the rent paid to Holland had mounted from 62,313 francs to 1,499,054 francs. In 1863 these tolls cost Belgium a total sum of 28½ million francs (over £1,000,000).

The sacrifice was too heavy, and means had to be found to put an end to such a situation. Should the law of June 7th, 1839, be retained or be modified? It would have been very difficult to suppress the reimbursement of the tolls by a simple legislative measure, as the various countries with which Belgium had concluded commercial treaties had always demanded the insertion of a clause guaranteeing the said reimbursement. This favour had usually been accorded. A few rare exceptions, however, proved that the Belgian Government was acting in complete independence and that the law of June 5th, 1839, was a spontaneous act. A fortuitous occurrence enabled Belgium to take up a new position and to remind the Powers that the reimbursement of the tolls did not constitute an acquired right for anyone except by formal engagements entered into with Belgium and for as long as these lasted. In 1856 the delegates of the maritime Powers united at Copenhagen to discuss the conditions of suppressing the tolls on

the Sound and the Belts. The Belgian plenipotentiaries, at the instigation of Baron Lambermont, who made a special study of international economic questions, took this opportunity to make a solemn reminder that it was not Belgium, but all countries using the Scheldt, who owed the tolls on the river; and, suiting the action to the word, the Belgian Government offered the reimbursement of the Scheldt tolls to Danish ships in exchange for the quota due by Belgium for the capitalisation of the tolls on the Sound and the Belts. The Convention of March 14th, 1857, sealed this just claim and drew the attention of Europe to the Scheldt question. Soon after, the Belgian Government took another step in the same direction by signing, on March 23rd, 1857, a commercial treaty with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. It was stated that the reimbursement of the tolls of the Scheldt was only accorded to his Sicilian Majesty on return for a reduction of 10 per cent. on the rights of entrance and clearance for ships under the Belgian flag. Similarly, an agreement concluded on February 18th, 1861, with Hanover, by which Belgium agreed to continue to reimburse the tolls of the Scheldt to Hanoverian ships in exchange for the remission of the Stade tolls and for dispensation from paying her quota in the capitalisation of these tolls, again put forward the principle of the eventual capitalisation of the Scheldt tolls.

Most of the credit for having brought to a successful conclusion the delicate negotiations for the freedom of the Scheldt belongs to Baron Lambermont. By a clever diplomatic campaign he succeeded in interesting all maritime Powers in the question; and, taking advantage of a great current of economic liberty which at this time was affecting all Governments, he succeeded, in July, 1861, in inducing Holland herself to adopt the principle of the capitalisation of the tolls. Charles Rogier's Cabinet, energetically upheld by Parliament, carried on the negotiations actively, and was generous in fixing the quota payable by Belgium in the price of the transaction. King Leopold I., who appreciated the result which this important reform would have for Belgium, made use of the great influence he had at the Court of St. James's to induce England to intervene in an energetic manner and to participate generously in the capitalisation of the tolls. The Belgian Government managed to make an agreement with most foreign countries to secure their participation in an arrangement which was of such great interest not only for Belgium, but for all economic and international activity. The negotiations carried on at The Hague resulted, on May 12th, 1863, in the signature of

three Acts destined to regulate all Dutch-Belgian differences as regards navigation. The first announced the suppression of the Scheldt tolls in return for an indemnity payable to Holland of 17,141,600 florins; the second regulated the *régime* of the drawing of water from the Meuse for the canals of the Campine; the third assured to the commerce and navigation of both countries a stable position and reciprocal advantages.

It remained to co-ordinate this Dutch-Belgian *entente* with special arrangements with other Powers, so as to form a general convention. The plenipotentiaries of various interested countries met at Brussels on July 15th, 1863, under the presidency of Charles Rogier. Baron Lambermont was instructed to draw up the agreements. Some secondary matters were settled at the same time, and, at the second sitting, the maritime Powers signed the general Treaty consecrating the freedom of the Scheldt and stating what quota each State was to pay in the redemption of the tolls.

The enfranchisement of the Scheldt was destined to be the greatest blessing for Belgium. The trade of Antwerp hereafter knew no fetters, and the way to distant seas was opened to the Belgians, who spared no effort to develop their exterior relations and their maritime trade. But, if the Scheldt were free, this freedom was only relative, and still suffered damage from the exercise of unlimited sovereignty by Holland on the mouths of a river which is essentially Belgian both by its geographical course and its economic activity. The trade of Antwerp has also suffered from the obstacles placed in the way of its communications with the Rhine provinces by the union to Holland, in 1839, of a part of Limburg.

It would not be within the scope of this article to deal with grievances which Belgium has still to bear, grievances which the events of the last few years have made more acute. The question of the Scheldt remains. If from some points of view it has no longer the old character of injustice, it is none the less true that it weighs heavily on the destinies of the Belgian people who have struggled for centuries to achieve their economic independence. On the morrow of the terrible events which have torn Europe the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers realised the necessity of revising the 1839 treaties negotiated, to a great extent, against Belgium; and there is reason to hope that the Commission of XIV who are pursuing their work in Paris will, before long, arrive at a solution which shall be satisfactory not only for Belgium, but also for the maintenance of general peace based on justice.

CHARLES TERLINDEN

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[The Commission of XIV, to which Professor Terlinden refers in the last lines of his text, has just reached an agreement which only awaits ratification by the two countries.—ED.]

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY

THE doctrine of State sovereignty, as declared in the seventeenth century and still accepted in the twentieth, has been severely handled by several modern writers. They show how the State's unique claim to allegiance is challenged by other associations attracting loyalty quite as intense, and we find sovereignty described as merely "the ability to secure assent." The lines are becoming blurred, and, as responsible government in the Dominions pursues its logical development, we appreciate with Maitland the medieval difficulty in distinguishing between communities which do, and do not, "recognise a superior." Thus it is not surprising that the establishment of the League of Nations as a working institution should cause fears among the champions of national sovereignty. Let us see how far their fears are justified by the Covenant.

We may leave it to international lawyers to consider whether the signing of every treaty does not to some degree impair the sovereignty of the contracting parties. Sir Frederick Pollock has lately reminded us that the members of the League "have already limited their freedom in many directions" by previous conventions on various subjects, the effects of withdrawal from which "would be so inconvenient that reversion to the former state of isolation cannot be regarded as a practical contingency." What concerns us here is that the right of withdrawal, on two years' notice, is explicitly reserved to every member of the League (Art. 1), "provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal." The practical effect of this provision is likely to be slight, since membership is conceived as a privilege, rather than a burden, and a defaulting State would be no less subject to coercion, were there any question of coercion, after it had withdrawn. It is further provided (Art. 26) that a State dissenting from an amendment to the Covenant duly passed shall *ipso facto* cease to be a member.

A sovereign body may in practice diminish its liberty of action in two ways, either by transferring some of its powers to another

body, or by agreeing to exercise them itself in a certain way. Let us examine the Covenant from this point of view.

First, then, what powers do the members of the League transfer to other bodies? It is clear that the Covenant sets up no body entitled either to legislate, or to issue executive orders, or to give a judicial decision on a matter not voluntarily submitted to it. The Council and the Assembly can only recommend and report. In Article 8, for instance, we read that the "Council shall formulate plans" for the reduction of armaments "for the consideration and action of the several Governments," but these plans are to have no force till they have been "adopted by the several Governments." Likewise, the Council is to "advise upon the means" whereby the guarantee of territory and independence shall be upheld (Art. 10), to "propose" the steps to be taken if an arbitral award is disobeyed (Art. 13), to "make and publish a report" concerning a dispute submitted to it (Art. 15), and to "recommend" what armed contingent, if any, each member shall supply in the event of a State going to war in breach of the Covenant. Only once is the Council instructed to "take measures," and that is in the case of a war between States not members of the League (Art. 17). The Assembly, in the same way, is merely to "advise" the reconsideration of treaties (Art. 18). Nor will the permanent Court of International Justice, to be set up under Article 14, have any power to summon disputants before it. Its functions are only to pronounce on matters freely submitted to it, and to give an advisory opinion when requested by the Council. It has not even the prerogative of interpreting the Covenant. Assuredly there is no infraction of State sovereignty here, no suspicion of "implied powers."

The obligations assumed by members of the League next call for consideration. Under Article 8 they agree not to exceed, except with the concurrence of the Council, the limits of armaments to which they have themselves consented, and "undertake to interchange full and frank information" as to their scale of armaments, construction programmes, and industries "adaptable to war-like purposes." Under Articles 18 and 20 they promise to register and publish all treaties, to consider no treaty binding until it has been so registered, to enter into no future engagement inconsistent with the Covenant, and to take immediate steps to procure their release from any such engagements into which they may have entered in the past. Article 23, as its opening clause shows, by itself commits the signatories to nothing.

There remain the most important obligations. Under Article 10 the member-States "undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence" of all other members. We may assume, I think, that this guarantee, of which the essential words were used by President Wilson as early as January, 1916, served beyond all else to induce the weaker and more precariously situated Allied States to give their adhesion to the Covenant. To them the pledge of British and American protection meant security as nothing else could. But it is plain from subsequent Articles that this pledge was not intended, and ought not, to be used to stereotype the existing order. And the method of fulfilling the pledge is left to the several States, after considering the recommendations, as we have seen, of the Council.

Finally, by Articles 12, 13, 15 and 16 the members agree—

(1) Not to go to war without first submitting the issue either to arbitration or to enquiry by the Council and waiting for three months after the decision in either case.

(2) To abide by the award of the Court of Arbitration when this mode of settlement has been voluntarily selected.

(3) Not to go to war with any State which complies with the decision of the Court or Council; and

(4) To break off all relations with a State which goes to war in violation of these agreements, to support one another in joint action against it, and (by implication) to supply an armed contingent if requested by the Council. Members do not promise not to go to war in the last resort, nor to submit any particular kind of dispute to arbitration, nor to comply with even a unanimous recommendation by the Council, nor to place all their armed forces at the Council's disposal.

The mere recital of these undertakings shows how baseless is the contention that they infringe the principle of national sovereignty. But, in point of fact, it is further, and most effectually, safeguarded by the provision of Article 5 that, except where it is expressly laid down to the contrary, all decisions of the Assembly and Council require unanimous consent. With respect to the Council, the full force of this provision only appears when it is remembered that no question specially affecting the interests of any member can be considered unless that member has been invited to send a representative "to sit as a member" at the meeting. It is hard to see what further safeguard could be devised.

It should now be plain that the Covenant of the League of Nations not only does not impair, but is wholly founded upon, the principle of national sovereignty. Complaints are constantly made that this principle is too much respected, and the Covenant is blamed for not forbidding private war altogether, for not making arbitration compulsory, for not establishing an international armed force, and, above all, for not making the decision of a majority binding in all cases. Those who take this line are in danger of misconceiving the whole character of the League at the present stage. It is definitely not a super-State. It exists to guide, not to command; to secure agreement, not to enforce uniformity; to promote international co-operation, not to inaugurate international government. Except in the single case of sudden war, it is not a coercive agency at all. It aims at utilising, and being utilised by, the best elements in the nations, rather than at compelling the nations to be good. In other words, the people must, through its instrumentality, work out their own salvation. Only the spirit which brought the League into being can make it work in the future.

NOTE.—I have not taken account in this paper of the more ambitious functions assigned to the League in particular cases by the Covenant or the Peace Treaties. These fall under the following heads: (1) The Treaties with Poland, Austria, etc., place the rights assigned therein to racial and religious minorities under the guarantee of the League of Nations. (2) Article 22 of the Covenant provides that the Mandatory Powers responsible for the future of certain former German and Turkish territories are to act "on behalf of the League" and render annual accounts to the Council. (3) Certain places, such as the Saar Valley and Dantzig, are to be governed by, or under the supervision of, officials appointed by the League. Nor have I discussed the Labour Section of the Peace Treaty.

ROBERT CECIL

DOES THE WORLD WAR INITIATE A NEW PHASE IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION?

THE question may seem at first sight an idle one. If we consider only the present situation, it appears that the influence of a great war on the economic life of the peoples has been mostly a negative one, not only by the destruction it has caused, but by the general dislocation which is its conspicuous result. The formidable crisis of production throughout the world—coal crisis, transport crisis, labour crisis—is an accident interrupting or delaying natural evolution, and not a phase of that evolution itself. The tendency of national organisations to withdraw to themselves, trying to satisfy their own needs and talking about barriers to be created between them so as to protect their individual interests, seems to be but the natural consequence of the abnormal state in which the nations have been left by the sufferings of the war. The sources of production itself are threatened by great social and political convulsions like those which, for the last three years, have upset and devastated Russia. Is it possible seriously to balance with all those purely negative consequences, as far as the economic progress of the world is concerned, a few technical improvements achieved in the war factories? The conclusion, therefore, would seem to be that the catastrophe, out of which we are only just emerging, has changed nothing in the economic world as it was before the war, except as far as it has disorganised it and delayed its progress.

But we must beware of the conclusions which would result from a short-sighted view of the world before us. The events we have just witnessed are too great to make it possible for the lasting consequences to be immediately translated into conspicuous facts. On the slopes of extinct volcanoes are now spread some of the richest cultivations of the world. Who could have believed that on the morrow of the terrible eruptions of the past? The former phases of the deep transformation of the modern world, which is described as the industrial revolution, were determined by two main causes, of which the technical inventions themselves are only the great expression—the pressure of economic needs on one side, and on the other side the

contact established between the needs and resources of human groups formerly separated. This is what explains each of the great successive stages of the industrial revolution—the birth of the factory system, the creation of a new system of transport and communications by means of steam navigation, railways and electrical telegraphy, and the exploration and exploitation of distant or neglected parts of the world which have become new sources of raw materials. The crisis which has shaken the whole world could but make the pressure of economic needs more powerful and imperative than ever. It has made also more indispensable the contact between the economic groups, either brought together or separated from each other by the war. The very obstacles which at present stand against the natural play of those forces can but increase their irresistible pressure.

Let us consider first the action of economic needs during the period of hostilities. When the question was, above all, how to resist and to conquer, immense efforts were made in all countries for war production proper, and other efforts were made necessary by the interruption of the normal channels of supply, which was almost complete as far as the Central Powers were concerned, and much less so, but still perceptible, as regards the Allies during the submarine campaign. A remarkable example is that of France, who, being deprived from the very beginning of the war of two-thirds of her coal and four-fifths of her iron ore, with her great industrial areas in the North and North-East in the hands of the enemy, developed her metal and engineering works to such an extent as to be able not only to arm herself completely, but to contribute in a very large proportion to the armament of her Allies, and particularly to supply the American Army with all its field artillery and part of its heavy guns.

What is likely to remain of all such efforts made at the same time by all the belligerent nations? It is possible even now to foresee two important consequences:—

The first one is the rapid progress and the growing importance of the chemical industries. Great Britain and France have been obliged not only to do without German industry, on which they were partly dependent before, but to launch into new and gigantic experiments—let us only mention the great chemical works at Gretna, which we saw in a few months extending almost to a province, and also the remarkable spreading of electrical furnaces in the valleys of the Alps. The extraction and industrial utilisation of atmospheric nitrogen, which enabled Germany to do without imported nitrates, has started a universal competition the

results of which open to us the indefinite possibilities of a new conquest over nature.

At the same time the problem of the exploitation of natural sources of power, which had been theoretically solved long ago, has become such a pressing one from the practical point of view that we must expect on that side some very momentous changes. France, being obliged, by the destruction of her northern mines, to import the two-thirds of the coal which she consumes, and being further hampered by the slackening of production in Great Britain, the rise of prices, and the adverse movement of her exchange, is contemplating great schemes for the exploitation of her streams and waterfalls, which will give her millions of horse-power. The work has already begun in the Alps and Pyrenees, which are becoming the seats of powerful and promising industries. Germany is doing the same : we have just heard of an important scheme for the capture and distribution of water-power throughout Bavaria. Italy, being still more deprived of coal than France, is already following the same path. If the coal crisis lasts and cannot be sufficiently compensated by the increasing use of fuel oils, we are sure to see the renewal, and most probably the success, of the efforts which began long ago to use the power supplied by the wind and by the tides. More arduous problems, like that of the transformation of solar heat into energy, or that of how to liberate and utilise atomic energy, are still waiting for a scientific solution, but we may be certain that the urgent necessities of the present hour will stimulate researches. The grave losses we have suffered, and the difficulties into which they have thrown the whole world, make it indispensable, and it may be confidently said inevitable, that man should now make a new step towards the conquest and mastery of natural forces.

Let us now consider the influence on the economic transformation of the contact between the groups of producers. The war has given striking illustrations of the interdependence between all parts of the world which modern civilisation tends to tighten more and more. At every moment during the war the gravest consequences might have followed the lack of one single indispensable ingredient, the supply of which was stopped by the insufficiency of transport. It might have been manganese from India or Brazil, wolfram from Portugal or Bolivia, or magnesite bricks from the Archipelago. A mere delay in the shipping of Chilean nitrates was enough to stop the production of our explosives. Germany's achievement in making the struggle last

so long after she had been cut off from all the countries which could supply her with raw materials is a very remarkable one, but the very fact that she was isolated condemned her to her final fall. Just after the war the very existence of European peoples depends on what they can receive for their most immediate needs from the richer and less tried parts of the world. Hence the vital importance of importation and of the credit that makes importation possible.

It is perfectly true that we are witnessing at the same time a phenomenon which seems to work in a contrary direction. Preoccupations of national defence, together with the difficulties created by the dislocation of exchange, create in each country a tendency to self-concentration, each one trying to satisfy its own requirements by encouraging or protecting its key industries. This would tend to create economic barriers between the nations, but this, we believe, is only a transitory stage, under the influence of the war and of its immediate consequences. Most of the problems of the present hour can be solved only by close and organised economic co-operation between the nations. In Great Britain itself the supporters of Imperial protection have mostly in view the mutual co-operation between the different parts of the Empire.

During the war Inter-Allied organisations or conferences have made it possible to distribute raw materials, to find and use to the best of its possibilities the tonnage required for the most urgent needs of each participant, and to feed the congested populations of the great industrial countries. Without some system of the same kind, it would be impossible to give to the peoples who must now rebuild their agriculture and their industries the means of settling down to work and to wait until their situation has improved. The prosperity of the more privileged nations partly depends on the restoration of the more tried ones, and this applies almost equally to our friends and to our enemies, since by the effect of the system of reparations the interests of both groups will be in the coming years unavoidably intermixed. One problem only, that of the redemption of the enormous quantities of fictitious values created by the war, calls for a common effort to intensify and distribute the production which is to recreate the real values upon which the world must rely.

There lies one of the greatest and most essential tasks of the League of Nations—of which some people are mistakenly afraid as of a Government established over the national Governments. The question is not how to dictate to the various nations, but

how to give them the means to organise between them a constant co-operation, without which the world, shaken as it has been in the very foundation of its economic life, cannot now do without danger.

The industrial revolution, from its very beginnings, put before the world in a new form the problem of the relations between Capital and Labour. For more than a century we have witnessed the growth and mutual opposition of capitalism on one side and labour organisations on the other. Shall we believe that the war has sounded the trumpet of judgment announced by the Socialists, and that the judgment itself has been begun by the Russian Revolution? As a matter of fact, the Russian Revolution took place in one of the countries that have been least transformed by the industrial phenomenon. Rather than the last consequence of capitalistic evolution, according to the doctrine of Karl Marx, it is an explosion caused by the contact of the most advanced ideas of the West and of the sufferings and bitter grievances of a backward people, crushed by mediæval oppression. This makes it unlikely that Russian Bolshevism can grow into a world revolution, unless complete economic collapse occurs, which would throw all of us back into the Middle Ages.

What we are witnessing in the West, immediately after the war, is, on the side of the employers, the reinforcement of capitalism by the greater scope of enterprise and the inordinate growth of profits, and on the labour side powerful trade union organisations, which, without wishing to identify themselves purely and simply with a political party, are more and more adopting the formulas of Continental Socialism. That tendency coincides with a remarkable development of the action of the State in the economic field. During the war the State has been allowed, in order to satisfy the elemental needs of the war industries and of the populations themselves, to extend its control over the system of transport, the supply of raw materials, and the different branches of production. That control was certain to be highly unpopular when the war came to an end, but we are now discovering that in the critical situation, which is now that of the greatest part of the world and which even the most privileged nations cannot entirely escape, State intervention could not entirely cease without bringing about a catastrophe. It is impossible not to foresee that part of the programme, which has now become in all civilised countries that of the labour movement, will have to be executed in the near future, and this means for Labour a considerable accession to the economic and political direction

of the world. The creation of an International Labour Bureau connected with the League of Nations shows an effort to prepare the necessary reforms by studies and discussions in common between the Governments, employers' organisations and labour organisations of the whole world, including the Far East, which sent delegates to the recent Congress at Washington.

The first stage of the industrial revolution was not determined by the Napoleonic Wars and the Continental blockade. That revolution had begun thirty years before, and its main lines had already been fixed since the last years of the eighteenth century. But the consequence of the great European conflict was an acceleration and generalisation of the whole movement. The earthquake of 1914, which has destroyed so many things, has created none but the reaction that follows, the urgent necessities of the war, and the no less urgent needs of the after-war period, have conveyed an irresistible impulsion to forces which did already exist and act before. But while, a hundred years ago, the free action of individual initiative was equal to the task, we see now how some systematic combination between the resources and efforts of the nations has been made indispensable by the interdependence of economic interests. The very convulsions of the modern world have illustrated its essential unity.

P. MANTOUX

HISTORICAL CRITICISM

THOUGHTFUL and earnest critics, concerned for the repute of their calling, make it almost a point of honour that criticism is as much an art as the various forms of literature, painting, music, or drama with which it deals; and in view of the fact that the public reads more criticism than any other kind of literature, with the exception of fiction, it is clearly desirable that criticism, if not already an art, should at least establish as soon as possible some recognised or recognisable principles of conduct and canons of judgment. It will not perhaps be easier to define and express them than it is to explain what sculpture, music, painting, and history are. But just as each of these artists is confident that he practises an art, so the critic is mutely conscious that he has or should have some foundations on which to build and rules by which to construct his criticism; and assuredly the difficulty of formulating his principles is no excuse for neglect to form or to observe them. Nor is it a matter which concerns only the critics, multitudinous though our reviewers be. The public is also interested in the ideas which guide, or should guide, those who profess to direct its opinion and taste.

Criticism is not, however, a simple, but a manifold, art. The art critic in common parlance means a critic of painting and sculpture, and his art differs from those of the critics of music, the drama, poetry, and history. Each has his own technique, and each technique depends upon the subject to which it applies. The degree of approximation between the art and the criticism varies in different arts. The art critic denies with vigour and emphasis the painter's contention that only he who can paint can judge the process or product of painting; and quotes in support the Aristotelian maxim that the best judge of a dinner is not the cook, but the diner. Nor will the dramatic critic admit that he should be able to act before sitting in judgment on those who do. So the critic or even the professor of poetry need not himself be a poet. He is concerned, he will say, less with the process than with the product. It is for the artist to choose his means, the critic to judge his results. That is perhaps truer of the public than of the critics, and, at any rate, when we come to literature

we tread on debatable ground. The critic of prose should surely be versed and practised in style, and the judge of English can hardly get into his court unless he knows how to write.

It would seem to be common sense that the historical critic should at least know some history, if not be trained in the methods and principles of historical criticism. But common sense is not rarer than historical competence in historical critics. It is not, however, in that commonplace of the inexpertness of the lay reviewer that the real trouble lies. It is rather in the absence of recognised principles of criticism among historical experts themselves; for historians review one another to an even greater extent than novelists or poets, and do it often without the decent disguise of anonymity. If Froude had to complain of any reviewer it was of Freeman; and if Freeman himself suffered at the hands of a critic, it was mainly at those of the learned author of *Feudal England*. But if historians have gone astray, they have not gone like sheep, but rather because their exuberant individuality disdains a common pen. The individualism of the artist gives an Ishmaelite turn to his habits when he takes to critical pursuits.

But criticism, if it is to establish its character as an art, must improve upon anarchy and attain to some degree of order. Polemic of any sort, whether personal, political, or ecclesiastical, is incompatible with art. Artists have sometimes, especially of late, vaunted a pacifism superior to the passions of the multitude, and their attitude has been unpopular, and has seemed an anti-social pose. But there is true instinct at the bottom of it. It is not easy to avoid controversy even in the interests of truth, but it is one of the testimonies to the supremacy of Shakespeare's art that we cannot identify him with any party, religious or political. Apart from his anti-ecclesiastical temper, the same might almost be said of Gibbon's historical art. Neither Shakespeare nor Gibbon was, however, a critic, and their Olympian example may seem too exalted for mundane imitation. But the critic, too, assumes an exalted position, for his is the seat of judgment. Discrimination and discernment are his attributes *ex hypothesi*, and he abdicates the critic's function when he becomes a party to the suit and descends to the litigant's level. Even a judge only acts as a judge when he has heard both sides of a case. It is often his duty to condemn, but it is not his business to prosecute.

From the bar to the bench is, however, an easier transition for the lawyer than is the artist's passing from the practice of his art to the criticism of others'. He is too much of a prophet to play a part, and he believes too much in his gospel to be an

impartial judge of other people's. The barrister's cause is his client's, not his own, and he has too many of them to be very deeply committed to any. The law court is much like the stage; and the advocate assumes his parts with the ease of an actor. There were times when the political pamphleteer, the journalist, the caricaturist, and even the historian could also be hired to serve a cause that was not his own, and when his principles were thought as impertinent to what he wrote as the printer's are to what he prints. Principles were the property of his patron or his proprietor. But the relation of patron and client has passed away in the sphere of literature; and the author takes himself, and is taken, so seriously that what he has to say is regarded as more important than his skill in saying what others may pay him to say. Historians may serve the cause of a party, as Macaulay served that of the Whigs or Alison that of the Tories; but they did so because they thought it their own and not for the sake of retainers, and it is the sincerity of the partisan that bars his promotion to the critic's proper bench.

We are told, indeed, that the historian cannot be impartial. If so, he may be an artist, but he cannot become a critic; or at least his historical criticism can never be raised to the dignity of an art. But that is a retrograde doctrine. To the partially-minded impartiality is itself a proof of bias, and we shall never have historians so impartial that partisans will not cavil at their decisions. But approaches have been made towards it, and historical scholarship at least does not tolerate the partisanship which was regarded as normal and proper as late as half a century ago. Nearly a generation back Lord Acton was preaching at Cambridge against the service of a cause, and there is hope for the independence of historical criticism. The danger is no longer the subservience of history to political or ecclesiastical parties, and criticism inspired by such animus has to conceal itself under a zeal for historical accuracy and to content itself with ostensibly legitimate arguments. The defect in current historical criticism is not so much its bias under extraneous influence as the lack of internal cohesion and principle and of a positive basis for the art.

The critic is like an examiner; and impartiality, while an indispensable attribute in an examiner, does not go far towards making him a good one. One of the crudest and worst of the methods practised by bad examiners is that known as "minus marking." A question is asked, a piece for translation or an essay is set, and the examiner proceeds to estimate the merits of the candidates' performances by deducting so many marks from

the maximum for each mistake that is made. The style may be good or bad, the thought fruitful or barren, without affecting the marks. So we have seen historians, who have erected vast monuments of learning, marked down by critics to zero for a few mistakes they have made. Yet to err is a property of mankind, and he who never makes a mistake never makes anything. To do nothing is the only guarantee of immaculate conduct, and to write no history at all the only complete protection against historical lapses. The wider one's scope, and indeed the greater one's industry, the larger the margin of error. One can only misquote or misrepresent documents one has read, only give wrong solutions to problems one seeks to solve, only misdate events one tries to narrate. There is probably no book in the world with so many errors of biographical and historical detail as the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and few writers of elementary school histories have made so many mistakes as Macaulay and Lingard, Freeman and Froude, Lecky and Creighton. It is the same in every sphere of human activity. Napoleon committed more blunders in tactics and strategy than generals who fought but a single campaign, let alone those who never fought at all. Pitt made more and greater mistakes than, say, Tierney or Windham. Shakespeare has more numerous lapses than Keats or Gray; the historical critic whose *magnum opus* consists of a single review or a letter to the Press may well be more immaculate than a Gardiner or a Stubbs; and a farthing dip is free from the spots on the sun.

Nothing is more egregious than this negative style of criticism, this measuring of human achievement by its minutiae of failure. It is proper enough to examine the spots on the sun, but we should not use them to disprove the solar system. We may discern and describe defects in Napoleon's strategy, Pitt's policy, and Shakespeare's art; but the critic who magnifies his criticism into a denial that the first was a master of war, the second a statesman, and the third a poet, merely exhibits his own incompetence as a critic. The failings of great men are so obvious because the men were so great. The *Dictionary of National Biography* contains hundreds of errors because it contains thousands of accurate facts; it could have avoided most of its errors by leaving out most of the lives. So historians could have evaded the censure of their critics by following their critics' example and writing no history worth mention. Heaven forbid that historians should be held immune from criticism, but heaven grant the minute philosophers of calumny a sense of proportion

to make their criticism sane! For because it is bad it is ineffective. We read the great historians ages after their death, but their critics die still-born, and the oblivion which deservedly overtakes bad critics prejudices the usefulness of the good. The historical critic must build on better foundations if he is to serve the cause of history and his own.

The first essential in sound criticism is a capacity for appreciation and not one for finding fault. After all, it is the historian's positive achievement by which he stands or falls, and not his occasional and often inevitable lapses. No historian can be omniscient even for the period he selects; nor, if he were, would space or time permit him to record every detail he knows, however ample his scale. It is easy to earn a cheap reputation as a critic by pointing out details the historian has advisedly omitted. Still easier is it to earn an even cheaper reputation by using, to decry a historian's scholarship, sources which were not available when he wrote, or to stand on his shoulders and vaunt one's superior height. To condemn Gibbon or Hallam for not using the vast apparatus of historical scholarship which generations of archivists, palæographers, learned societies, and Government Commissions have made available since their day is as irrational as to criticise Nelson for not using steam or 15-inch guns. The historian, like the general and the statesman, can only be judged by reference to the standards and the means he had or might have had at his disposal.

Injudicious advertisement of the historian, by his friends and admirers rather than by himself, has, indeed, at times invited legitimate censure. So impressed have they been by his research, carefulness, and impartiality, that they have now and then acclaimed his work as final. Such praise is the product of a criticism as foolish in its exaggeration as the minus-marker is in his detraction. It is not praise worth having because no real historian could bestow it. Every competent student is aware that, however amply provided his period may appear to be, there are gaps in the historian's materials and missing links in his argument which chance or time may supply, and in supplying may completely upset his conclusions. There is little in historical evidence that amounts to absolute proof, and no historical demonstration can establish more than a high degree of probability. Eye-witnesses themselves are not infallible nor official records always honest; and there is much in a historian's narrative for which he can vouch neither eye-witness nor official record. Nor is it possible for him to master all the material that does exist.

Gardiner, with his fifty years of unremitting labour devoted to fifty years of British history, approached more nearly that ideal than does any other historian. But it requires no great learning to discover—with his guidance and the help of subsequent researchers—omissions in his survey; and as for history in general, that which is current is based upon about a tenth of the available evidence. Students primarily interested in the advancement of historical learning are better employed in raising the low-lying tracts to Gardiner's level than in trying with trowels to undermine solid foundations and reduce outstanding peaks.

There is all the difference in critical value between the animus which seeks to destroy a personal reputation and the zeal which strives to increase knowledge. A personal reputation may, indeed, be an obstacle to the advancement of learning. "Make you Popes who list," cried an irate Puritan Member of Parliament to Archbishop Parker, "for we will make you none." History has as little use for infallibility as it has concern for heresy. Such things belong to other realms; and if anyone imagines himself, or is thought by others, to be a pope in literature or art, he becomes a proper object of censure and perhaps of invective and satire. The republic of letters has its legitimate aristocrats; its popes are always impostors. But it is only thinking makes them popes, and none but the crudest of critics goes crusading against imaginary autocrats and challenging historical infallibility. We might also reflect that even a claim to infallibility does not make a man invariably a liar: he may sometimes want and sometimes manage to tell the truth. The conclusion that nothing a historian says can be trusted¹ is a large deduction from the premise that he has once or twice made a mistake. One might as well argue that his every word is to be implicitly trusted because he once or twice lit on the truth; and logic should be at least an element in historical criticism. Moreover, there is a difference in taste as well as in logic between noting an occasional sin and branding a man as a sinner. The humanities may leave to other spheres of thought the conception that makes a heretic out of a single lapse from orthodoxy and a man's life to consist of the faults he has committed.

Assuredly that is not historical criticism. The critic's first and, indeed, his only purpose, so far as personal questions are concerned, is to measure the positive achievement of the historian under review, to estimate the extent to which he has improved upon previous methods and added to the sum of human knowledge

¹ "Historian," on S. R. Gardiner, in *The Times* Lit. Suppl. 25 Sept., 1919, p. 515.

and understanding. There are endless ways in which the historian may establish a claim to gratitude. He may delve in archives and bring fresh facts to light without possessing the gift of co-ordinating new facts with the old and deducing fresh and fruitful generalisations. He may, on the other hand, without the capacity for original research, utilise the researches of others by constructing an original and better synthesis of their results. He may even do good work, without originality in research or in ideas, by simply popularising the science of the few. A few—but these are the elect—combine the science and art of history, expound the truth as well as find it, and turn their documents into literature. Each of these methods has its technique, and it is idle for the critic to judge one kind of historian by the methods or standards of the others. He should, however, be in a position himself to determine what sort of historian he is reviewing and to show where his author is adding to knowledge, providing fresh ideas, or merely re-stating and epitomising others' conclusions.

So, too, he must be able to judge the historian's technique, particularly if he is dealing with an assumption of originality. Can the historian read the language of the people whose history he claims to write? Does he know where to find his original documents? Can he decipher and interpret them when found? What means has he acquired of distinguishing between forged and genuine evidence? Is he likely to be deceived, as Carlyle was, by a bundle of Cromwellian letters written in the nineteenth century, by the charters which medieval scribes and the memoirs which more modern Frenchmen were expert in concocting or manipulating? Does he know what was meant by words when they were used as distinct from their meaning now? Can he transform medieval dating by saints' days and Christian festivals, regnal or mayoral years, into its modern equivalent in terms of weekdays, days of the month, and Anno Domini? Is he familiar with the various national styles and the old and new, or is he puzzled when he encounters an answer to a letter correctly dated before the letter was written? If he knows not these things, he may be right in his facts, but it will only be by accident or imitation, and the critic need trouble no further about his claim to authority. If, on the other hand, he possesses this technique and has used it, he may be wrong, but even his errors will merit consideration. They will be the accidents of his scholarship and not the properties of his ignorance.

These are fundamental criteria without which historical writers are not historians, nor their reviewers critics. They pertain to

the science of history, and there are others which pertain to its art. All the relevant facts, scientifically ascertained and brought together, do not make a history; the finished product of the archivist, they are only raw material to the historian, and it is his selection from his masses of fact that tests his artistic competence and his character. The critic is tested in much the same way because he can only sample the books he reviews, and he reveals himself and his art, or the lack of it, by the method of his selection. The *Athenæum* reviewer of Gardiner's first volume, published in 1863, selected its first line as a sample and declared that it contained three glaring errors because it dated Elizabeth's death in March, 1603 (new style) instead of 1602 (old style), said that she lay on her bed, whereas she reclined on cushions, and remarked that "all England knew it," which was manifestly not the case. The instance might become classic as one example of the way in which critics have hindered the growth of their own particular art, for not only was this criticism absurd in one and false in the two other particulars, but even if it had been accurate its triviality and irrelevance to the essence of Gardiner's work would have condemned the judgment of the critic. Without an exacting sense of perspective and proportion there can be no true history and no sound historical criticism.

There is not much dispute about such principles of criticism as these, although they are often ignored in practice. Nor is there any doubt as to the legitimacy of applying to history, which is a form of literature, the common principles of literary criticism. Obscurity, diffuseness, redundancy, and other defects in style form a proper and an indispensable part of historical criticism. But there are one or two charges to which the historian is peculiarly liable and about which it is difficult to formulate canons of criticism. Under what circumstances is it legitimate to accuse a historian of dishonesty? Obviously he is guilty if he invents facts or forges documents. But these crude methods, which were familiar enough in bygone times—did not an Oxford historian forge a passage in Asser attributing the foundation of his university to Alfred the Great?—have gone out of fashion, and the trouble is with subtler forms of intellectual or moral perversity. When may one charge a historian with "suppressing" facts? In practice the critic does so when he disagrees with the historian's conclusions. But that is not avowable as a principle. The facts the historian has to omit are endless; when does omission amount to suppression? The ready answer is "When the facts omitted are material." But here the historian and his critic will probably disagree as to their definition of "material." The point is the

acid test which distinguishes the historian from the political pamphleteer. No one expects the politician in his written or spoken words to do anything but ignore the inconvenient facts; it is virtue enough in him if he does not explicitly deny them. The historian is rightly judged by a higher standard, and he admits his obligation. He is, however, entitled to the plea that selection and therefore omission are to a large extent unavoidable, and that omission is not a proof of ignorance, negligence, or dishonesty. The charge of "suppressing" facts is one which the critic should bring with extreme reluctance and caution, remembering always that he is "suppressing" many more facts in his criticism than his author has done in his history.

There is yet another subject which is a legitimate matter for criticism, but requires still more caution in handling, and that is the historian's method. Gardiner may again illustrate our point. Froude remarks somewhere that the knowledge of later events has spoilt the writing of history. Gardiner tried the experiment of excluding so far as possible that knowledge from his mind and writing history as events unfolded before the eyes of those who watched them. It was a bold experiment, and its success is still a matter of debate. There is much to be said for and against his view. Can we really be fair to men of the past, knowing what they could not know? Can we, indeed, understand them at all, their action or inaction, their hopes and fears, efforts and failures, with our minds prepossessed by a knowledge of the result? On the other hand, it may be asked: Is it not the function of history to depict things as they were and not as they appeared to contemporaries, to point out causes of which they were ignorant and influences of which they were unconscious? Must we ignore the connexion of cause and effect because it was not apparent at the time? It is easy to put the question in such a form as to dictate a "yes" or "no." But which will be the truer history of the recent war, that which tells it in the words and spirit of those who fought it or that which posterity will write with the fuller knowledge and feebler feelings of the impartial future? Is man's history the record of what he achieves or of what he feels and thinks and is? Some of us, historians or critics, may have answered these questions to our own satisfaction. Most have possibly not considered them at all. We are only groping our way towards our conceptions of history and therefore towards our first principles of historical criticism. It is not for historians to be precipitate where angels themselves would tread circumspectly.

A. F. POLLARD

NOTES AND NEWS

WITH the present number HISTORY begins its fifth year of existence as the organ of the Historical Association, and it has for the second time in two years to add five hundred to the number of copies to be printed to meet the demands of the Association and the public. The raising of the subscription has been followed, not by a decrease, but by a considerable increase, in the number of subscribers; and, but for the still greater increase in the cost of printing and paper, it would have been possible to provide subscribers with a HISTORY twice its present size. Subscribers and contributors will kindly accept this enforced limitation as the principal reason why HISTORY does not contain all that they would like.

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Inseparable from this increase in the number of subscribers has been the growth in the membership of the Association, which is now nearly two thousand. The interest in education, and particularly in historical studies, which was created by the war and then released by peace, has been turned to excellent purpose by the Propaganda Committee under Mr. Marvin's chairmanship; and during the last nine months three old branches of the Association—Liverpool, Plymouth, and Reading—have been revived, and nine fresh branches—Bangor, Cambridge, Chelmsford, Dudley, Durham, Norfolk, Oxford, Rugby, and Winchester—have been started. Their activities will be recorded in the Annual Reports of the Association, but there is also in preparation a pamphlet of suggestions for the work of branches, and secretaries and others are invited to address contributions to 22 Russell Square, W.C.1. A suggestion of our own is that branches should collect and send in subscriptions, which are due on July 1st, before that date, and thus enable their members to receive their July and October numbers of HISTORY punctually instead of some weeks or even months after publication. Subscription-forms accompany the present issue.

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The fourteenth annual meeting of the Association, held at Leeds on January 1st to 3rd, was notable alike for the election of

a new President; for the addresses by Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Michael Sadler, and Professor Mantoux; for the attendance at private as well as at public business; for the hospitality extended to members; and for the fact that it was the first annual meeting held outside London since 1914. Interest in the domestic affairs of the Association was illustrated by the discussion of various proposals for amending the method of electing members of Council, and a Committee has been appointed to draft and present to the next annual meeting (which is to be held at Cambridge) a scheme embodying the suggestions which commended themselves at Leeds. Public proceedings are here represented by an article which Lord Robert Cecil has written for our present number, and by Professor Mantoux's address.

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Professor Terlinden's article on the history of the Scheldt, which is concluded in this issue, has attracted no little attention. The Amsterdam *Algemeen Handelsblad* of January 28th had two columns on the subject from its London correspondent, which, while controverting some of Professor Terlinden's contentions, contained compliments to the Historical Association and HISTORY too appreciative to be repeated. Dr. Geyl, the newly-appointed Professor of Dutch Studies in the University of London, devoted part of his first course of public lectures to the subject, and the discussion has been taken up in the Dutch and Belgian Press with results which have called attention to the need for the academic treatment of historical studies, and may lead to their further endowment.

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Appreciation of another kind has been widely accorded to our articles on University Research and Historical Revisions. The preliminary survey of the former has now been completed, but it is proposed to continue the series in annual statements published in October. These will, of course, be briefer than the original lists, which covered eight years, and room may thus be found for a larger number of Revisions. We hope from July onwards to publish at least two in each number of HISTORY.

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Meanwhile the provision for historical studies grows apace. Dr. A. P. Newton, who has long been an active member of Council, has been appointed to the recently-established Rhodes Chair of Imperial History in London, and Mr. R. M. Dawkins to the Bywater and Sotheby Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek at Oxford, while Mr. Stuart Jones succeeds Dr. Haverfield

as Camden Professor of Ancient History. We may also congratulate historical studies and ourselves on the appointment of Mr. C. Grant Robertson to succeed Sir Oliver Lodge as Principal of Birmingham University. Historians seem to be at a premium even for administrative posts. The League of Nations Union would also be glad to hear of historians who would be willing to give their services to that cause as lecturers. We may likewise note as a sign of the times the election of the first woman, in the person of Miss Rose Graham, to the Council of our eminently staid fraternity, the Royal Historical Society.

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On the other hand, we have to lament the death of the veteran historian of India, Dr. Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E., who made notable contributions both as articles and reviews to these pages. Born in 1848, he entered the Indian Civil Service in 1871, rose to be a Commissioner in 1898, and retired in 1900, to become in 1910 a Curator of the Indian Institute at Oxford. His chief work was his *Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest*, which was published in 1904 and reached a third edition in 1914; but he was more popularly known as the author of the *Oxford History of India*, which ran through seven editions; and of *Akbar, the Great Mogul*. He also wrote a *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, which was published in 1911.

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Local history, to which *The Times* devoted a leading article in its Literary Supplement on March 11th, is also claiming increased attention. The Dugdale Society, to the formation of which we referred in October, has secured a promising start, and has now been followed by the Oxfordshire Record Society, with the Duke of Marlborough as its President, and Professor Firth, Mr. Ernest Barker, and Miss Rose Graham, among others, on its Council. Its object is, like that of the Dugdale Society, the publication of documents relating to the history of the county, and its secretary is the Rev. F. N. Davis, B.Litt., of the Diocesan Registry, 10 New Road, Oxford.

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The Regional Association is holding its meeting this year at the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, from April 6th to 13th. The fee for the course is 10s. 6d., and application should be made to the Secretary, Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, or to Mrs. Fraser Davies, Regional Association, 65 Belgrave Road, London. The London Survey Committee, which concerns itself with publication, is by

arrangement with the London County Council about to issue a complete record of Chelsea Old Church, being Part 3 of its *Parish of Chelsea* and Vol. VII. of its *Survey of London*. Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. Percy W. Lovell, 27 Abingdon Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

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From South Africa we hear of the formation of the Van Riebeeck Society for the publication of South African historical documents. The President is the Right Hon. J. F. X. Merriman, M.A., LL.D., and communications should be addressed to the Hon. Sec. at the South African Public Library, Cape Town. Mr. C. Graham Botha, who is in charge of the Cape Archives, also sends us a copy of his admirable *Guide to the Various Classes of Documents* in the archives for the period 1652-1806. There is a good deal of general information in it about Cape institutions, and it is indispensable to advanced students of South African history; incidentally it is a warning against attempting to write South African history without recourse to its sources.

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We are also glad to welcome *The Canadian Historical Review*, the first number of which appeared in March. The editor is Professor W. S. Wallace, and he has among his colleagues on the Editorial Board Professors W. L. Grant and George M. Wrong. The *Review* continues the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* which started in 1896.

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Lastly, we have to call attention to the appointment by the Senate of the University of London of an influential committee to appeal for funds to establish a School of Historical Research in close proximity to the British Museum. The school is, we understand, designed to be a University institution for research common to the various colleges of the University, and making some provision for the guidance of External post-graduate students. One of its principal functions will be to meet the needs of students from American and other overseas universities who come to pursue their researches in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other archives in London. The teaching will all be given in seminars or by means of private conference, public and other lectures being delivered as heretofore at the different colleges. The potentialities of a School of Research in the capital of the Empire can hardly be exaggerated, but they obviously depend for realisation upon the response with which the projected appeal is met.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—In one of your earlier numbers (Vol. II., No. 7) you published an historical revision explaining some of the more modern views in regard to Magna Carta. In this the author, Prof. Pollard, translates the exceedingly interesting clause 39: "That no free man should be arrested . . . except by the lawful doom of his equals or by the custom of the country." The doom of his equals (*judicium parium*) he explains as the new system of recognition, while the custom of the country refers to trial by ordeal or by combat.

It should, I think, be pointed out that there is another interpretation which has a very great deal to recommend it. The "*judicium parium*" was no new thing; it meant simply judgment by the ordinary feudal court, where a man's fellow-tenants of similar status to himself (i.e., free or unfree) were his peers; for a magnate this court was the feudal Council of the King. Here there would be no question of "recognition," which was essentially an extra-feudal procedure. In the other case, where the term "*judicium parium*" is used in Magna Carta (especially in cl. 59) there can, I think, be little doubt that this is the true interpretation.

In other respects Prof. Pollard's translation is also open to some criticism. It is inconsistent with itself, for by the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton the criminal recognition (better termed presentment) must lead to the ordeal; there is therefore no alternative between recognition and ordeal, and the disjunctive "or" on which Prof. Pollard insists cannot be upheld. As both McKechnie and Adams point out, there is practically no doubt that the proper translation of "*vel*" here is "and."

Finally, while "*per legem terrae*" may mean ordeal, combat, or compurgation, it is just as likely to imply "the law of the land" in a less technical and more general way.

These may seem rather detailed criticisms, but a just translation of this clause, so often misinterpreted in the older text-books, is really of vital importance in bringing before the history teacher the real feudal nature of Magna Carta.

The whole question is ably discussed in W. S. McKechnie's *Magna Carta* (last edition—1914—is best), pp. 375-395, and G. B. Adams's *The Origin of the English Constitution*, pp. 242-44, 262-74, the latter an American work, an adequate use of which in this country insular prejudice has possibly hitherto somewhat forbidden.

• A.

[There are, of course, many interpretations of almost every article in Magna Carta, and it would have been easy to fill a whole number of HISTORY with the various explanations of § 39 alone. "*Vel*" itself has been the subject of endless pages in print and arguments in the Courts. It is, like "or," always disjunctive in the sense of

meaning a difference, but the difference may be merely one of words, and not of things. We may say that North Britons are Scottish or Scotch, and that people drink Scotch or Irish whisky. In one case it is a difference of words, in the other of things. The question in M.C.39 is whether "*judicium parium*" and "*lex terrae*" are merely two phrases for the same thing, or two things. It does not help us much whether we talk about the disjunctive or the conjunctive meaning of "*vel*," because even when we talk of England and Scotland we do not mean that England is the same as Scotland; and "*judicium parium*" and "*lex terrae*" are certainly not identical and co-extensive with one another. For one thing, the clause is aimed at a variety of proceedings—possibly at every kind of penal process—by the Crown. Some of these might be safeguarded "*per judicium parium*," but no one could maintain that this was the only method of proceeding even against the magnates. Therefore an alternative is provided in the vaguer "*per legem terrae*."

We have thus two things, and not merely two phrases. But neither of them is capable of precise definition. "*Judicium parium*" was, it is true, an old phrase, but new meanings were ever being poured into it. The "*Unusquisque per pares suos judicandus est*" of the "*Leges Henrici Primi*" is made more specific by the reforms of Henry II., and Bracton can speak of the "*judicium*" of jurors who were certainly "*pares*" and certainly made "*recognitions*."¹ There might, indeed, be "*no question of recognition*" in the "*judicium parium*" of M.C.39, if the latter could be confined to the magnates; but no one, I think, except Prof. Adams maintains that extreme view. And if magnates could only, by M.C.39, be disseised "*per judicium parium*," and if "*judicium parium*" excludes "*recognition*," how comes it that M.C. 18 and 19 specifically provide for "*recognitions*" of novel disseisin? Nor does the provision of the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton that recognised criminals must go to the ordeal destroy the distinction between the two; the fact that one thing follows another does not make them the same. Henry II. modified the ordeal by "*recognition*," and in time the ordeal disappeared. But the "*Leges Henrici Primi*" had said that no one was to be convicted of a capital crime by testimony; the ordeal and combat remained as alternative or supplementary to "*recognition*" by the custom of the country; in 1205 the barons debated whether William Marshal's case should be settled by the duel (i.e., the "*lex*"), or the judgment of his peers.

"*Lex terrae*" is more indefinite even than "*judicium parium*," and the custom of the country varied for different classes and in different localities. But it certainly included compurgation and combat, and to "*wage one's law*" means throughout the Middle Ages compurgation. It is the "*lex*" which the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton² supplement, but do not supersede, and to at least nine people out of ten, combat, ordeal, or compurgation was the "*lex*" of M.C. 39. It is just conceivable that the barons meant to include "*judicium parium*" in "*lex terrae*"; they cannot have thought of including the whole "*lex terrae*" in "*judicium*"

¹ Cf. Vinogradoff in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, p. 91:—"The knights in question are selected to satisfy the requirements as to *judicium parium*, and at the same time they are a jury."

² Stubbs, *Charters*, pp. 144-5:—"Qui facient legem suam et mundi erunt per legem," are none the less to be outlawed by the testimony of their neighbours.

parium"; and the broad distinction between the two, expressed in M.C. 39, comes, I think, to this: there was to be no proceeding against free men save by the accustomed methods, and if any new methods were to be adopted they must depend upon "judicium parium."¹—A. F. P.]

SIR,—With regard to school historical societies, I have found that, in order to keep the size of the society in a girls' school within working limits, it has been necessary to impose some kind of bi-annual test on the members. This generally takes the form of a story or a play to illustrate a given historical period, or sometimes—in order to encourage those who are more artistic than literary—of drawings illustrative of architecture, dress, or armour.

The society meets twice a term, when one or more members give specimens of original historical work, or read papers on any subject of historical interest. The most popular of recent lectures has been that on ancient Egypt, which was illustrated on blackboards by specimens of Egyptian art. Every year the society acts an original historical play. Last summer the members wrote a series of plays which together formed a pageant of old Cirencester, and was most effective on the stage. Expeditions are arranged to places of local interest whenever possible, and as the Cotswold country abounds in old churches and monastic remains the girls are able to study architecture at first hand.

IRENE M. GAMBLE.

SIR,—Last year you published an excellent article on the evil of examinations, the conclusion of which was that the way to mitigate that evil was to diminish the amount of memory work required. Now I wish to suggest that a marked copy of that article should be sent to the N. Univ. Joint Matriculation Board. Their syllabus in history—a compulsory subject for matriculation—for 1920 is (1) English history to 1603. (2) Ditto from 1603. (3) European history, 1815-71. Two of the three must be taken, and the syllabus is already too long. Nevertheless, after publishing their Calendar, the authorities had a brilliant afterthought, and sent a circular to schools announcing that the third subject for 1921 would be: European history from 1756 to 1914. Now, I am particularly keen on European history, but the fact that the amount of memory work required therein is to be doubled or trebled makes me pause and ask myself whether it is worth while for a secondary teacher to continue to try to teach "his pupils to read history because they are interested in it," or, in other words, to try to achieve something "permanent." Again, I ask whether I am justified in encouraging my pupils to read books which will interest them in the past, but will not help them to satisfy the examiners. The examiners seem to be asking us to cram our pupils; the parents want their children to pass the examination. Are we justified in risking failure in matriculation in the hope of achieving something "permanent"? I will not write more in criticism of what I consider one of the worst of all possible exam-

¹ Students who wish to pursue the matter further should read not only McKechnie and Adams, but Pollock and Maitland, Vernon-Harcourt's *His Grace the Steward and Trial by Peers*, and the *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, 1917. Insular prejudice has not, I think, militated against Prof. Adams' work any more than against that of Prof. McIlwain and Prof. Baldwin.

inations. I will merely say that the fact that we can suggest our own syllabuses is no answer to my contention. What is to happen to the candidate who for some reason fails to pass at school and wishes to enter for the matriculation examination again in September? Apparently he would have to offer the Board's own syllabus.

Yours truly,

1846.

[There is nothing to prevent "1846" from sending marked copies of HISTORY to all the members of the Northern Universities' Joint Matriculation Board. We would only point out that the amount of memory work required depends upon the nature of the examination papers, and not upon the length or number of the periods set. It is as easy to demand an excessive number of facts and dates in a paper covering half a century as in one covering a thousand years.—ED.]

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

XIII.—THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

THE cult of the centenary has perhaps been overdone, but all teachers of history are grateful that the celebrations of the six hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bannockburn resulted in two re-studies of the incidents of that memorable encounter which compelled us to revise our whole conceptions of the tactics of the fight and to place its site in a new locality. Our chief debt of gratitude is to Mr. W. M. Mackenzie, then a schoolmaster in Glasgow, who, after several years devoted to the examination of the battle, published in 1913 his *Battle of Bannockburn*, which from the first convinced many of his readers that his radical reconstruction of the fight was on right lines. Further conviction came when in 1914 Dr. J. E. Morris, of Bedford, whose long services as treasurer to the Historical Association are familiar to all readers of HISTORY, published his "Centenary Monograph" of Bannockburn, in which he supported Mr. Mackenzie's thesis by a careful study of the whole campaign and by putting together with admirable clearness the chief passages of the chronicles relevant to the subject. Written from a southern standpoint rather than from the Scottish point of view of his predecessor, Dr. Morris corroborated in all essentials the position laid down by Mr. Mackenzie. It is to these two gentlemen that we owe the fact that there is a need for the teacher to revise his estimate of Bannockburn. And the teacher will do it the more readily since our new information has been furnished by two hard-working schoolmasters. School teachers have sometimes been reproached for making few contributions to historical learning. The example of these two scholars shows that the charge must itself be revised.

Unluckily the centenary celebrations of June, 1914, were followed hard upon by the outbreak of the great war. For four years and

more Scots and English had something more practical to do than to fight their ancient battles over again. The result has been that not quite enough attention perhaps has been drawn to the reconstitution of the history of the battle by Mr. Mackenzie and Dr. Morris. In particular the majority of text-books continue to tell the story of the fight on the ancient lines. Now it is one thing to suggest a new point of view; it is another thing to feel so convinced of its truth that one feels impelled to adopt a new view in a text-book, which, being compelled to teach categorically, does not allow for the qualifications and reservations which we expect to find in a book addressed to scholars. But the new view of Bannockburn, as expressed by Mr. Mackenzie and Dr. Morris, has now been before the world for more than seven years. Its validity has never to my knowledge been seriously contested, and consideration of it has certainly strengthened its claim to our acceptance. I for one am convinced that the time has come when it ought to be taught in every school where the history of this great turning point of military and political history is studied. I make no claim to have added anything to what these two writers have advanced. But I can claim that visiting the traditional field, so far back as 1909, I went away troubled that the ground was such that no cavalry action on a large scale was possible upon it. But other matters drove the thing out of my head, and I regret that subsequently I perpetrated more than one restatement of the old story. However, as early as 1913, I proclaimed my conviction that Mr. Mackenzie was working on right lines. After waiting in vain all these years for any serious attempt to restate the ancient view, I have, in recent revisions of my school books, retold the story on the lines of Mr. Mackenzie and Dr. Morris. I write now, not so much to justify my adopting their version for school use, as to call the attention of teachers to the importance of the revision made by these two scholars, and my strong belief that the new version is as near the truth as the details of any mediæval battle can well be expected to be.

Two questions now suggest themselves. There is first the problem of the site of the battle; there is secondly the problem of the tactics employed. When the first is settled, the second becomes an easy matter.

The circumstances under which Bannockburn was fought are well known. An English army, pledged to relieve the siege of Stirling by St. John's Day, was so unready for its work that it was not until June 23rd, St. John's eve, that it reached the south bank of the little stream called the Bannock, some three miles south of Stirling. Robert Bruce had gathered a large force of Scots to resist its advance; had massed them under cover of the woods that then clothed the uplands, at the foot of which the road from the south makes its way over the Bannock towards Stirling. He had prepared the north bank of the stream with some sort of rude fortifications, including perhaps rows of pits covered with hurdles, which would give way before the rush of the English horse. But his chief defence was the rough and difficult nature of the ground, which was one almost impossible for the effective execution of the charge of mailed horsemen, on which the English still placed their main reliance. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the English plunged through the brook, evaded its bogs, and swarmed up the steep banks beyond. It was natural that they fell into confusion and that the Scots gained an easy victory.

There is absolutely no ancient authority for locating the battle on this site. Those who do so follow what is regarded as ancient tradition, a tradition which has given fancy names to various spots and imagined that the battle was waged round them. But this so-called tradition only goes back to the eighteenth century, and is not so much real local tradition as the imagination of patriotic antiquaries. Edward II. was a wretched general, but he was not foolish enough to fall into such a trap as that. Instead of rushing blindly at a strong defensive position, it looks as if, despairing of the success of a frontal attack, he sent some of his troops over the Bannock some mile or so lower down, at a place where the stream has quitted the upland, and begins to wind through the low-lying and water-logged *carse*. His motive was to outflank the Scots, and to raise the siege of Stirling by establishing communication with the beleaguered garrison. He succeeded in the latter task, for we have a considerable chain of testimony that he joined hands with the castle garrison. He was less successful in the former, for in two small actions fought on June 23rd the Scots gained decided success over small detachments of his troops. But he seems, despite this check, to have brought all his troops over the Bannock. Not only Barbour, who wrote nearly two generations later, but Grey, the author of the *Scalacronica*, whose father fought in the battle, agree that the English crossed the stream and spent the night to the north of it on the *carse*. In effecting this manœuvre, however, Edward put his troops in a position of great danger. They held the triangle whose two long sides were the lines of the Forth and Bannock, and whose base was the wooded upland where lay the Scots under ample cover and safe protection. Defeat in such a position was likely to involve the loss of the army; and only the proud conviction of the English that their horsemen were sure to ride down any attack of Scottish footmen justified such a rash action. But the English were exhausted by a long march, discouraged by two partial defeats, destitute of competent direction, and worn out by the fatigue of taking up their new position. They spent a wretched night on the waterlogged *carse*; they feared an attack of the Scots; and the sun of a midsummer morning shone on a dispirited and timid host.

Bruce now took a bold resolution. Instead of retreating westward into the Highland hills, he resolved to march out of his strong position and approach the English so closely as to compel them to fight where they were encamped. It was an unheard-of thing for infantry to provoke cavalry to battle, but Bruce's soldiers were not mere lightly armed infantry, like the Welsh and Irish pikemen, but, like the Flemish soldiers of Courtrai, were well disciplined, armed, and equipped, and eager to win a victory for the national cause. Technically, they were *armati*, as the Monk of Malmesbury calls them, if not *homines armorum*. That is to say, if not so expensively equipped or heavily armed as the ordinary English trooper, they were men competent to take their place in the fighting line, and when massed in close formation able to resist cavalry. And it was no secret to a good soldier that dismounted men at arms could hold their own in close formation against the fierce rush of the disorderly charge of feudal cavalry. Mr. Mackenzie thinks that the Scots on foot actually charged the English horse. This is neither a necessary nor a probable hypothesis. They had done enough when

they came so near as to force the English to make an attack upon them. Accordingly, as the Scots approached the English camp, the English mounted their horses and prepared to meet their foes. But their leaders were quarrelling for precedence; they had no real general at their head; they ignored the lesson of Edward I.'s later battles that the Scottish squares or *schiltrons* could only be broken through by flights of missiles; they rushed against the Scots as if charging a thick wood; they failed to penetrate their ranks, and were soon thrown into confusion.

Then the fatal choice of the field came home to the vanquished. To the north the Forth barred their retreat; to the south the Bannock was a less formidable, but still a dangerous obstacle. Many were drowned in the river; more were captured and held up to ransom. Some, including Edward himself, sought protection from Stirling Castle, but the constable, aware that he was pledged to surrender, and unwilling that his King should share his fate, refused to admit him. As the result of this rebuff, Edward was forced to make his way from the field by circuitous routes. The whole army was dissolved, and not only Stirling, but Scotland, was Bruce's reward of victory.

Such is the story of Bannockburn as it may be pieced out of the best English chronicles, notably, *Scalacronica*, the north-country *Annals of Lanercost*, and the so-called Monk of Malmesbury. Barbour, though not quite so good an authority for details as Mr. Mackenzie is inclined to think, substantially corroborates their story, notably in locating the battle in the *carse*. When this site is once admitted, the rest is easy. We simply have to adjust the story as usually told to the true *terrain* on which the battle was fought. But what was unintelligible on the banks of the upper Bannock becomes easy when told of the new site. Nor need the alleged swampy character of the ground disturb us. If ever the *carse* were dry enough for fighting, it would be so at midsummer.

The new story of Bannockburn does not do much to alter the impression of the incompetence of the English army, which comes out in any version of the battle. This was, on every showing, so patent that there is no question of national prejudice, no rival English and Scottish versions of the great fight. But the narrative, as now read in the light of both English and Scottish sources, does immensely emphasise the skill of Bruce as a general. It is the essence of a good commander to know when to run risks. Bruce knew when to venture everything, and had his reward in the monarchy of an independent Scotland.

T. F. Tout

REVIEWS

The Care of Documents and Management of Archives. By CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A. (Helps for Students of History, No. 5.) 1919. Pp. 47. 6d.

THE number of keepers of archives in this country, if we give to the term the wide sense properly assigned to it by Mr. Johnson, must run well into the hundreds of thousands, and most of them are archivists, as M. Jourdain spoke prose, without knowing it. The purpose of this excellent little book is to call their attention to the fact, and to teach them to earn the blessings, in place of the maledictions, of historians present and future, as well as to save themselves and their immediate employers not a little trouble. Every parish clerk, every secretary to any sort of a board, every keeper of any sort of a register, may be said to have some kind of public duty, about which he may learn something from this book, the work of an expert in the treatment of the same problems on a larger scale. Nor is it to public functionaries only that it speaks. Every agent or trustee, everyone who inherits or owns the papers of a private person whose thoughts or actions are of any interest to the general public, or to his own family, has responsibilities which he may learn how to meet. Naturally, all this cannot be dealt with in detail in a booklet that can be read in an hour, but any of them may get from it useful details of general application, as well as what is more important—the power to think on right lines about the solution of his problems. Full detail, of course, he cannot expect, and but few of those to whose attention we desire to commend this book will be able to apply some of Mr. Johnson's advice on such subjects as housing and the supervision of the issue of documents without modification, with a view to reducing expense. Greatly as things have improved in the last generation, the time is yet distant before the crying scandal of inadequate provision of funds for the custody of our ecclesiastical archives can be said to be at an end, and cathedral librarians will not find much satisfaction in knowing that they ought to be spending thousands where they have only scores of pounds to spend. Nevertheless, it is all to the good that they should know it. Possibly, too, there will be some among private owners and public custodians who are not archivists pure and simple, who may be justified in thinking that even the great principle of *respect des fonds*, which rightly stands in the forefront of Mr. Johnson's exposition, may have some slight limitations in its application to their own problems. Scientifically regarded, a pearl ought perhaps to be kept with the oyster that produced it, but this does not exclude its use for making necklaces. But let no one make

such a decision lightly and without regard to what the scientific archivist has to say on the subject.

In the sections on packing, cleaning and repairing, etc., Mr. Johnson is a safe guide in detail, though we think that something more might be said in his note on reagents. In the case of those vellum documents in which the question of beauty of appearance has to be considered, as well as mere legibility, the temporary restoration by ammonium sulphide, which leaves little or no permanent stain, is much preferable to gallic acid; but our experience does not make us unreservedly recommend it for paper, on which we find it less effective, and on which it generally leaves more or less of a permanent darkening. Ammonium sulphide must be kept tightly closed and in the dark, and the brush should be washed after use. If applied at all copiously it should be well blotted off. The section on descriptions, inventories and calendars suffers necessarily from lack of space, but is excellent as far as it goes. On the qualifications of the archivist and the renunciations demanded by his calling, Mr. Johnson has that to say which may send some young men away sorrowful, but the truth of which will be best recognised by those who have earned the right to speak on the subject. J. P. GILSON.

The Pilgrimage of Etheria. Edited by M. L. McCLURE and C. I. FELTOE. (Translations of Christian Literature; Series III. Liturgical Texts.) S.P.C.K. 6s.

THIS addition to the literature of early Christian travel and worship has, within little more than thirty years of its discovery, received in this volume the honour of being translated for a second time into English, and on this occasion of being issued in a cheap form, attractive to the general reader, and well elucidated by a careful and elaborate introduction. The translation, mainly the work of the late Mrs. McClure, and her brother, partially appeared fifteen years ago in her English translation of Mgr. Duchesne's treatise on the origins of Christian worship. The whole had long been set up in type when Mrs. McClure's death made it necessary for other hands to supply the introduction. Dr. Feltoe, editor of the series, undertook the always difficult task of finishing someone else's book. Criticism, under such conditions, should not be too austere, but fortunately there is no need for any special measure of indulgence. We owe to Dr. Feltoe a scholarly and abundant introduction, which greatly increases the intelligibility of an interesting and characteristic text. The editor is both discreet and cautious, as when, for instance, he throws out a word of warning as to the fragility of the evidence on which the date and authorship of the tractate are based. Dr. Feltoe accepts, however, as its date the end of the fourth century, and the attribution of the authorship to Egeria the abbess. Unluckily he withholds from his readers the opportunity of forming an opinion of their own on the matter, since he does not print the relevant part of the letter of Valerius on which this view is based. A facsimile of a portion of the manuscript of Valerius does not quite compensate for the absence of the continuous text of it. But the editor is rightly sceptical as to such fine-drawn arguments as those that the fact that the Latin does (or does not) contain traces

of the "Spanish dialect" proves or disproves Etheria's Iberian origin, and that a reference to the Rhône shows that she came from south-eastern Gaul!

Turning to the text, one is struck by the pleasing and interesting personality of the writer, at the naïve exhibitions of the mentality of the early pilgrim and at the completeness and precision of the knowledge of the monastic and clerical guides of the abbess pilgrim as to the exact location of each of the sacred places from the burning bush of Moses onwards. The book has largely excited the attention of readers by reason of its fresh liturgical material. It contains much that throws real light on the topography of Jerusalem and Sinai, interesting glimpses of the state of Syria and Egypt under Roman rule, and the fluctuations of the imperial frontier beyond the Euphrates. One important passage has a far wider interest than its liturgical value. It shows that while Greek was the language of worship in the churches grouped round the Holy Sepulchre, the Greek utterances of the bishop were always translated into Syriac, and that, when necessary, "all things" were also translated into Latin for the benefit of the western worshippers. T. F. Tout.

The Collected Historical Works of Sir Francis Palgrave. Edited by his son, Sir R. H. INGLIS PALGRAVE, F.R.S. Vols. I and II. The History of Normandy and England. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1919. 30s. each.

SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE will always deserve the respect of those whose studies demand the employment of English historical records. No one before him had done more to make accessible the unrivalled stores of historical material in official custody in this country. His place among those who founded the modern study of Early English history is equally secure. His works are not often read, but they played in their time a considerable part in creating a sense of the importance of early medieval history and of the complexity of the problems which it presents. The present volumes are the first instalment of a complete edition of his works. The editor has declined the attempt to modify the text in accordance with the results of recent investigation. He has presented Sir Francis' work as it was written, but has supplemented it by an apparatus of maps and genealogical tables and by a series of editorial notes explaining allusions in the text. These additions are not likely materially to increase the number of Sir Francis Palgrave's readers. The great defects of his style, extreme verbosity and allusiveness of expression, go far to conceal his real learning and independence of thought. The popular taste for long narrative histories is not likely to return in this generation, and the student who wishes to investigate some part of the great field covered by Sir Francis Palgrave will not seek guidance in a work written in the middle of the nineteenth century. But the present edition is a worthy monument to the enthusiastic industry and acute mind of one of the founders of medieval studies in England.

F. M. STENTON.

The Reign of Henry V. By JAMES HAMILTON WYLIE. Vol. I, pp. viii+589, 1914, and Vol. II, pp. viii+507, 1919. Cambridge Univ. Press. 25s. each.

THE death of a scholar like Dr. J. H. Wylie must always be a

grave loss to the cause of historical study, but it was with singular malice that fate cut short his work just as, after devoting a volume to the events leading up to Henry V.'s great adventure, he was about to put the finishing touches to his story of the Agincourt campaign. He had corrected the proof-sheets of less than one-fifth of his second volume, and the remainder, which he left in manuscript, had apparently undergone but little revision. To see all this material through the press was no light task, and our admiring gratitude is due to the members of Dr. Wylie's family whose devotion and care have made possible the publication of his chapters on Agincourt and the events of the ensuing year. It is to be hoped that still more of what Dr. Wylie had written will somehow be made accessible to students. The speedy publication of his list of authorities is particularly desirable, for without it many of his foot-notes must be unintelligible to all save a few specialists in fifteenth-century literature. And Dr. Wylie's foot-notes are invaluable sign-posts to all who attempt research on the later Middle Ages.

In their principal merits and weaknesses the two volumes resemble the author's book on the reign of Henry IV. It is an improvement that obsolete words and phrases are less lavishly used. On the other hand, Dr. Wylie's fondness for digression is more conspicuous than ever. Thus, a Parliamentary petition about abuses in hospitals lures him into a long chapter on medieval hospitals in general. What he tells us is most interesting and valuable, but no one would naturally think of looking for it in a book on Henry V. The same may be said of the monographs on John, Duke of Berry, and the Manor of Great Waltham. The former is a veritable museum, full of curious information on all manner of subjects, from the bones of St. Denis to the diseases of medieval dogs.

Dr. Wylie very properly devoted a large amount of attention to French history; and though in this field he discovered few facts that were not known before, he gives by far the best review that has appeared in English of the events in France which contributed so greatly to Henry's military triumphs. Dr. Wylie, indeed, ascribes little of Henry's early success to his ability or merit, regarding him as an ambitious and untruthful, but rather dull young man. He is disposed to credit the stories of Henry's youthful wildness and sudden reformation, but there his agreement with tradition ceases, and he represents the king as a thorough Prussian, bent on war from the outset of his reign, but trying to impose on the French and his own subjects by ceremonious negotiations and fine appeals to justice and God. And even when he has Henry in the field, he does not exhibit him as in any sense a hero. At the siege of Harfleur, he writes, "in contrast to the miseries endured by the attacking force in the swamps around the walls, the king himself abated nothing of the splendours and comforts of his court on the hill of Gravelle, where the royal household was installed beyond the reach of danger." The march from Harfleur towards Calais is called "the most foolhardy and reckless adventure that ever an unreasoning pietist devised." Even at Agincourt Dr. Wylie will not allow Henry to shine; he tried to avoid battle on humiliating terms, and while he afterwards showed a resolute spirit and fought bravely, he owed his success, not to his tactical skill, but to the prowess of his troops and the incompetence of the French.

Though one welcomes the opinion of an author who has so thoroughly exhausted the evidence, disparagement of Henry is, of course, nothing new. Indeed, considering how much more widely than any of his predecessors Dr. Wylie has thrown the net of research, it is surprising how little these two volumes have enriched our knowledge. Dr. Wylie says nothing very notable about original sources, though perhaps he intended to discuss them at length in an appendix. It is useful, however, to have his confirmation of the view that the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* was written by Thomas Elmham. As regards Oldcastle and the Lollard plot of 1414, he adds nothing of great moment to the accounts of recent writers, and commits himself to no opinion as to the objects of the abortive rising. He is more interesting on the alien priories, disposing finally of the already discredited view that Henry "suppressed" them, and showing that the king was even suspected of an intention to restore to their old status those already secularised. Regarding the conspiracy of Cambridge and Scrope, while relying on evidence that has long been well known, he reaches unexpected conclusions. Cambridge and Gray he makes the villains of the piece; the Earl of March, he thinks, for some time countenanced their designs, but lost his nerve at the last moment; while Scrope, luke-warm from the first, had his religious scruples aroused on learning that his fellow-plotters were treating with Oldcastle, urged them to abandon the whole project, and believed, though wrongly, that his arguments had prevailed. The story is clearly and vividly told, but is not very convincing.

It is in his account of the battle of Agincourt that Dr. Wylie differs most widely from other modern historians. His meaning is not always plain, and his narrative not always self-consistent—defects due, no doubt, to lack of revision—but his conception of the main course of events is clear enough. He places the battlefield much further south than other authoritative writers. He thinks that the English force was drawn up a little to the north of Maisoncelles, that the dismounted men-at-arms were "in one unbroken line, four deep," with two wings thrown out "to right and left in echelon," and that "spanning [the] whole front and circling it from flank to flank like a crown were placed the archers, clumped in triangular wedges." The French array, according to Dr. Wylie, had a front of two miles, and presumably stretched a long way on each side of the entrance to the gap between the woods of Agincourt and Tramecourt. It follows from this view of the disposition of the two armies that the account of the fighting departs at many points from the generally accepted story. There is a long discussion of the slaughter of the prisoners, which, it appears, was a much more deliberate and prolonged affair than has usually been supposed. Dr. Wylie's interpretation of the authorities on the battle merits careful consideration, but it is not likely to meet with general acceptance.

When he comes to the events of 1416, Dr. Wylie brings out with unprecedented clearness the magnitude and importance of the great sea-fight "against the carracks" in the Seine estuary. He is not able, however, to shed new light on the tactics of either side. His chapter on the navy suffers through want of revision, but destroys Henry's reputation as a naval reformer: "he did nothing more than continue the system that had long prevailed."

Dr. Wylie's volumes are monuments of his amazing enthusiasm

industry, and learning. But they leave the impression that even such thorough research as his, whatever it may teach us of the growth of England's legislative and administrative institutions, will seldom add much to what we already know of her political history.

W. T. WAUGH.

Registers of Thomas Spofford, Richard Beauchamp, John Stanbury and Thomas Myllyng, bishops of Hereford from 1422 to 1492.

Ed. Canon A. T. Bannister. (Joint publications of the Cantilupe Society and the Canterbury and York Society, 1917-1919.)

Registers of John le Romeyn and Henry of Newark, Archbishops of York, 1286-1299. Ed. W. Brown. (Surtees Society, 1913 and 1917.)

Visitations of Religious Houses, 1436-1449. Ed. A. H. Thompson. (Lincoln Record Society and Canterbury and York Society. 1918.)

The Liber Albus. Ed. Canon Wilson. (Worcester Record Society. 1919.)

SOME day we shall doubtless have a great co-operative Social History of England answering to the present political histories; meanwhile, however, there is much work to be done in digesting documents of the class here chosen for review. Few students seem to realise, as yet, how much may be worked out even statistically, within certain fairly clear limits of error. Canon Wilson rightly warns us against treating his Worcester letter-book as an exhaustive record; yet even from this volume we may get some valuable statistical results; the granting of corrodies, for instance, and the appropriation of parish churches may have gone on to a still greater extent than the book indicates; yet even this minimum record (if minimum we must call it) is significant enough, when we come to count the cases up.

Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson's new volume of "visitations" needs no commendation to those who have read the first. We should have to go a long way back to find any equally well edited medieval record within the four seas; and this volume will bear comparison with the best work of its kind done on the Continent, where medieval scholars are professionally trained before they edit important documents. We have here a most accurate text and an excellent translation, with notes and an introduction revealing an amount of patient research which can be estimated only by those who have attempted some similar task. It would be useless here to single out special points of interest; he who runs may read; and no reader can peruse this volume without forming for himself a truer picture of actual monastic life than can be found in monastic handbooks. Canon Wilson's *Liber Albus* is the first instalment of an extraordinarily interesting letter-book kept by the priors of Worcester from 1301 to the middle of the 15th Century. The present volume runs from 1301 to 1339, and contains an abstract of 1286 separate documents, with a detailed introduction. Valuable as this introduction is in itself, there is no less value in the example which Canon Wilson has set to other scholars. After so many earlier activities, he began exploring this fresh field in his 81st year, and has already done work which will

earn the permanent gratitude of students. While his introduction supplies the general reader with a series of very instructive peeps into a 14th Century monastery, the abstracts indicate clearly to the student what he may expect to find upon further research.

Mr. William Brown has given us, within recent years, two more volumes of his admirable York registers. Here, again, few but technical students will realise what patient research, and how long and intimate a knowledge of this medieval diocese, have gone to the writing of a single footnote. From these volumes, and from the valuable Hereford registers, it will be worth while compiling here a rough hand-list of memorabilia for the use of students who may wish to form an idea of their contents, yet who are not in a position to read the whole volumes at leisure.

The Hereford registers throw a strong light upon contemporary Lollardy, and justify the suspicion more than once expressed a few years ago, that heresy was not driven so completely underground as Dr. Gairdner had assumed. They show at the same time how steady were the efforts to drive it underground, and how strong a suspicion of heresy attached to the possession not only of all English Bibles whatsoever, but practically all religious books in the vernacular. This last point is being clearly brought out by Miss M. Deanesly in her book on the Lollard Bible, which is now in the Press. The English summaries at the head of the documents permit the reader to follow this subject consecutively during the seventy years covered by these registers. For general subjects, Spofford's is by far the most interesting of this series. He shows us the multiplication of indulgences, the steady appropriation of parish churches (pp. 23, 49, 50, 56, 65; in the last case, the vicar was compelled by the monks of Wigmore to bind himself under a money fine, on presentation, that he would not proceed against them for the augmentation of his benefice). Absentee clergy were frequent (as also in Myllyng's time); a document on p. 124 throws an unfavourable light on the rule of celibacy; with this may be compared pp. 285-6. Indications of the troubles and general discontent of the time may be found on pp. 130, 140-1, 178, 181 (cf. Myllyng, p. 68). There is a most interesting school foundation-deed on pp. 231 ff. (cf. Stansbury, p. 21); and many other matters of historical interest are singled out, with full references, in the editor's introduction. The next most interesting register of this series is Myllyng's, which should be read in conjunction with Spofford's. There is a very curious case on pp. 35-6 (A.D. 1477), where two sinners out of a large batch plead that they are whitewashed "in virtue of that *maxima indulgentia* now obtained through the abbot of Abingdon." On pp. 15, 43, etc., there are unusually full accounts of proceedings in compurgation; p. 40 shows scandalous neglect of church fabrics; p. 102 throws light on the rigours of prison; and on p. 67 we find a Greek noble licensed to beg round the diocese (A.D. 1481). There is an interesting Chaucer illustration on p. 86, where the abbot of Gloucester gets papal licence to wear a cape of gris; for so, I think, we must understand *almuciis grisiis* in the light of visitatorial documents, though the editor translates it "grey hoods."

The York registers are, if possible, still more interesting. The philologist will find very significant spellings of place-names, for example, *Thurnum* for Thornholm, *Wilaby* for Willoughby, etc. On p. 51 of

Vol. I, and frequently afterwards, we find a significant explanation, which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere, of the visitation notice to be sent in the case of a monastery which lies under suspicion. P. 322, note 2, records an interesting case of a dean and chapter defending their claim to an advowson by wager of battle. Document No. 48 records a papal command to preach publicly against the Jews as a perilous folk; No. 94 implies some progress made in England by those religious tramps whom Salimbene stigmatises as a "synagogue of Satan"; No. 108 illustrates the precautions taken with the clergy of enemy countries resident among us; in No. 752 a priest purges himself of the accusation of having broken the spine of a boy whom he chastised; in 762 is an interesting case illustrating the relation of alien priories to the mother houses in France. In No. 1,240 a clerical innkeeper is defamed of homicide; 1,315 is one of those curious letters testimonial by which men who had lost an ear by accident guarded themselves against injurious suspicions. In Newark's register, Nos. 143, 146, 147 show us a luckless apparitor compelled to eat his own writ, at any rate to the extent of "violently impressing his teeth upon our seal appended to the writ aforesaid," for which a guilty lady had to do public penance; compare Nos. 150, 246-7, 254. In No. 256 we find a churchyard used for archery practice "and for the exercise of other games." No. 308 shows us the nave of York Minster actually collapsing in the last years of the 13th Century; in 333 we find how seriously a man might suffer for telling the truth at a monastic visitation. Many other entries of interest are singled out by the editor himself in his introductions.

G. G. COULTON.

The Political Works of James I. Reprinted from the edition of 1616, with an introduction by PROFESSOR C. H. McILWAIN. Harvard University Press (Milford). 1918. \$4.

THIS is the first volume of the series of Harvard Political Classics, and an excellent model for the editors of future volumes. In a long and valuable introduction Professor McIlwain admirably defines the true test which should determine the selection of political classics: "not merely the subsequent fame of a book, nor even its currency among the literature of the time, but rather its effect upon the minds and actions of the men then most active in political life and thought. It must start, or stem, or divert the current of political thought and action. . . . The history of political theory is not the history of a few isolated political classics; it is the study of a stream of influence which has flowed down from ages" (p. xx).

The introduction is not a mere analysis of the views James expresses in his works. It undertakes to set them in their connection with the life of England and the general current of European thought. The *Basiliſikon Doron* is amusing, and the maxims which James instils into his heir have a certain resemblance to the advice of Polonius to his son. "Be moderate in your raiment, neither over-superfluous, like a deboshed waster, nor yet over-base, like a miserable wretch." . . . "In the form of your meat-eating, be neither uncivill, like a grosse Cynicke; nor affectatlie mignarde, like a dainty dame" (pp. 44, 45). Read authentic histories and the chronicles of

all nations, but don't read the infamous invectives of Buchanan and Knox, and punish people who keep or read their books (p. 40).

Of more importance, if less amusing, is the "Trew Law of Free Monarchies," written five years before James became King of England. His theory of divine right appears full-blown in it, and it is not only the first, but the most comprehensive of all his writings. "This and other expressions of his political views have not been sufficiently emphasised in accounting for the events of his reign and after it. From the opinions there stated no new situations or conditions could ever shake him, and this must be considered one of the fundamental causes of the constitutional revolution of the next three-quarters of a century" (p. xxxvii). The passages about his absolute power and divine right quoted frequently from his speeches to Parliament are but the practical restatement of the theory set forth in his earlier treatises. His principles left no place for the independence of Parliament or the rights of subjects. If there was a trace of feudalism in his doctrine of hereditary right, there was "one feature of the feudal relation conspicuous by its absence in James's politics." "Of the reciprocal duties of *dominus* and *homo* so prominent in the mediæval conception of English kingship there remains not a trace; it has been replaced entirely by the Roman conception of a king *legibus solutus*, placed at a distance so immeasurably above his *subditi* that he can in no way be bound by earthly law to the performance of any duties to them. The relation of his subjects to him, on the other hand, must consist *entirely* of duties, and duties to which no limits can be put; of the 'rights of subjects' it is idle, even impious, to speak. There are none" (p. xlii). In short, it is only necessary to read the "Trew Law" to understand why Charles I. lost his head and James II. his kingdom.

The greater part of the political writings of the King are connected with the controversy about the new oath of allegiance imposed upon the Catholics in 1606 after the Gunpowder Plot. The subject is briefly treated in Gardiner's *History of England* (i, 288; ii, 16, 34). Professor McIlwain treats it at length, giving the titles of the various controversial works published, an account of their authors, and a summary of the arguments they employed and the questions at issue. The chief antagonists of James were Cardinals Bellarmine and du Perron, his chief assistants Andrewes, Donne, and Casaubon. The view set forth is that the Thirty Years War was preceded by an intellectual struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism, and that in that struggle "England had taken a larger place than she ever had in matters of general European concern since the beginning of modern times." James was as important as a leader in the intellectual period as he was ineffective in the war period. "In the earlier part of the struggle there was no more conspicuous champion than he, no more important opponent of the principles upon which the Counter-Reformation rested, and the wars of religion were to be fought. He owed this eminence, of course, more to his office than his ability." But his writings were in themselves by no means negligible (pp. lvii, lxxx). Thus it is evident that if this view of the European significance of the part taken by James in the controversy is accepted, the usual estimate of James as only a learned pedant requires some revision.

Professor McIlwain also regards the new oath imposed by James

on the Catholics in 1606 as an effective and successful piece of legislation, and quotes Charles Butler as saying "that it effectually broke the power of the Catholic body in England by dividing them into two parties marshalled against each other" (pp. li-lvi).

Attached to the preface are four appendices; the first on Tudor Literature on Church and State, and the fourth, which deals with Robert Parsons and the succession controversy, are the most important.

The volume closes with the speeches of James I., which are much better known to English readers than his controversial works. In them the theory of absolutism set forth in his writings is applied to practical politics. He sets forth there not only his theory of monarchy, but his theories of legislation and taxation, his reasons for the union of England and Scotland, his views on the privileges of Parliament, on the desirability of checking the overgrowth of London, the necessity of preserving woods and game, the repression of vagrancy, the duties of justices of the peace, and a great number of social and economic as well as constitutional questions. The speeches are so interesting and instructive for students of the Stuart period that their reprinting is a real service. Of all the royal speeches which our Parliamentary Histories contain only those of James I. and Charles II. are readable. Both freely indulged their gift of humour, an indulgence which the Tudors were too dignified to permit themselves in addressing their subjects, and the Hanoverian sovereigns too constitutional even if they had been capable of it.

C. H. FIRTH.

Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records. Vol. I. Edited by PROF. JAMES TAIT. Chetham Society. 1917.

THE Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records begin earlier than those of most counties. This volume contains a calendar of the roll for 1590-2 and 1601-6. Prof. Tait's introduction is full of points of interest, and brings out excellently the significance of the documents calendared. The work of abstracting and selecting the documents has been very judiciously done, and the remarks of the editor on p. xxxiv should be taken into consideration by all who have to deal with materials of this kind.

The machinery and procedure of Quarter Sessions, and the conclusions to be drawn from the evidence about social and economic conditions which they supply, form the substance of the preface. One gathers from the criminal offences recorded that the men of Lancashire were given to violence rather than larceny. Assaults, riots, and forcible trespasses were very common. In 1592 no less than forty-seven cases of forcible entry were presented, and though the average was much lower than this, it was a far commoner offence than in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where only four cases are recorded in nearly five years (p. xvi). On the other hand, in the rolls of 1590-2 there is no reference to poor relief, and "the long gap in the series between the last-named date and 1601 has perhaps deprived us of such an interesting set of orders as were issued by the West Riding Justices after the passing of the great Poor Law of 1597" (p. xxi). The Somersetshire Quarter Sessions records also contain much more information about the

administration of the Poor Law. However, the Lancashire papers throw much more light on the enforcement of the laws against recusants. The entries seem to show that "there was some relaxation of the pressure on recusants in the last years of Elizabeth and the early ones of James" (p. xvii). Some of the Justices appear to have been very lukewarm Protestants (p. xii). The man charged with saying "that the preachers which preached were lewd fellows, and took upon them to preach when they had no authority to do so," and he who declared "that he cared not for the Bishop of Chester, and had no king but God," were doubtless recusants. Another admitted that he had been a recusant all his life, and "he is not minded to reform himself as yet, because his conscience will not suffer him" (pp. 224, 282, 299). There is an interesting discussion of the question of Sunday amusements. Gardiner, in his *History of England* (iii., 248), attributed the issue of James I's Declaration of Sports in 1617 to the interference with the Sunday amusements of the people instigated by the Puritan preachers sent there to combat Romanism. This view was combated by Dr. W. A. Shaw in the *Victoria County History of Lancashire* (ii., 61-2). Prof. Tait, in an article in the *English Historical Review* for October, 1917, intervened in the controversy, and he now sums it up by saying that "Gardiner was mistaken in supposing that the people of Lancashire had always enjoyed liberty of Sunday recreation until shortly before the Declaration of Sports, though his critic underestimates the early influence of Sabbatarian views in producing prohibition" (p. xix).

Other subjects upon which these records throw light are the game laws, the housing problem, precautions against the plague, the enforcement of the statutes regulating the cloth trade, the licensing laws, the restrictions imposed on the corn trade, and other economic questions. On all these points the nature of the existing laws and the bearing of the cases calendared on their administration is very clearly explained by Prof. Tait.

C. H. FIRTH.

Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs. By C. H. HARING. Harvard Univ. Press (Milford). 1918. (No. xix. of Harvard Economic Studies.) 8vo. xxvii. + 371 pp. 10s.

The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763. By F. W. PITMAN. Yale Univ. Press (Milford). 1917. (Historical Studies, Vol. iv.) 8vo. xiv. + 495 pp. 10s. 6d.

PROF. HARING'S new book embodies the results of a valuable and comprehensive study of the great system of trade that by its introduction into Europe of enormous supplies of the precious metals radically altered the bases of prices, and did so much to the building of a new world upon the ruins of the mediæval system. The Spanish trade with the Indies was not merely or even primarily concerned with the importation of bullion; many new commodities which made great changes in the arts were introduced to Europe from America, and the methods and equipment of the dyer, the druggist and other tradesmen were greatly enriched; new articles of luxury were added to diet, and it was really in the production and handling

of these new articles of commerce that the permanent contribution of the Spanish Empire to the world's wealth lay. Prof. Haring describes with an abundance of authorities and admirable clearness the meticulously organised system that was built up with the design of retaining all the benefits of the New World for the Spanish monarchs and their subjects, but in almost every page he has to show how the system was evaded with impunity and to describe the complete breakdown of all the elaborate paper safeguards that had been so carefully designed. His book should be read by students, both of the struggle of the maritime nations against Spanish claims to colonial monopoly and of general oceanic or naval history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Everyone who regards history as an evolutionary process must at some time or another have asked himself why it was that when the Thirteen Continental Colonies strove to break their connexion with Britain, the island colonies of the West Indies were almost unanimous in their loyalty to that connexion, and to this day remain an integral part of the Empire. The complete answer to such a question will always be most difficult to discover, but Mr. Pitman in his painstaking and closely packed book has done more to provide materials for its solution than any previous writer. The West Indies are profoundly significant in the development and also in the disruption of the Old Empire, for it was from the islands that England derived a great part of the accessions of wealth that came to her in the eighteenth century, and upon the West Indian trade the prosperity of the Middle and New England colonies was largely based. He has made an effort to examine the sources of this wealth, and to trace the course of the trade whereby the sugar colonies provided a sufficient market for the products of the north and furnished tropical produce for consumption there, and to give cargoes for the ships of the Northern ports to carry to Europe. In this effort he largely succeeds, and he furnishes an abundance of detail to justify his conclusions, perhaps too abundant for him to be also successful in his second task—that of explaining the part the West Indian islands played in the growth and dissolution of the Empire. He shows that the economic interests and aims of the American merchants and the West Indian planters differed so much as to be incompatible. But it is rather as a pioneer guide to unexplored material and as a storehouse of facts and statistics than as a synthetic history of West Indian development that the book is successful, and this is true, even if only the line of economic development is considered. The history of the West Indies in their great period of prosperity and importance, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, yet remains to be written. For the writer of that history Mr. Pitman's book, with its masses of figures and its valuable appendices, will be an indispensable mine.

A. P. NEWTON.

A History of British Socialism. By M. BEER. Introduction by R. H. TAWNEY. Vol. I. G. Bell & Sons. 1919. 12s. 6d.

STUDENTS of economic and political theory will be grateful to Herr Beer for providing an English edition of his well-known *Geschichte des Sozialismus* in England, published in 1912, and now so completely re-written as to be "practically a new book." The

Austrian publicist describes his work as "a feeble attempt to repay the enormous debt which I owe to English life and scholarship," and adds that he could not have written it but for a twenty years' residence in our country. In a brief but striking Introduction, Mr. Tawney tells us that the second and concluding volume, which was almost completed at the outbreak of war, is to appear shortly; and it is interesting to learn that he has also embarked on the task of reprinting the more noteworthy writings of the early English socialists, whose works are almost unobtainable, and whose names are for the most part virtually unknown.

The present volume opens with a sketch of mediæval communism, embracing the theories of Wycliffe and John Ball, More and Winstanley; and the author only reaches his full stride with the Industrial Revolution. The picture of communism and radical thought of the era of the French Revolution introduces us not only to famous names like Paine and Godwin, but to lesser celebrities of the calibre of Spence and Charles Hall. Of Owen's character and teaching he writes with discriminating sympathy. "The central figure of British socialism in the first half of the nineteenth century was distinguished neither by original philosophical speculation nor outstanding literary achievements, but by strength of character and untiring reform activities. He united the shrewdness of the business man with the emotionalism and ecstasies of the prophet." His best work was done in his middle years, and he lived to see new men and new ideas attracting popular attention and support. We do not often associate the years immediately preceding the Reform Bill with progress or dramatic events; but our guide will teach us better. "The reign of George IV. marks the rise of Liberalism and the birth of the modern Labour movement, political and socialist. This decade saw the repeal of the Navigation Act, of the Combination Laws, of the Corporation and Test Acts. It witnessed the destruction of the last remnants of the yeomanry and the bulk of the handloom weavers. In it occurred a short but phenomenal epoch of manufacturing and commercial prosperity, accompanied by the biggest and hardest fought strikes which the country had till then experienced; after which one of the severest commercial crises overtook the nation, and the temper of agrarian and industrial labour became restive and rebellious." The word "socialism" was first employed in 1827, a year or two after the rival term "liberal." The doctrine of the general strike, originated by William Benbow, was preached in the early 'thirties, and at the same moment James Morrison, throwing overboard the doctrines of Owen, originated the syndicalist conception of class antagonism. The story breaks off in the 'thirties, and in the second volume the curtain will rise on Chartism.

"I have brought together from the vast treasure-houses of British theology, moral philosophy, political economy, socialist pamphlets, Labour papers and general periodical publications," writes the author, "the materials relevant to our subject." His learned labours should lead other students to a field that has been too little explored, and his sympathetic insight into the ideas of the pioneers of socialism will help us to reconstruct the stages by which the working-classes advanced towards articulate self-consciousness.

G. P. GOOCH.

Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the Light of History. By VINCENT A. SMITH. 1919. Milford. 3s. 6d.

THE history in the light of which the late Dr. Vincent Smith reviewed Mr. Montagu's proposals for the reform of the Indian Constitution is not very recent, although it is obvious that we must take account of recent happenings in India if we are to arrive at any sound basis for reform. He regarded the "pronouncement" made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on August 20th, 1918, as an original move on the part of home politicians, and did not realise that it was an inevitable incident in the evolution of political ideas in India, and that it had been outlined in an appeal made to the Government of India by Lord Sinha, as President of the National Congress, nearly three years before. A historian steeped in ancient traditions, he doubted whether the East could change and poured scorn upon the hopes and anticipations of the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu—and incidentally upon the aspirations of educated India—because they involved such change. But even from his own point of view the assertion that nothing like "responsible government" now exists or ever has existed in India seems hard to justify. It is of the very essence of the Indian system of local self-government through village councils. And he had not appreciated the gradual weakening of the caste organisation which has been effected by education, contact with the outer world, and the growth of racial aspirations that have made such progress during the past fifty years. Yet we have the blazing example of Japan to show us what such causes may effect in an Oriental country within a very short space of time. In the same way recent events in Russia suggest some reconsideration of his theory that monarchical sentiment in India provides a safe foundation for political reform.

In his anxiety to condemn, the author was scarcely fair to the report he criticised. He quoted the very impartiality of the authors, and their wise presentment of the dangers and difficulties of their task, as exhibiting a "credulous yet frightened optimism"; and in another paragraph he represented their proposal to proceed on lines differing from those followed in the Morley-Minto reforms of ten years back as "tearing up old institutions by the roots."

But with all his objections to the principles which underlie these recent proposals for reform, he was too sound a student of history not to admit that extensive change in "the old-fashioned method of governing India" was imperative, that certain far-reaching changes were "common ground," and that "the heart of India is passionately set on self-expression as a nation." And these admissions carried him much further than he seemed to be aware and rendered his own "constructive suggestions" singularly inadequate. The passing away of one who did so much to promote the study of Indian History has been widely mourned, and the high reputation to which Dr. Vincent Smith attained will not suffer from this unfortunate but temporary digression into unaccustomed paths. P. C. LYON.

A Sourcebook of Australian History. By GWENDOLEN H. SWINBURNE. viii+219 pp. 1919. Bell. 5s.

DURING the last five years the stress of a common danger has evoked such a magnificent response from all portions of the Empire

that a stimulus has been naturally given to the desire for a wider knowledge of those distant peoples who have played such a worthy part in the great war. For that reason alone Miss Swinburne's compact work should enlist the attention of the general community. The author submits the volume to the reader in the hope that it may increase the amount of interest usually shown in Australian history by deepening the general knowledge of the subject and illustrating it by those vivid details which arrest attention to enable the student to visualise past events. Although compiled with a view to the requirements of schools, there is much information furnished which will appeal to, and deeply interest, all classes of the community. The work is entitled *A Sourcebook*, and necessarily the number of events therein described must be smaller than that in histories of any other type; but there is ample material actually supplied in the text, and other sources are indicated, from which the reader can add to his store of knowledge, not only with regard to the facts attending the early discovery and exploration of the Continent, but also in regard to the establishment and development of those free democratic institutions which, on the whole, are the pride of its people, and at the same time afford useful object-lessons to students, and valuable guide-posts for the practical statesman.

The references to the early voyages of discovery of the coast line of Australia and exploration of the interior occupy a large proportion of the space of the book, but they are of absorbing interest through portraying the perseverance and fortitude of these early pioneers, who, in spite of a then inhospitable territory and great privations (often at the expense of their own lives), enabled posterity to prove that Australia was a land of unlimited resources, and capable of being a producer of unlimited wealth.

The tale of the first discovery of the precious metals and the building up of the wool industry—two of the great primary products of the Commonwealth less than 100 years ago—appeal to us with special force in the present day, when we realise what a vital part they have played in providing our armies with necessary material in the recent war.

There are some events in the growth of political institutions which might have been mentioned, and others dealt with more fully, but, as the author states, it is difficult to touch on every salient phase in the growth of a young country without defeating the very purpose for which the book was published. In short, the ambition is to record the history of early settlement, its accompanying difficulties and privations, and to emphasise the manner in which, in the course of a little over a century, this virgin and at one time uninviting settlement has developed into one of the most valuable and, we venture to hope, most valued of the outposts of Empire. In this effort the writer has achieved a full measure of success. C. G. WADE.

History of Great Britain, to 1918. 5s. *Advanced History of Great Britain*, to 1918. 7s. 6d. (Longman's Historical Series for Schools, Books 2 and 3.) New editions. By T. F. Tout.

Outlines of European History, to 1914. New Edition. By A. J. GRANT. Longmans. 5s.

Hints for the Youthful Historian (Aids to the Study of History, No. 1). By C. H. K. MARTEN. Blackie. 3d.

A Bibliography for Teachers of History. Edited by EILEEN E. POWER. Introduction by E. Doorly. Women's International League. 2s.

EVERY profession probably has its own particular subject for amazement, and surely that of the history teacher—the practical teacher actually at work in a practical school—is that of the text-book. Apart from the actual subject-matter, which has been slowly improving during the last few years, the presentment of the text and the general appearance of the book should be more seriously considered by the producer. Pictures alone, and even good maps, valuable as they are, prove of little avail if the type is cramped, the chapters annotated and numbered in paragraphs, and “important dates” set out in heavy type at the opening of each chapter. The compilers believe, doubtless, that these serve as aids to the pupil (or is it the teacher?), but the practical teacher knows that these disfigurements serve but to repel. Further, they prove real hindrances, for they do just what the teacher desires the learner to do for himself. A useful exercise whereby the pupil's own judgment can be called into play is to set him to make his own marginal headings or to determine, after a period has been studied and enjoyed, which are the most important dates and names to be remembered. The history book to be used in the schoolroom should be a book that a young student will wish to read for himself, and, moreover, wish to keep, when read, on leaving school. A good test as to whether a history text-book is acceptable is to note whether it is carried home when school days are over or returned to the book-room to be sold second-hand. The number of text-books that pass this test is small, though it is growing.

It is regrettable when such admirable books as Professor Tout's in Longmans' historical series have to be reckoned among the failures in this respect. In Book 2, though the letterpress is clear and plans and maps interesting and in some cases novel, the vexatious “aids” in heavy type and numbered paragraphs spoil the effect of the excellent letterpress; and in the case of Book 3 the cramped print and unwieldy size prove serious deterrents. A matter of apparently small but real practical importance is that of the weight and size of school books. It should be remembered that many have to be carried to and from home to school each day, and many a book is disqualified owing to its weight alone. Book 3 should be divided into parts.

It is a real pleasure to welcome a revised and extended edition of Professor Grant's *Outlines of European History*. It admirably supplies a real want, though it is a matter of regret that some of the text-book vices are beginning to creep into the newer editions. As a set-off, however, we have the helpful suggestions for wider reading in the carefully compiled lists of books at the end of chapters. Would that all writers of text-books, except of the most elementary nature, would follow this lead.

It is difficult to see what purpose *Some Practical Hints for the Youthful Historian* can serve. In some ways it seems more suitable for the instructor than for the learner, for the teacher of English composition than the history specialist. If memory dodges and devices are not considered derogatory, surely it were better that they

should all be self-devised. Truly a teacher is to be profoundly pitied who has to deal with minds which need such artificial props.

Of good bibliographies there can never be too many, especially when drawn up with such sympathetic understanding of the needs of the average teacher as is evinced by Miss Eileen Power's *Bibliography for Teachers of History*. That there are some serious omissions, notably in the Home University Library series and books dealing with Irish history, a subject to be fearlessly faced in these days, Miss Power herself is doubtless already aware, and these will probably be made good in subsequent editions. Though not everyone will endorse each descriptive note, yet these taken as a whole will prove of the greatest value to the busy teacher, who will find such practical details as price, publisher, and nature of subject-matter set out and arranged in an intelligent and orderly manner. Miss Doorly's stimulating, if provocative, introductory essay undoubtedly adds to the value of the work. Though she is perhaps hardly fair in her criticism of Professor Mantoux, since both agree that "the desire to reach the truth and nothing but the truth" is to be the aim of the teacher of history, her appeal for "disinterested" teaching should come as a clarion call. What history teacher does not stand convicted of having at times "ground an axe" when purporting to be teaching truth? Every teacher would be wise to have this little compilation at hand.

J. NOAKES.

A First History of England. By M. W. KEATINGE, M.A., D.Sc., Reader in Education in the University of Oxford. 182 pp. 1918. A. and C. Black. 3s. 6d.

Britain in the Middle Ages. A History for Beginners. By FLORENCE L. BOWMAN, Lecturer in Education, Homerton College, Cambridge. x+103 pp. With time chart and 28 illustrations. 1919. Cambridge Univ. Press. 3s.

The Educational Value of Museums and the Formation of Local War Museums. Report of a Conference. Edited by E. HOWARTH, F.R.A.S., F.Z.S., Curator of the Museum and Art Gallery, Sheffield. 103 pp. 1918. Wesley, 28 Essex Street, W.C.2. 3s.

THESE three books illustrate the most recent tendencies in historical teaching. All aim at developing a greater sense of reality in the work—Mr. Keatinge by the use of many pictorial illustrations with exercises upon them, and by an ingenious device whereby "the original inhabitants of Domesday Book turn up in each period down to the twentieth century"; Miss Bowman by narratives based mainly upon chronicles, and by pictures drawn from similar sources, and from other manuscripts; the book on museums by its advocacy of the formation of historical collections.

In the first two books the source of the picture is given in every case, and one can thus gauge the value of the illustration and its appropriateness. Miss Bowman would, however, do well, in a future edition, to add a word of warning that medieval authors and artists used elements drawn from their own times in the construction of their pictures. Thus in the picture illustrating Charlemagne's wars they saw nothing incongruous in equipping eighth-century warriors as fifteenth-century knights. On the other hand, Mr. Keatinge

would have improved his volume if he had omitted some of the pictures purporting to give the scene exactly as it might have appeared. It is confusing to find the wife of an ancient Briton with beautifully crimped hair, the barons of King John dressed in fourteenth-century armour, and ladies in the time of Edward IV. with a head-dress having a carefully goffered frill round its front edge.

History, however, will never be a satisfactory subject of education so long as it is confined to the study of a single text-book, and Miss Bowman wisely urges, in her preface, the necessity for much additional reading, and for the further use of collections of pictures. It would also be well to collect historical references to the children's own district, such as facsimiles of Domesday entries, charters, papal bulls, and letters, which can easily be obtained from the British Museum, the London Museum, the Record Office, and various museums scattered about the country. Illustrations and maps which might be filed in every school are either totally unexplored, or, at best, used in an incidental and spasmodic way, and children get all their knowledge second-hand. More use might also be made of the reference departments of public libraries as a means of training children to search for information.

With regard to museums, the Report edited by Mr. Howarth makes some valuable suggestions. Broadly, the papers describe two classes of experiments: Visits to museums under the guidance of teachers who have already received lectures on the objects from experts, and the circulation of groups of objects—each group representing a particular period—among schools. The difficulty about the latter plan would be to secure that any particular group should be at the school when the period is being studied, and the danger in the former is that the teacher's explanation to the children might be a mere repetition of the expert's words without any real appreciation. One very interesting suggestion is that the rooms of some old building should be furnished in different ways so as to illustrate the domestic life of different periods.

JOS. A. WHITE.

SHORT NOTICES

MISS ROSE GRAHAM's little book, *An Abbot of Vézelay* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.), is the best sort of guide-book to Vézelay, because it sets forth the history of the men who in the middle ages made the town and church what they are. She devotes the bulk of it to the history of the great Abbot Pons (1138-1161) and particularly to his struggle with the burgesses, who for three years maintained a commune in the teeth of his feudal rights. The intricate relations between the Abbot and the Bishops of Autun, the Abbot and the Counts of Vézelay, the Abbot and the burgesses, with in the background the King and the Pope, give an extremely vivid picture of the complication of mediæval social relationships. Anyone who wishes to understand the early history of the communes in France will find it concentrated here in its typical form. Here is the association of burgesses for the purpose of self-government, anti-ecclesiastical because the largest and richest towns were in the hands of the Church. Here is the lay lord, willing to associate himself with the burgesses, so as to weaken the Church. Here is the King, wavering in his policy, his desire to limit the power of the Church, and being curbed sometimes by the Church's bribes or by the Pope's exhortations. Finally here is the Papacy, hostile to the whole movement. The story of the struggle is taken from the famous *Historia Vizeliacensis monasterii* of Hugh the Poitevin, a contemporary monk of the house. His bias is naturally violently against the Commune, but the story is an excellent example of the Church's opposition to the principle of self-government and desire to keep its towns in a state of complete feudal subjection. It should be compared with the struggles which took place in several English monastic towns in the early fourteenth century. E. E. P.

MR. A. TILLEY's *The French Wars of Religion* (S.P.C.K., 6d.) is indeed an admirable "Help for Students of History," well written, well balanced, threading its way skilfully through the mass of detail, which usually cumbered short accounts of this period, towards the all-important principles and theories which were at issue. A thorough knowledge of this little book would be a useful basis for a more thorough study of any particular aspect or section of these long and intricate wars. The only criticism that suggests itself is that a page or so is needed to show the connection between French and Netherland politics from 1578 onwards. Without this the attitude of the Crown towards the Protestants until 1584, and, after that, the apparition of Parma before Paris and Rouen, and the formal rupture with Spain are somewhat obscure. The bibliography is practical and not overdone. Among secondary authorities might be included *Henry of Guise and other Portraits*, by H. C.

Macdowall (Macmillan, 1898), since it deals with the less popular side of the religious conflict, and, owing to the author's excellent style, is always read with pleasure by young students. E. A.

THE aim of Mr. G. H. Davenport's *Parliament and the Taxpayer* (Skeffington, 6s.) is to explain to the ordinary man the extent to which Parliament may really be said to control the expenditure of Great Britain at the present day. In order to make this clearer he devotes the first hundred pages to a brief sketch of the development of the idea that Parliament has the right and ought to have the power to criticise the way in which the Crown spends its revenues. This portion of the book seems on the whole to be most open to criticism, for undoubtedly the author has a distinct tendency to exaggerate the reality of this control prior to 1700, as well as to underestimate the fact that a large portion of the Crown revenue even after 1660 was still the King's private property with which he could do as he pleased, and that in the Middle Ages, at any rate, it was the practice as well as the theory for the King in normal times "to live off his own." Fourteenth century financial precedents must be used with the greatest care, and even Fortescue can hardly be held to have had the faintest vision of the modern distinction between the personal expenditure of the King and the national expenditure of his Government; while it is an unkindly act to lay the invention of ship money on the already over-burdened shoulders of Charles I. Where Mr. Davenport is writing of matters with which he has been brought into personal contact as private secretary to the Assistant Financial Secretary of the War Office, he displays considerable knowledge, and the latter part of his book presents in a readable form a good deal of information concerning modern parliamentary methods that is not readily accessible elsewhere. E. R. A.

The North Riding of Yorkshire, by Capt. Weston (Cambridge County Geographies), is a brightly written volume. There is a description of a thinly populated agricultural area with moors and dales on either side, in strong contrast with the two crowded centres of Middlesbrough and Scarborough. The creation of Middlesbrough by the skill of the Tees Conservancy Commissioners, seconding the foresight of the local industrial leaders, is a fascinating story, and there are pre-Roman earthworks and Roman roads, reminiscences of Bruce's raids and of the Kingmaker, the birthplaces of Wycliffe and Captain Cook, to satisfy the tourist who has a turn for history.

J. E. M.

World War Issues and Ideals, compiled by M. E. Speare and W. E. Norris (461 pp.; Ginn, 6s.), will long continue to be useful, though its immediate purpose, the enlightenment first of the students of the U.S. Naval Academy and then of the American public generally about the cause for which they had taken up arms, is now out of date. It provides a remarkably cheap collection of utterances by writers and statesmen of the belligerent nations, including the famous passages containing Treitschke's assertions that the State is Might and that to abolish war from history would be to abolish all progress; Bernhardt's argument on taking the initiative in war, quoting Luther's saying that war is a business, divine in itself, as needful to the world as eating or drinking; Bethmann-

Hollweg's plea in August, 1914, that necessity knows no law; Maeterlinck's appeal to Italy in November, comparing the Belgians who had saved Latin civilisation to the Spartans at Thermopylae; General Smuts' speech on the British Commonwealth of Nations; and President Wilson's Messages declaring that the world must be made safe for democracy, and enunciating the "14 points" of his peace programme. Some of the literary extracts seem ill-chosen (though one is glad to notice Mr. Galsworthy's acute "Diagnosis of the Englishman"), and there are occasional lapses in translation. One could imagine an even better work on similar lines compiled for English readers, but pending its appearance this should find a place in all school libraries and many private bookshelves. E. J. D.

The Essentials of English Teaching (Longmans, 1s.), a pamphlet issued by the English Association, contains a graded series of syllabuses for use in ordinary and continuation schools. One sentence from the Introduction seems to embody a truth so obvious and yet so often neglected that we have no hesitation in repeating it, "The teaching of English composition, both oral and written, should be regarded as coming within the province of every member of the school staff. Slipshod speech and writing should not be accepted in any class, however correct the matter presented, and this applies quite as much to scientific and mathematical as to linguistic and historical subjects." E. R. A.

IN 1918 the title of the American "Journal for Readers, Students, and Teachers of History" was changed; *The History Teacher's Magazine* of 1917 became *The Historical Outlook* of the present. It is an excellent title, and makes us even a little jealous. And the reasons, given in the number for October, 1918, deserve recall. We hope, they say, to prepare for the future by a sane understanding of the historic past, for as "no business man or professional man acts by chance, but in the light of the experience of his own life and of his profession, so to-day the citizens of all the great States of the world should view the momentous problems of political and economic reconstruction in the light of past attempts at their solution." In the second place, the term "outlook" is used in the sense of "a survey of the work of historians—a guide to books and to methods which will be of immediate assistance in reading and teaching." It is thus clear that the American journal is conceived in a spirit very similar, if not identical, with that of *HISTORY*, and we congratulate its managers heartily both on the breadth of their outlook and the vigour with which they are carrying it out. Their journal appears monthly (except July, August, and September), and while a large part is contributed by professors, a special appeal is made to school teachers and to those conducting local associations to send in news and views. On both sides of the Atlantic the war has given a profound impulse to the study of history. Its effects are clearly seen in recent numbers of *The Historical Outlook*, which are largely given to war subjects. It will be increasingly felt in every branch of historical study and teaching. F. S. M.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

[Under this head it is proposed to give a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST. From the earliest times to the battle of Salamis. By H. R. Hall. xxiii+602 pp. Methuen. 16s. (p. 96.)

A RECORD OF EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES. By Sir G. F. Laking, Bart. Intro. by the Baron de Cosson. Volume I., lxxv+286 pp. Bell. £15 15s. (the set of five volumes). (p. 84.)

THE CROWN JEWELS OF ENGLAND. By Major-General Sir G. Younghusband, K.C.M.G., Keeper of the Jewel House, Tower of London, and C. Davenport. xi+84 pp. Cassell. £3 3s. (p. 29.)

HISTOIRE DE LORRAINE. Tome I.: Des Origines à 1552. Par R. Parisot. Paris: Picard. (p. 60.)

THE CISTERCIANS IN YORKSHIRE. By J. S. Fletcher. xi+332 pp. S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d. (p. 99.)

THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By H. F. Westlake. viii+242 pp. S.P.C.K. 15s. (p. 34.)

ENGLAND UNDER THE YORKISTS, 1460-1485. By I. D. Thornley. Preface by A. F. Pollard. xx+280 pp. Longmans. 9s. 6d.

MEDALS OF THE RENAISSANCE. By G. F. Hill. 204 pp., 30 plates. Clarendon Press, London: Milford. 50s. (p. 135.)

A GUIDE TO THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS, 1600-1858. By W. Foster. (Eyre and Spottiswoode.) The India Office. 2s. (p. 17.)

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MSS. relating to English affairs in Venice and Northern Italy. Vol. XXII., 1629-1632. Edited by Allan B. Hinds. lviii+792 pp. H.M. Stationery Office. 20s. n.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON. By R. L. Ott. 406 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 15s. (p. 725.)

THE WORKING LIFE OF WOMEN in the XVIIth Century. By Alice Clark. Routledge. 10s. 6d. (p. 707.)

SAINT-SIMON. La France de Louis XIV. Par René Doumic. Paris: Hachette. 5f. (p. 98.)

POLITICAL LEADERS OF PROVINCIAL PENNSYLVANIA. By I. Sharpless. Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d. (p. 8.)

UN AMBASCIATORE LUCCHESA A VIENNA. G. B. Domenico Sardini, 1751-1759. By E. Lazzareschi. Lucca: G. Giusti. 3.50 lire. (p. 46.)

THE SKILLED LABOURER, 1760-1832. By J. L. Hammond and B. Hammond. ix+397 pp. Longmans. 12s. 6d. (p. 95.)

HENRY FOX, FIRST LORD HOLLAND. His Family and Relations. By the Earl of Ilchester. Two volumes. Vol. I., xv+366 pp. Vol. II., xi+391 pp. Murray. 32s. (p. 73.)

THE CONFEDERATION OF EUROPE: A study of the European Alliance, 1813-1823. By W. A. Phillips. 2nd ed. xviii+320. Longmans. 12s. 6d. (p. 59.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF EDUCATION. By J. W. Adamson. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 12s. 6d. (*Educ. Suppl.* p. 623.)

THE LIFE OF THOMAS COUTTS, BANKER. By E. H. Coleridge. Two vols. Vol. I., xii+305. Vol. II., ix+459 pp. John Lane. 42s. (p. 7.)

JOHN MURRAY III. 1803-1892. By J. Murray IV. ix+106 pp. Murray. 3s. 6d. (p. 61.)

THE PUBLISHING FAMILY OF RIVINGTON. By S. Rivington. xxii+182 pp. Rivingtons. 10s. (p. 61.)

IRELAND AND ENGLAND. By E. R. Turner. xii+504 pp. New York: Century Co. \$3. (p. 708.)

THE RISE OF SOUTH AFRICA. By G. E. Cory. In four volumes. Vol. III. xiv+474 pp. Longmans. 25s. (p. 703.)

PALMERSTON AND THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION. By C. Sproxtton. xii+143 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 7s. 6d. (p. 775.)

L'ALTO ADIGE. By A. Prunialti. Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese. 15 lire. (p. 134.)

THE TURKS IN EUROPE. By W. E. D. Allen. Preface by Brigadier-Gen. H. C. Surtees, C.M.G. xii+256 pp. Murray. 10s. 6d. (p. 62.)

KAISER FRIEDRICH'S TAGEBUCH mit Einleitung und Aktenstücken. Von E. Engel. Diekmann: Halle. M.4.50. (p. 27.)

ARMED PEACE. 1871-1914. By W. S. Davis. In collaboration with W. Anderson and M. W. Tyler. Heinemann. 10s. 6d. (p. 28.)

DIE NEUEN PARTEIPROGRAMME mit den letzten der alten Parteien zusammengestellt. Von F. Salomon. (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner. Pf.80. (p. 725.)

MA MISSION AU JAPON. Par A. Gérard, Ambassadeur de France. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 12f. (p. 114.)

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. By A. F. Pollard. viii+411 pp. Methuen. 10s. 6d. (p. 133.)

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS 1914-1916 and its Critical Decisions. By General Erich von Falkenhayn. xi+300 pp. Hutchinson. 24s. (p. 723.)

G. H. Q. (Montreuil-sur-Mer). By "G. S. O." xii+306 pp. Philip Allan. 20s. (p. 42.)

LILLE. Par Général Percin. Paris: B. Grasset. 3.50f.+30 per cent. (p. 26.)

THE GREAT WAR AND THE R.A.M.C. Mons, the Marne, the Aisne. By Lieutenant-Col. F. S. Brereton. Constable. 12s. 6d. (p. 4.)

DER GROSSE KRIEG IN EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN. Die Schlacht bei Mons Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Grossen Generalstabes. Oldenburg: Stalling. 2.40m.+30 per cent. (p. 114.)

MEIN BERICHT ZUR MARNESCHLACHT. Von Generalfeldmarschall v. Bülow. Berlin: Scherl. 9m. (p. 14.)

DER GROSSE KRIEG IN EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN. Die Schlacht bei Longwy. Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Grossen Generalstabes. (Oldenburg: Stalling. 2.40m. (p. 94.)

LA BATAILLE DE L'AISENE (Avril-Mai, 1917). Par le Lieutenant-Col. Rousset. Paris: van Oest. 3f.+30 per cent. (p. 130.)

DIE FAHRTEN DER GOEBEN im Mittelmeer. Von Lt. zur See Kraus. DIE FAHRTEN DER BRESLAU im Schwarzen Meer. Von Oberlt. zur See Donitz. Berlin: Ullstein. 2m. each. (p. 43.)

THE DARDANELLES. By Major-Gen. Sir C. E. Callwell. xv+361 pp. Constable. 18s. (p. 724.)

THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND. By Commander C. Bellairs, M.P. xv+312 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 12s. (p. 115.)

TANKS, 1914-1918. By Lieut.-Col. Sir A. G. Stern. xi+298 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 12s. (p. 44.)

THE GREAT WAR IN THE AIR. By E. Middleton. Intro. by Lord Montagu

of Beaulieu. Vols. I. and II. xv+240 pp., xi+240 pp. Waverley Book Co. 50s. per set of four vols. (p. 77.)

Ein JAHR in DER REICHSKANZLEI. Erinnerungen an die Kanzlerschaft meines Vaters. Von Karl Graf von Hertling. Berlin: Herdersche Verlags-handlung. 12m. (p. 58.)

DIE DEUTSCHE KREIGFÜHRUNG und das Völkerrecht. Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Kriegsministeriums und der Obersten Heeresleitung. Berlin: Mittler. 2m. (p. 3.)

BRITISH CAMPAIGNS IN AFRICA AND THE PACIFIC, 1914-1918. By E. Dane. xv+215 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d. (p. 728.)

THE PRESS in WAR-TIME. By Sir Edward Cook. xv+200 pp. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. (p. 115.)

DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS of the Great World War. By E. L. Bogart. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. (p. 74.)

TREATY OF PEACE between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany. (With maps and signatures in facsimile.) 21s. 9d. H.M. Stationery Office.

TREATY OF PEACE between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria, together with the Protocol and Declarations annexed thereto, signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 10th September, 1919 (with map). Treaty Series. No. 11 (1919). Cmd. 400. 1s. 10d.

LE TRAITÉ DE VERSAILLES de 28 Juin, 1919: l'Allemagne et l'Europe. Par G. Hanotaux. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 12f. (p. 775.)

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A HANDBOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By Sir Geoffrey Butler. Introduction by Lord Robert Cecil. xl+80. Longmans. 5s. n. (p. 780.) (*Educ. Suppl.*, p. 49.)

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LA RUSSIE ET L'EUROPE. Par G. Alexinsky. Paris : Flammarion. 3.50f. (p. 26.)

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THE STATE AND REVOLUTION. By V. I. Ulianov (Lenin). George Allen and Unwin. 3s. n. (p. 26.)

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. By K. Kautsky. Trans. by H. J. Stenning. ix+149 pp. National Labour Press. 2s. 6d. (p. 43.)

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LOCAL HISTORY.

THE STONES AND STORY OF JESUS CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE. By Iris and Gerda Morgan. xvi+378. Bowes and Bowes. 21s. (p. 31.)

THE RED REGISTER OF KING'S LYNN. Transcr. by R. F. Isaacson. Ed. by Holcombe Ingleby. Vol. I. xxiii+284 pp. Thew and Son. (p. 560.)

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WESTMINSTER. By H. F. Westlake. (English Towns Series.) 124 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

STAFFORDSHIRE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY. By J. C. Wedgwood. Vol. I. (1213-1603). lvi+464 pp. Harrison. (p. 546.)

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ments and Memorials. By J. Vaughan. Selwyn and Blount. 10s. 6d. (p. 7.)

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THE STORY OF THE BARONY OF GORBALS. By J. Ord. 117 pp. A. Gardner. 3s. 6d.

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A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM. By G. Jeffery, F.S.A. xii+233 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. n. (p. 706.)

C. S. P.

HISTORY

JULY, 1920

HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY

It is the aim of this paper to show the importance of ethnology, and especially of recent developments of that science, to history. During the last ten years there has been in progress, rudely hindered but not stopped by the war, a movement which has brought the two disciplines into much closer relationship than would have been possible under the conditions which guided the study of ethnology twenty or thirty years ago. At this more remote period anthropology—I use the term anthropology advisedly—was wholly under the dominance of a crude evolutionary standpoint. The aim of the anthropologist was to work out a scheme of human progress according to which language, social organisation, religion, and material arts had developed through the action of certain principles or laws. It was assumed that the manifold peoples of the earth represented stages in this process of evolution, and it was supposed that by the comparative study of the culture of these different peoples it would be possible to arrive at the laws by which the process of evolution had been directed and governed. It was assumed that the time-order of different elements of culture had been everywhere the same; that if matrilineal institutions preceded patrilineal in Europe and Asia, this must also have been the case in Oceania and America; that if cremation is later than inhumation in India, it has also been later everywhere else. This assumption was fortified by attempts to show that there were reasons, usually psychological in nature, according to which there was something in the universal constitution of the human mind, or in some necessary condition of the environment, or inherent in the constitution of human society, which made it necessary that patrilineal institutions should have grown out of matrilineal, and that inhumation should be earlier than cremation. Moreover, it was assumed as a necessary part

of the general framework of the science that, after the original dispersal of mankind, or possibly owing to the independent evolution of different main varieties of Man, large portions of the earth had been cut off from intercourse with others, so that the process of evolution had taken place in them independently. When similarities, even in minute points of detail, were found in these regions, supposed to have been wholly isolated from one another, it was held that they were due to the uniformity in the constitution of the human mind which, working on similar lines, had brought forth similar products, whether in social organisation, religion, or material culture.

The adherents of the recent movement to which I have referred regard the whole of this construction with its main supports of mental uniformity and orderly sequence as built upon the sand. It is claimed that there has been no such isolation of one part of the earth from another as has been assumed by the advocates of independent evolution, but that the means of navigation have been capable, for far longer periods than has been supposed, of carrying Man to any part of the earth. The widespread similarities of culture are, it is held, due in the main, if not wholly, to the spread of customs and institutions from some centre where the conditions have been especially favourable for their development.

If there has been such spread of culture, it is evident that the process of development must have been far more complicated than is supposed by the advocates of the older evolutionary view. There is reason to believe, indeed, that the process has been exceedingly complex : that when customs are carried from their original home to other parts of the world, few of them survive unchanged, but suffer profound modification, some in the direction of progress, some in the direction of degeneration, and some in a direction which can hardly be described in terms either of progress or decay. We of this movement believe that many customs which were once supposed to be the products of a simple process of evolution among an isolated people have in fact behind them a long and tortuous history. It is held that the first task of the ethnologist is to unravel this history, and in consequence the name we have chosen for our school and for our methods is that of "historical." We speak of the movement as belonging to the historical school of ethnology, and of our method as the historical method, in place of the older school and method which are often styled evolutionary. This latter term is not satisfactory, for it is far from necessary that a follower

of the historical method should be an opponent of evolution. The German historical school are such opponents of evolution, but this is very far from the position of English ethnologists. Our quarrel with the older school is that it regarded as simple what is very complex, and tried to reach by a short cut a goal which will only be attained when we have learnt the mutual inter-relations of a vast number of separate paths along which Man and his culture have travelled. Put briefly, we believe that it is necessary to determine what has happened before we proceed to the task of trying to discover how it has happened and to formulate the laws which have determined the course which the social activity of Man has followed. The relations between "the what" and "the how" are often complex, and speculations about "the how" may often be useful in deciding "what" has happened, but the adherents of the new movement style their method historical because they regard the discovery of what has happened in the past to the various peoples of the earth as their primary aim and as a necessary preliminary to the further task of discovering the laws, and especially the psychological laws, by which the historical process has been directed.

I propose in this paper to illustrate the kind of process by which the ethnologist is trying to determine what has happened in the past to the rude peoples he studies and to raise the question whether he is justified in his presumption that his method is worthy of being regarded as a method of history.

The first point to notice is that, as a rule, the ethnologist has to discover the past history of peoples who have no written documents of any kind, and whose oral traditions are so blended with features obviously mythical in character that it needs a special discipline to distinguish the degree of their historicity, or, indeed, in many cases to decide whether they have any historical value at all. It is already being found that, where native traditions seem to record historical events, the conclusions drawn from them are in agreement with those reached through other lines of evidence, but it is better as a method of investigation to ignore tradition at first and base preliminary conclusions on evidence of other kinds. The problem, therefore, with which the ethnologist is confronted is whether it is possible to discover the past history of a people who have no written documents of any sort and whose oral traditions are of such a kind that at present it is safest to ignore them.

I shall now sketch briefly the general lines upon which I believe the problem can be solved. The chief instrument is one

which I have elsewhere¹ called the method of ethnological analysis, and the second volume of the book which I have, perhaps presumptuously, called *The History of Melanesian Society*,² is an attempt to apply this method of analysis. In this book I have attempted to analyse the highly complex mass of customs and institutions which make up the present social culture of the Melanesian people and to distinguish the various strands out of which it has been formed. This culture may be likened to a richly patterned texture starting with an indigenous element comparable with the warp of the social loom. To this have been added at different times wefts of various kinds, each furnished by an immigrant culture. The first weft formed with the indigenous warp a texture in which each of the elements largely lost its individuality and came to form part of a pattern in which it is not possible to detect the elements by other than a special process of analysis. Later immigrant influences added new wefts to the texture, increasing the complexity of the pattern and adding to the difficulty of analysis.

In my study of Melanesian culture I found reason to believe that the first introduced weft had formed with the indigenous warp the special kind of social structure known as the dual organisation. In this form of society the community is divided into two moieties standing in such a relation to one another that a man of one moiety is compelled by social custom to marry a woman of the other, the children of the union belonging to the mother's moiety. To this relatively simple social texture there was added later another and more complex weft which gave to Melanesia the secret organisations which form so characteristic a feature of its society. The use of monuments of stone, the cult of animals, and the desiccation of the dead in connection with these organisations further led me to the view that this later weft had given to the Melanesian texture the megalithic art, the totemism and the preservation of the dead which are present, though often in a form not at once obvious, in so many parts of Melanesia. The process of analysis next led me to detect a weft which in the more northerly parts of Melanesia had brought the special kind of warfare known as head-hunting together with a developed skull-cult, the regulation of marriage by kinship, pile-dwellings, plank-built canoes, and other special arts and crafts. Still later had come another weft which introduced the practice of cremation associated with a home of the dead in the sky and a form of totemism in which the totems are birds.

¹ Rep. Brit. Assoc., Portsmouth (1911), p. 490, or *Nature* (1911), vol. lxxxvii, p. 356.

² Cambridge, 1914.

Finding it necessary to have names for the various hypothetical peoples whom I thus supposed to have contributed to the complexity of the Melanesian texture, I was led to choose as the marks or symbols of two of them the substances by which mental activity is stimulated. In the southern parts of Melanesia the people drink kava, while in the north the place of kava-drinking is taken by the practice of chewing betel-mixture. The use of kava is intimately associated with the secret societies, and I was therefore led to regard this substance as the mark of the founders of these societies, and chose the "kava-people" as their designation. I found reason to believe that in the north kava had once been used, but had been displaced by betel. Associating this practice with the introducers of head-hunting, I chose the "betel-people" as a name for this element of the Melanesian population. The process of ethnological analysis having led me to distinguish these two main wefts in the Melanesian texture, it became my task to distinguish, in the highly variegated pattern presented by Melanesian culture, the elements which belonged to these two influences, the culture of the kava-people taking up by far the greater part of my attention.

I shall not attempt to illustrate the principles which underlie this process of analysis by means of the strange and unfamiliar cultures of Melanesia. I propose to illustrate them by imagining the experience of a Melanesian who sets out for Europe to test the principles by which the history of his own people has been formulated. On reaching our continent he will discover the presence of writing and printing, but, recognising that these arts are strange to him, he will decide to ignore them. Moreover, investigation will show that the oral traditions of Europe have been largely influenced, if not wholly determined, by these arts, and he will thereupon decide to ignore everything that he hears about past history and trust wholly to the objective evidence provided by the study of language, social organisation, religious belief and ritual, and the material sides of life. I shall imagine a Melanesian trying to discover the past history of ourselves on exactly the same lines, and by exactly the same methods, as those which I have employed to determine the history of his people, putting wholly on one side those instruments of research which are provided by literary documents, whether manuscripts, books, coins, inscriptions, or of any other kind.

Before I enter upon this task it will be well to mention certain principles which guided my work in Melanesia, and have also been used in ethnological analysis elsewhere, especially in the

work of W. J. Perry in Indonesia.¹ The first of these principles is that of common distribution. When certain elements of culture are found in association with one another in several localities, we regard this as a ground for assigning the associated customs, institutions, and material objects to one culture, and if the associated elements have no necessary connection with one another, as, for instance, is the case with megalithic architecture and sun-cult, we assume that this association, which is meaningless in its present area of distribution, came into existence elsewhere and reached its present home by transmission.

A second principle is that of organic connection. When two elements of culture are found to be so closely associated with one another that they form constituent parts of one organisation, it is assumed that they belong to the same culture. Thus, if megalithic monuments and sun-cult are found to occur as elements in the ritual of a secret society, this is regarded as evidence that they belong to one culture, and if the formulæ of the ritual of the society are in a language different from that of ordinary life, we have a case in which the principle of organic connection points, not merely to transmission, but to the original home of the language as the region from which the transmission has taken place.

A third principle is only a special case of the second, but it is so important that it deserves special mention. I have called this principle that of "class-association." In many parts of the world there is reason to believe that certain social classes or sections of the community represent, and are descended from, settlers from outside. In Polynesia, Melanesia, and Indonesia there is reason to believe that the ruling classes are the descendants of later settlers, while the general mass of the population represent the inhabitants of the country before these settlers arrived. If an element of culture is found to be especially associated with one or other class, it is, according to the principle I am now considering, assigned to the people whose culture is represented by the class in question. Thus, when I find that the chiefs of Polynesia practise desiccation or other form of preservation of the dead, while the commoners inter their dead in the sitting position, I infer that these forms of disposal of the dead belong to two different peoples. In this case I infer that the desiccation of the chiefs is the later, and interment in the sitting position the earlier, practice. Mr. Perry has found this principle also to hold good in Indonesia, where the association

¹ *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, Manchester, 1918.

of the cultural use of stone and the sun-cult with the chiefs has been held greatly to strengthen the argument based on common distribution that these two elements of culture were introduced by one and the same people.

Each of these three principles standing alone may be subject to exceptions, but when all three point in the same direction, it is possible to assume, with a high degree of confidence, that associated elements of culture were introduced by one and the same people.

Let me now assume that my Melanesian, inspired by these principles, sets to work in Europe. He will spend much time collecting, by means of the phonetic system he had used in Melanesia, specimens of the languages of all the nations he visits, making at the same time a general survey of their religions, their social order, their arts and crafts, but always ignoring anything which brings him into too close contact with ideas derived from written or printed documents. He will soon discover that he has undertaken a task far more difficult than that which had been presented by the culture of his own and neighbouring peoples. The main cause of this difficulty is the far greater uniformity of belief and custom in Europe than in the archipelago where his own methods had been devised. This greater uniformity is largely due to the fact that he is now dealing with a continent, with greater facilities for the spread of culture and for the smaller movements which have occurred, even in Melanesia, as incidents of the intervals between the main migrations. He therefore looks around for some region where it may be possible for him to apply his principles with greater prospect of success, and for this purpose he chooses two largish islands with several small out-liers which lie at the western extremity of Europe, trusting that the preliminary survey he has carried out upon the continent will help him in his task of applying the method of ethnological analysis to the British Isles.

Before he sets to work in earnest he will survey the geographical relations of the region he has chosen. He will note that there are only a limited number of directions by which foreign influence is likely to have come. Though it is possible that migrants may have reached Britain across the Atlantic, he will probably conclude that any influence of this kind has been recent and of no great importance. He will look to the North Sea and the English Channel as the two chief avenues of approach. He will bear in mind, however, the possibility that mariners coasting the western shores of Europe may have reached Ireland

and the southern shores of England, or, continuing to hug the coast on reaching Cornwall or Wales, may have passed north as far as the Hebrides or the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

On making a preliminary survey he will find a most disappointing uniformity in the social organisation upon which the ethnological analysis of his own country has been largely based, and he will therefore decide to turn his attention in the first place to language.

The first rough survey will show the wide presence of one language spoken with a high degree of uniformity among the ruling classes and with great dialectical variations among the ruled, especially among those who follow the occupation of agriculture. At the western and northern parts of the islands he will find another group of languages widely different from any he had met on the continent, except in Brittany, though with certain points of similarity to other of the continental languages. He finds these aberrant forms of speech in the mountainous districts of Scotland, in Ireland, and in Wales, while the place-names of Cornwall show that people speaking a language of this family must have had a vast influence in this outlying corner of Great Britain. It is just possible that he may be so fortunate as to meet some old man who when a boy spoke to Dolly Pen-treath before the last speaker of the Cornish language was interred in a graveyard of Penzance.

He will note that these languages, which the more educated of the people call Celtic, fall into two distinct families. He will be especially interested in their evidence of the interchange of "p" and "q" with which he is already familiar as one of the most useful linguistic distinctions of Melanesia.¹ His familiarity with this criterion will at once lead him to assign these two branches of the Celtic tongue to two influences which he will speak of as the "p" people and the "q" people. The geographical position of these languages in districts most remote from the main direction of migration will lead him to the view that the "p" and "q" peoples represent early inhabitants who have only been able to preserve their language in the mountainous regions of the western and northern parts of Great Britain and in the remote Ireland. This distribution will lead him to formulate the working hypothesis that the Celtic languages belong to an early period of British history, and represent the language either of early immigrants or of the aboriginal inhabitants. The

¹ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages*, Oxford, 1885. Cf. W. H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, vol. ii., p. 470.

existence of two distinct branches of the family will incline him to the former of these alternatives.

On turning his attention to the more widely diffused language, he will find that it has a complex character and can be analysed into two chief components, one resembling the language of France and more remotely those of Spain, Italy, and Roumania, while the other element bears the closest affinity to the languages of Holland, Scandinavia, and Germany. On applying the principle of class-association, he will find that the speech of the ruling classes especially shows this complex character, while the dialects of the subject agricultural population are largely free from the features which have apparently been derived from France, their vocabulary consisting chiefly of words of the kind he will assume to have come across the North Sea. In the eastern districts of Scotland and in the Orkney and Shetland Islands he will find an especially close relation to Scandinavia, but will be puzzled by the presence of terms for certain objects, such as "carafe," agreeing so exactly with words of France that he will conclude they are derived from some French influence of a kind different from, and probably later than, that which has given its French characters to the dominant language of England. Applying his class criterion in the same way as in Melanesia, he will assume that of the two elements into which the English language can be analysed that allied to French, being especially prominent in the language of the ruling classes, is the later, and the other element the earlier.

He will thus reach a provisional scheme in which Great Britain and Ireland had been reached by three main immigrant waves, the earliest of which had itself a double character. He will find it convenient to have names for the carriers of the three languages. In Melanesia he has become accustomed to use names, already mentioned, taken from the substances by which the people stimulate their mental activity. When speaking of the hypothetical peoples who have entered into the composition of his own race, he is accustomed to speak of the kava-people and the betel-people. It will therefore be natural to him to look to similar substances as the source of names for the constituent elements in the population of Britain. He will find one drink widely diffused and used by all classes, but the Celtic origin of the word by which it is universally known and the association of its two varieties with Scotland and Ireland will lead him to connect it with the earliest stratum of the population. He will avoid all the sources of confusion from which we suffer so badly

when we talk of the Celts by adopting the term "whiskey people" for the earliest group of settlers to which his analysis has led him. In seeking names for the two later immigrant peoples he will note that, though the use of beer is widespread, it is the chief, and often the only, drink of the lower, and especially of the agricultural, classes, while the use of wine is definitely confined to the ruling classes. He will therefore be led to use the term "beer-people" and "wine-people" for the elements of the population which we are accustomed to call Anglo-Saxon and Norman. He will decide, at any rate provisionally, to use the terms "whiskey-people," "beer-people," and "wine-people" for the three main elements to which he has been led by his philological analysis.

I believe that my Melanesian ethnologist, through the study of the elements of culture associated with the ruled and ruling classes, would be able to discover in large measure the nature of the relations between the three peoples. I must content myself with an example from a subject which takes the foremost place among the instruments of ethnological analysis in Melanesia. On studying the British terms of relationship, our dark-skinned ethnologist would find that they fall definitely into two groups. Certain terms, such as father, mother, brother, and sister, evidently belong to the beer-people, while the words uncle, aunt, and cousin are as evidently derived from the language of the later wine-people. He will be at first puzzled by the terms for relatives separated by two generations which consist of words of the beer-people modified by the prefix grand-, seemingly derived from the wine-people. These terms belong to the descriptive class, which always forms a difficult problem, and my Melanesian philologist will for the present put them on one side. Confining his attention to the other terms, he will conclude that the relationships of uncle, aunt, and cousin are denoted by words belonging to the wine-people because this people produced some modification in the social order which led to the need for new terms for these relationships. As his prejudice against printed documents forbids him to have recourse to the Anglo-Saxon language, he will be driven to help of other kinds. He will remember having been greatly impressed by a feature of the nomenclature of relationship in Germany, a country where the beer-people are predominant. He had found in general use two words for uncle, "Oheim" and "Onkel," the latter of which is evidently the French word with very slight disguise. There were also two words for aunt, "Tante" and "Base," though the latter word is

often applied to other relatives. Here, again, one word is evidently French in origin, and in correspondence with his experience in the British Isles he had found that these words allied to French were especially prominent in the language of the ruling and more cultured classes. He had also found, when talking to some of the older people of Germany, that "Base" was especially used for the father's sister, who was thus distinguished in nomenclature from the mother's sister, for whom there was a different term—"Muhme." Similarly, he had found, though more rarely, that some old people used the word "Oheim" especially for the mother's brother, and called the father's brother "Vetter," a word used by the majority of the population for the cousin.¹ Among these old people of Germany the Melanesian philologist had thus found the distinction in nomenclature between the father's brother and the mother's brother, and between the father's sister and the mother's sister, which is so fundamental a feature of his own system of kinship. Since the older German words are evidently related to the language of the beer-people of Britain, he will infer that at one time this people distinguished the brother and sister of the father from the brother and sister of the mother. He will assume that the existing language of Great Britain denotes the uncle and aunt by terms derived from the speech of the wine-people because the older distinction became meaningless as the result of changes in the social order brought about by the influence of these settlers. If, owing to social changes coming about under the influence of the wine-people, the older distinction became meaningless, it would be natural that new terms for relatives, formerly distinguished but now classed together, should be taken from the language of the immigrant people by whose influence the change had been made. In Melanesia the distinction of the brother and sister of the father from the brother and sister of the mother is closely connected with the clan-organisation, and my Melanesian ethnologist cannot but regard these features of our nomenclature of relationship as evidence of a clan-organisation as part of the social system of the beer-people which disappeared under the influence of the wine-immigrants. He will find support for this early existence of a clan system in the presence of an organisation, though of a very aberrant kind, which goes by this name in Scotland, and he will detect some traces of a similar organisation in Ireland under the name of "sept." Moreover, he will note the rare occurrence in England of a word "sib," prob-

¹ I am indebted to Professor Breul for valuable information concerning the use of these terms.

ably related to the "sept" of the Irish, which is used in a manner very suggestive of the wide extension of relationship which is so characteristic of the clan-organisation.

This brief illustration by means of certain features of our own language is exactly on the same lines as those which I have used in my analysis of Melanesian culture. You will have noted that the processes inferred by the Melanesian ethnologist, such as the time-order assigned to the three chief constituent elements in the population, are as we know them to have been from our documents, and when our ethnologist overcomes his horror of literary sources he will find that the words of the Anglo-Saxon language denoting kinship exactly correspond with his hypothesis. The documents of this language will show that those who spoke it distinguished the brother and sister of the father from the brother and sister of the mother, just as he had been led to infer from comparison with the linguistic variations of Germany. He will find even that the names which, following the fashion of Melanesian ethnology, he has chosen for the three hypothetical peoples correspond with the truth, whiskey, beer, and wine being the characteristic beverages of the people we are accustomed to call Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman.

It would hardly be fair to give only this comparatively easy and straightforward example of the process of ethnological analysis. I should like briefly to relate a more difficult example, one in which the Melanesian ethnologist may be in great danger of going astray. When he turns his attention to religion he will find that the Roman Catholic cult is especially strong in those parts of Ireland where the old language is spoken, and that this form of religion occurs widely in the mountainous districts of Scotland, where another variant of the ancient language is spoken. He may be led to connect the Roman Catholic religion with the "q" branch of the early inhabitants. He will be puzzled to find that in Wales the Roman Catholic religion is not only absent, but that the religious beliefs of the people are in the liveliest opposition to it, while in England Roman Catholicism occurs among the ruling classes rather than among the ruled. He will find that some of the most powerful of the ruling families of England practise the religion which has close ties with the religion of Italy. On the other hand, the strong Roman Catholicism of Brittany will again suggest the connection of this form of religion with the early inhabitants, but in this case with the "p" branch of this people. He will be still more puzzled by finding that one section of the dominant Church of England,

which is especially associated with the ruling classes, practises a ritual and holds beliefs hardly to be distinguished from those of Roman Catholicism, thus apparently confirming the evidence already collected which seems to connect this form of religion with the wine-people. All these anomalies of distribution will prevent him from adopting the conclusion, to which he was at first inclined, that the Roman Catholic religion is connected with the earlier inhabitants of the islands, and he will turn to the principle of organic connection in order to clear up the difficulties exposed by the study of distribution. He will find that a language which seems to be an archaic form of the speech of Italy is used in the verbal ritual of the Roman Catholic Church of Great Britain and Ireland, and the comparative study of ecclesiastical architecture will also correct his first tendency to assign so early a date to this form of religion. His Melanesian experience will have led him to attach immense importance to the conservatism of religious ritual, and the use of what he would call an Italic language as the medium of Roman Catholic ritual would lead him to connect this form of religion with the wine-people, a conclusion supported by the use of wine in the central mystery of the religion. Moreover, on inquiry, he will find that the verbal ritual of the dominant Church of England is in many respects identical with that of Roman Catholicism, except that English is used as the medium in place of the archaic Italian. Inquiry will show that the very puzzling resemblance in the manual ritual, and especially in the vestments, of one section of the dominant Church is the result of a movement which has taken place within the memory of living inhabitants. He will have no hesitation in correcting his earliest impression, and conclude that the Roman Catholic religion belongs to the latest, and not the earliest, of the three main migrations into Great Britain.

I must be content with these examples of the method of ethnological analysis, by means of which I believe that it is possible to formulate the past history of a people who have no literary documents. I may now consider briefly how such a view of "history" differs from the discipline which ordinarily bears that name. I may refer first to its generalised, impersonal, and even, in many cases, its abstract character as compared with the concreteness of the history which is based on literary documents. Such a history as that of Melanesia hardly contains a personal name and hardly an account of transactions taking place between persons to which any historical value can be attached. Recent investigation has shown the historicity of persons of Egypt and

Crete who were once supposed to be wholly mythical, and it is possible that the persons of the rude legends of Melanesia once really existed, and that some day we may be able to assign to them transactions which are inferred through the method of ethnological analysis. This is unlikely, however, and it is possible that, except in the case of quite recent events, we shall always have to be content with a history devoid of transactions between persons to whom we can refer by name.

Another difference is in the nature of its chronology. It will already have become apparent that the method of ethnological analysis is largely concerned with what I may call relative chronology as distinguished from absolute or numerical chronology. One of the chief aims of the investigator in the examples I have given has been to place events in chronological order, but in this study he would be satisfied if he succeeded in reaching conclusions which enabled him to say that one influence or one form of custom or institution preceded or succeeded another in order of time. Taken alone, without the aid of literary remains, the method of ethnological analysis is helpless before the task of formulating a numerical chronology. It is unable to say whether an influence reached Melanesia, or whether an institution arose as the result of that influence, a thousand years before or a thousand years after the central point of our own chronological system. It is another matter, however, when we bring the results reached by the unaided method of ethnological analysis into relation with those reached by the study of literary documents.

I will take an example from Melanesia. The distribution of the practice of cremation in this region and the nature of the features of culture with which it is associated lead me to place it among the latest elements of culture which reached that region before our own arrival. If we can assign an approximate date to this introduction, we shall be provided with a later limit for all the movements earlier than that which brought the practice of cremation. It is fairly certain that all the main influences which have reached Melanesia have come from Indonesia, or have passed through this region, to which we must therefore look for light concerning chronology. The Indonesian evidence points to cremation having been brought from India, almost certainly by the migration which we know from literary sources to have taken place about the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. If this be accepted, we can place the introduction of cremation into Melanesia as later than the sixth century A.D. It is therefore probable that interment in the sitting position and mummifica-

tion, which the process of ethnological analysis assigns to earlier immigrant influence, took place before this date, but there is one consideration which introduces an element of doubt. Literary evidence tells us with great probability when cremation reached Indonesia, but it cannot tell us when it set out upon its further journey to Melanesia. We have evidence that movements of culture were still in progress when we first became acquainted with Melanesia, and are indeed continuing their progress up to the present time. It is possible, though, for reasons I cannot consider now, it is unlikely, that the practice of cremation may not have passed to Melanesia until centuries after it had become a settled feature of Indonesian culture. It is further possible that there may have been a similar delay in the transmission of some of the earlier cultures. We cannot conclude that every element of culture which reached Indonesia before cremation passed on to Melanesia before the introduction of this method of disposing of the dead into Indonesia.

I have dealt at length with the feature of chronology because it furnishes a good example of the inexactness which must probably always be a feature of the history which is capable of formulation without the aid of literary records. This form of history must always be on broad lines, and will fail to deal with the personal relations which give to the study of history so much of its interest and charm. It may be noted, however, that the general tendency of recent movements in history has been in this direction. Every year more and more attention is being paid to the history of institutions and ideas, while the personal relations and details of the transactions between individuals and nations are coming to be of less interest in themselves and are regarded as material by which broader and more general issues can be reached. If ethnological analysis of the kind I have attempted to describe is deemed worthy of being admitted as an instrument of history, and its conclusions worthy of a place among its data, it will only serve to accentuate a movement which is already evident in the recent progress of the subject. I have supposed that a relative absence of definiteness must always be features of the history of peoples who have no written records, but it must be remembered that the whole movement is at present very young and that the method of ethnological analysis of rude culture, as I have described it, is not yet ten years old, and that even this brief life has been rudely chequered by the losses and accidents of war. It may be that I have been unduly depreciatory, and that the new movement, going hand in hand

with archæology and with the older methods of history, may be found capable of far greater exactness than I have supposed. It is certainly too early to estimate how great may be its contribution to our knowledge of the past.

It is interesting to note how closely the views here put forward concerning the nature of ethnological research agree with those of the late Professor Maitland, especially as expressed in his paper on "The Body Politic."¹ In that essay Maitland stated his belief that "by and by anthropology will have the choice between being history and being nothing."² Moreover, he illustrates his theme by the same examples as those chosen by myself, and objects, just as I have done, to the assumption that there has been a universal order of development from mother-right to father-right. The school of ethnologists to which I belong, whose attitude I have tried to illustrate, have made the choice which Maitland predicted.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

¹ *Collected Papers*, Cambridge (1911), vol. iii, p. 285. ² *Op. cit.* p. 295.

MACHIAVELLI AS POLITICAL THINKER

The name of Machiavelli is probably better known than that of any political thinker with the exception of Aristotle and Plato. Yet this notoriety was won by a little pamphlet which can be read in two hours, to which he himself only attributed a transitory importance, and which, according to Hume, contains nothing which everybody did not know already. Machiavelli wrote much else—a treatise on Livy, a long history of Florence, a novel, plays, diplomatic reports, and private letters. Few besides hardened historians or inquisitive men of letters ever look at these. I should doubt if 5 per cent. even of this enlightened audience¹ have read through the *Discourses upon Livy*, upon which the writer expected his fame to rest. *The Prince*, and *The Prince* alone, has given him immortality. Since it was first printed, it has been the theme of volume upon volume in every European language; it is the subject of warm controversy to the present day. The literature, in fact, has become so vast that in an hour's space I can only flutter across the characteristics of the book, the origins of its composition, and the secret of its interest.

Machiavelli was born in 1468 and died in 1527. The year 1512 marks a conveniently sharp line between the two aspects of his career. From 1496 he had been the highly-placed, hard-worked Civil Servant, Secretary to the Ten, the Committee for Military and State Affairs. After the fall of the Republican Government inaugurated by Savonarola, and the return of the Medici to Florence, he was excluded from political life, and relegated to his little, very countrified estate at San Casciano. Here he had only too much leisure for his active tastes, and here he read and thought and wrote. Fortunately, from time to time he enjoyed the stimulus of the most cultivated set in Florence, which met in the beautiful Rucellai Gardens, and discussed the drafts from which his works were later published. Late in life he was reconciled to the Medici and commissioned to write his history of Florence, leading up to the glorification of that House.

Sharp as the contrast is, the first period had an immediate influence upon the second. The official had accumulated the

¹ This paper was read at University College, London, on March 4, 1920.

evidence upon which the philosopher's conclusions were based. His experience for a public servant of no great family had been extraordinarily wide. He had been sent, not indeed as ambassador, but as observation officer to France, to Germany—that is, to Switzerland and the Tyrol—to Cæsar Borgia, to Julius II. He took a principal part in negotiating the surrender of rebellious Pisa after the wearisome war of fifteen years. Above all, he had shown some practical ability in initiating and organising a native Florentine militia which was to replace unreliable auxiliaries and corrupt condottieri. The militia, by running away from Spanish regulars at the storming of Prato, had really caused their founder's fall, but the civilian was justly proud of his military achievement, which was indeed the key to his future writings.

With most men study precedes experience; by Machiavelli experience was applied to study. After his disgrace he could devote his time to the ancient historians, whose works had always excited his interest, *e.g.* during one of his missions he wrote with urgency for a copy of Plutarch's *Lives*. Many of you have read the letter which tells how, after a sordid and squalid day, he puts off his dirty, muddy clothes, dons royal robes and enters the courts of the great ancients, holds converse with them, and feeds on the food which alone is for him, and for which he was born. In those four hours he forgets his worries, he fears not poverty, has no dread of death, is all absorbed in those classic authors. Machiavelli was too industrious to be content with reading, which is the easiest form of indolence, or even with thinking, which by itself is barren; he must needs be doing, and the only activity possible was to write. He settled down to a commentary on the First Ten Books of Livy, because he saw in the Roman Republic the ideal State, well-balanced as between the classes, possessing in the consulate an element of efficient monarchy, and above all so fully armed that it was able to compass the unity and peace of Italy. Italians were after all Romans; could they not revert to their original principles, could not a model republic be revived on the old Roman model? To this commentary he gave the title of *Discourses on the Decades of Titus Livy*.

What was Machiavelli's aim in writing the *Discourses*? Much the same as that of Aristotle in writing the *Politics*, though he took a different way of reaching it. Both strove to discover the ideal form of government; with both, the practical test was stability, for in Italy, as in Greece, the lack of stability had been the fatal flaw. Aristotle's method was the analysis of all existing forms, nor did he despise that of ideal systems such as Plato's.

Machiavelli was too pessimistic for the former process, and too practical or sceptical for the latter. Contemporary Italy was too corrupt to offer any gleam of light, with the exception of Venice, but her constitutional excellence was in his opinion outweighed by her vicious military system. He did, indeed, turn to France as presenting in her Parliament a model of justice, and once to England to praise her exercise of arms in time of peace. He had, however, this advantage over Aristotle, that there was a long historical past behind him. There is a universal tendency to look back upon the past as a golden age, or at least a superior age. Thus then Machiavelli, as Dante, being Italian, looked back to an age when Italy was really great, with this difference, that Dante idealised the Empire, and Machiavelli the Republic. Machiavelli was a republican by instinct and profession, and was not wholly disillusioned by the calamity of the Florentine Republic. His remedy was in politics, as in religion, in law and medicine, to revert to first principles. St. Dominic and St. Francis had for a time stayed the corruption of Christianity by restoring the ordinances of its founder. Machiavelli would do the same for the State by minute research into the history of the greatest republic that had as yet existed, that of Rome. Petrarch, he would have said, had made a fundamental error in drawing a hard-and-fast line between ancient and modern history. Roman history was not merely a collection of interesting incidents, useful only for rhetorical ornament; it was for those who read it with insight (*sensamente*) an infallible lesson for the present. In the State as founded by Romulus and continued by Numa he found good arms and good religion. These were the irreducible minima. Without good arms you could never have good laws, without religion good arms would only end in anarchy. On the foundations laid by the Monarchy the Republic built up the Roman State.

If Machiavelli was so deeply interested in the Roman Republic and its possible adaptability to existing Italian needs, why did he suddenly turn from it to compose *The Prince*, the very negation of a republican system and having no relation to præ-Imperial Rome? The immediate reason, perhaps, was that he was out of work and poor; his active mind longed for exercise, and his material instinct for the flesh-pots of Florence. The natural, the inevitable recourse was to a patron. There seemed no more chance for the Republican government that had been overthrown; Machiavelli's late chief, Piero Soderini, had been led weeping from the Palazzo by four young aristocrats, and was now an exile at Ragusa. The Medici were firmly in the saddle at Florence, with the good-

natured Giuliano as their representative, while his brother Leo X. supported him with all the power of the Papacy. If Machiavelli had personal feelings of hostility, it was rather to the aristocrats who had betrayed the Republic than to the Medici who took advantage of the treason. After all, Machiavelli had not been one of the rulers of the State, but a mere employé. Why should he not be as useful to a new prince as the Kaiser's minister, Dr. Solf, to a new Republic? Guicciardini later adopted the same course, and his defence applies to Machiavelli.

This is the material, external side of the question, which makes *The Prince* a *livre de circonstance*, a personal bid for office. But there is more than this. Machiavelli had a gospel to preach, that of Italian liberty. He had seen with his own eyes his country disgraced and destroyed by French, Germans, Swiss and Spaniards. If Venice with all her power had been overthrown, what chance could there be for Florence, which without ruinous foreign aid could never even have recovered her own rebellious city of Pisa? Italy had sunk so low that to be freed she must be re-created. For creation Machiavelli always held that individual energy was essential; a State must be started on its course by a personality, a Romulus, a Moses, a Theseus, a Cyrus. He could not even conceive of the French institutions, which he admired as a model of constitutionalism, as being a growth; for him they were the conscious work of some unknown founder in the past. Here, then, comes in the individualism which is so prominent a feature in the Italian Renaissance. But also, as a clever and experienced bureaucrat, he had acquired the cult of efficiency. He must regretfully admit that democracy, as far as he knew it, was abandoned to the cult of inefficiency. In Italian city states Republican constitutions had almost all given place to despotisms, because this was the sole refuge from the anarchy of faction. The Golden Ambrosian Republic of Milan, which had started with such bright hopes, had split into fragments the great Visconti State, the nearest approach to unity that Italy had known, and had ended in an orgy of mob rule and fallen a prey to an efficient soldier. The Savonarolist Republic of Machiavelli's own day had shared the fate of that of Milan, and yet she had in Savonarola her individual creator, her prophet, her Moses; but then he was inefficient, because he was unarmed. Even Venice, admittedly the best model of the mixed state for which Machiavelli had been searching in the *Discourses*, had failed in the supreme test of war.

At such a crisis could his patriotism be content with the arid and stale discussion of Aristotle's analysis of constitutions handed

down from generation to generation and reaching him, not through the original, but through Polybius? Might he not exclaim with Pope : "For forms of government let fools contest, whate'er is best administered is best"? The times needed a creator who must be efficient, and, to be efficient, must be armed. With such an one he had been brought into close contact; during his mission to Cæsar Borgia he had won his favour, received his confidence; this was the most exciting episode of his life. Cæsar had actually created a new considerable state, which might, thought Machiavelli, have been a nucleus for a united Italy; he had got rid of his mercenary captains, and rendered himself less dependent on his French auxiliaries by the introduction of national service, from which Machiavelli had copied his own scheme. Cæsar had, indeed, failed, but this, thought Machiavelli, was due to an accident, his own illness at the moment of his father's death. He must then find a replica of Cæsar, of whom he writes, "I should not know what better precepts to give to a new prince than the example of his actions." "I shall never hesitate to quote Cæsar Borgia and his actions." For his replica of Cæsar, Machiavelli naturally turned to the ruler of his own state. Italy could not be united by a Florentine Republic; it might be by a despot working from Florence as his base. The popular house of Medici, backed by the power of the Papacy, stood surely a better chance than the hated alien house of the Borgian Pope and his bastard. When Giuliano died, Machiavelli transferred the dedication to his nephew Lorenzo, who had more youth, more violence, more ambition. Lorenzo took no notice of the disgraced civil servant's brochure, and Machiavelli's sole reward for his trouble was a reputation enviable or unenviable with posterity.

By my title I have begged the question whether Machiavelli is a political thinker, but I suppose that any man who really thinks much upon politics, and does not merely think that he thinks, may claim the designation. Can we place him a stage higher and call him a Political Philosopher? This implies originality, constructive power and method. Where then is his originality? Why has he been called the founder of a new epoch in political science, the first philosopher since Aristotle and Plato? Why, again, has he been singled out as being præ-Baconian? Bacon himself has supplied a partial answer in what may be called a grace to be repeated before sitting down to a feast of Machiavelli's works : *Gratias agamus Machiavello et hujus modi scriptoribus qui aperte et indissimulanter proferunt non quid homines facere debeant sed quid faciant*. In Bacon's opinion he discredited the utopia; he certainly

caused a reaction against the formal panegyric, the formal diatribe, the literary stock-in-trade of the Renaissance, which devoted its talents to form rather than to thought. His conclusions were founded on facts, on personal observation and historical analysis. His method has been called inductive—historical is a better phrase, because in so huge a field as that of politics induction must be so incomplete as to be almost worthless. In his own words, "I have thought fit to follow the actual truth in my subject rather than an imaginary view of it. Many have imagined republics and principalities which have never been seen or known to exist in reality, for there is so much difference between how one lives and how one ought to live, that he who leaves what is actually done for what ought to be done is learning the means to his ruin rather than to his salvation, for a man, who under all circumstances wishes to make what is good his object, must necessarily come to ruin among so many who are not good." Politics, that is, must be studied by and for themselves, they must not be confused by ethics or religion. Historical his method certainly is. From the lessons of Roman history he laboriously feels his way towards the formation of a model republic, for *The Prince* he selects his instances partly from the Roman empire and the Macedonian monarchy and the tyrants of Sicily, partly from his own experience of Cæsar Borgia. The third work of the trilogy, the *Arte della Guerra*, is, as has been admirably shown by Mr. Burd, almost a cento of quotations from classical authors artistically woven into a treatise half military, half political.

At times, however, the uncomfortable question arises: Is his history always apposite, and, if not, what is the value of the lesson to be learnt from it? Guicciardini's critical faculty at once fastened upon a flaw. "How greatly do those deceive themselves, who at every word quote the Romans. It would be necessary to have a state under the same conditions as was theirs, and then to govern on that model; but when the respective characters are out of all proportion, the attempt also is as much out of all proportion as it would be to set an ass to run a horse race." Machiavelli in other words does not always argue *in pari materia*. If only he had left Rome alone and put side by side with Cæsar Borgia, as he very occasionally does, the despots of Milan, Verona, Padua or Rimini, *The Prince* would have been a precious handbook of Italian medieval history, worthy of being set side by side with Aristotle's *Politics*, the very grammar of Greek history. Guicciardini's criticism might be carried further still; it might be argued that Machiavelli's conclusions rest not always on

proofs but on authority, that a text of a Latin author counts as much to him as a text of scripture to Dante and his contemporaries.

Hence the extraordinary contrast between the sagacity bred of experience in the Florentine Chancery, and ripened by diplomatic opportunities at home and abroad, and the plagiarist commonplace derived from solitary study of moralising historians. The pedant and the politician were never so curiously blended as in Machiavelli.

And yet, further still, is there not in Machiavelli's political works an element of the utopia, an imaginary ideal state, ideal not indeed for the governed but for the government? "It is an unsafe thing," says Harrington, writing on Machiavelli, "to follow fancy in the fabric of a commonwealth."

I need not dwell on other faults of Machiavelli, on his frequent contradictions, on his using the self-same fact to prove two opposite conclusions, on his somewhat shameless selection of his evidence, of which I will give a single instance. In pushing his military hobby to its extreme, he says that every successful ruler must be a soldier, leaving out of sight Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who was far nearer giving unity to Italy than Cæsar Borgia or Francesco Sforza, or Charles V., the most successful king of France, who spent his time on his knees rather than in the saddle. These latter faults are natural, for Machiavelli was writing with a view, not to abstract philosophical truth but to practical politics, and what political writer does not pick his instances and doctor his statistics? But also this predisposition to formulate, according to his favourite phrase, "a rule which never or rarely fails" is a defect of his quality, of the piercing vision which looks through and behind the facts to principles. He clutches at principles, and is too impatient to collect its proofs.

Machiavelli was always searching for method but never quite found it. His want of scholarship made him uncritical as to his sources and to the conclusions to be drawn from them. Method, after all, is the instrument of constructive power, and of this he had but little. The form of the *Discourses*, it is true, being a collection of notes on chapter by chapter of Livy, did not lend itself to construction, though he might derive therefrom some general principles of interest. *The Prince* is more compact, it has some sort of plan, but the scheme has little originality and no completeness, it is little more than a series of maxims for government by force or fraud derived from the existing or historical despotic state. As a work of philosophy, it cannot be compared with the

Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio, or even with the *De Monarchia* of Dante. It is not even an utopia, because this is a constructive work of the imagination, even as a political philosophy is that of the intellect. An utopia, such as that of More, or of Campanella or Butler's *Erewhon*, professes to picture the whole framework of a dreamland people. No one can claim this for *The Prince*, though it has been called an utopia not for the governed, but for the government. There is, however, in an utopia an element of prophecy, looking forward to a future better than the present or the past. Machiavelli was no prophet, unless a prayer for Italy's unity, when it was quite impossible, constitutes a prophecy. In this there was no originality, for poets had sung of it; rulers before his day, such as Gian Galeazzo, had thought it almost within their reach; and many, among them Machiavelli himself, feared in his own time that such was the deliberate aim of Venice.

Machiavelli's insight, acute as it might be, was confined to facts, to specific objects. He was too short-sighted for distances, he had no sense for atmosphere. Even while he wrote, there were great, if distant, events in the far East and West which would reduce to yet lower insignificance the petty States of Italy, which were all his world; there were movements of thought, which long before his death would shake all Europe, but all these were outside his focus and foreign to his feeling. *The Prince* gives no real evidence of constructive power whether philosophical or imaginative. The realisation of his scheme would have been a mere mechanical extension of a faulty system from one territory to another until his buckram hero misgoverned the whole of Italy.

How is the more fundamental weakness in Machiavelli's philosophical structure to be explained? I think by his belief in the theory, common in his day, of an historical cycle; there is always a definite amount of evil and of good in the world, neither more nor less; a given nation never stands still, it is always ascending or descending, but cannot escape from the cycle, cannot in fact progress. Thus, it is often said that Machiavelli had no idea of progress, of evolution, which is the cardinal feature of most modern political science. Thus revival takes the place of reform, whether political or religious. As St. Dominic and St. Francis reverted to the practice of the early Benedictines, and the spiritual Franciscans to that of St. Francis, so the Italian politician must hark back to the system of his forefathers, the ancient Romans. Yet, even so, he is not quite logical, for he seems to think it im-

possible that this latter goal should ever be really reached. Italy, the corruption of the world, was obviously at the bottom of the wheel, and Machiavelli despaired of her ever reaching the top. This is what is called Machiavelli's pessimism, which is at once historical and ethical. He was a disappointed man, had seen little of the better side of human nature, his own moral standard was distinctly low. For him, men were by nature bad and not good; if ever they were good, it was because they were forced to be so; "of men, speaking generally, it may be said that they are ungrateful, fickle, deceitful, cowardly, greedy; as long as they are getting anything out of you, they offer you their blood, their goods, their lives, their children, when the need seems far distant, but when it is near at hand they turn against you." The people being bad, the ruler cannot be good, for to be good would be his ruin, the ruler must be what his subjects make him, he must have no good faith, no mercy, no scruples, no half-measures; he must be beast as well as man, fox as well as lion, must pretend to be what he is not, and pretend not to be what he is. He may have personal virtues or vices, but he must select from each category those which will not prejudice his power. The people, bad as they are, for selfish reasons, would like their prince to have all the virtues. So he must appear peaceful, faithful, humane, honest, and, above all, religious. The most successful ruler of his time was Ferdinand of Aragon, who used religion to justify all his enterprises, however cruel. The cant of Ferdinand, the force of Borgia, are the essential qualities for all rulers to acquire. It must be noted that this doctrine is preached by Machiavelli, not only in *The Prince*, which is a somewhat fancy sketch of a typical Italian despot, but in the *Discourses*, where the people are to have their full share in the government. Truly a melancholy picture, no wonder that it would be found in practice that no policy that could be adopted could be good; all that could be done was to choose the least bad—the last word in political pessimism.

If Machiavelli's philosophical method was defective, if the subject of the *Discourses* was an ideal Italian republic, which never was and never could in those days have been founded, and that of *The Prince* a despotism which has revolted future generations, and that of the *Art of War* a civilian's military text-book which decried the use of gunpowder, why do we persist in paying so much attention to his works? Partly, no doubt, for the perfection of his style. Partly, also, for his patriotic cry for a free and united Italy, to which we shall return. But apart from style and patriotism, from a purely politico-philosophic point of view, the study of the *Dis-*

courses and *The Prince* is well worth while, for they touch on the relation of the individual to the State, which still perplexes us, and must always do so. Here it is that the study of antiquity by so penetrating and so modern a thinker has proved a real contribution to political thought. Machiavelli learnt from both Greece and Rome that the State must be supreme, but he had more affinity with Rome than Greece. For the individualist development of the Italian Renaissance the Greek state was perhaps too all-absorbing, it dominates too many sides of the individual's activities. Many of our own problems Machiavelli scarcely touches. He never treats of education (though he may presuppose a training in the *ἥθος* of the State). On economics, which fill the largest place in a modern work, he merely advises the prince not to tax too heavily, and not to confiscate his subjects' land; he quotes with approval the voluntary taxation on Auberon Herbert's lines, which he found in Switzerland. On the relation of the sexes, he has no word beyond the suggestion that the best way to win a woman's affection is to beat her. Yet, his successor, Campanella, reverts, in his *City of the Sun*, to the extremist views of Platonic sexual-communism and to equality in the service and the privileges of the State. In only a few sentences does he refer to the ruler's duty to protect and further agriculture and commerce by appropriate bonuses, and to encourage by his presence popular gatherings for feasts and spectacles, and yet these were prominent features in the policy of most Italian states whether monarchical or republican.

Machiavelli had more affinity with Rome than with Greece; he prefers the intensive but more limited range of the Roman state, which may be summed up in one word—Discipline. That was what Italy and, above all, Florence needed. Livy taught Machiavelli that the power of Rome rested on religion and on arms, *i.e.* on spiritual and physical discipline. In the 14th century, the religious question had taken the form of the relation of the civil power to the Papacy. This had been almost the whole purport of Dante's treatise, and the most interesting topic in that of Marsiglio; the contest raged for centuries through every state in Europe. Machiavelli's peculiarity is that he adopts almost in its entirety the præ-Christian governmental point of view, though, except in one respect, he has no quarrel with Christianity. The passage in question suggests that Christianity weakened the war-like, virile character of the citizen by unduly exalting meekness and humility. To the text "the meek shall inherit the earth" he would reply, "the meek might

inherit, but the war-like might say : ' This is the heir, come let us kill him. ' " Even this criticism he watered down by adding that it was probably not a correct representation of the Founder's teaching. Machiavelli had, indeed, no use for an unarmed prophet such as Savonarola, who, in spite of saintliness and his early popularity, fell because he was at the mercy of a riot. As against this, the simple people of Switzerland and the Tyrol were at once the most Christian and the most war-like. Machiavelli's quarrel with the Papacy was not that it was Christian, but anti-Christian, anti-religious, that thanks to it the three Latin nations had become the corruptest of the world, that religion flourished in inverse proportion to its nearness to the Papacy, that, if this were transplanted across the Alps, the German nations would soon become as corrupt as the Latin. For Machiavelli as for Dante, the chief cause of this corruption was the temporal power of the Papacy, and this he felt the more strongly because it thwarted his ideal of a united Italy. Machiavelli had, indeed, like Dante, been singularly unlucky in his Popes, Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., Innocent VIII., Julius II., a far from reputable *partie carrée* (the few months of Pius III. may be omitted).

Machiavelli has often been misrepresented as holding that religion was merely an instrument of government. An instrument it might be, but it was much more. It was part of human nature, and no ruler could neglect it—nay more, it was the very base of a well-ordered state ; there was no better proof of the decadence of a nation than the contempt for divine worship. The Roman republic owed her two centuries of glory even more to Numa than to Romulus, for religion is essential to the maintenance of *una civiltà*. The Samnites in adversity found in the revival of religion the only hope of regaining their lost manhood. Thus, he warns the new prince to respect and even encourage the ceremonies and superstitions of his subjects even if he does not believe in them. If the prince has no religion, he must, at least, pretend to have it ; Ferdinand of Aragon owed most of his success to making religion the cloak of his most striking enterprises. The unity and character of a state depended on religion. If religion had been maintained in the Christian states, they would be far more happy and united than they were. Where there is religion, arms can be introduced ; where there arms and no religion, the latter can with difficulty be revived. Machiavelli was probably an agnostic, but he cannot be fairly called an atheist, and he deserves credit for a wide tolerance. William the Silent has often been credited with the invention of religious tolerance ; he had only to read Chapters

11 and 12 of the *Discourses* to find it. Were Machiavelli alive now to discuss the place of religion in education, he would with certainty be undenominationalist, but not secularist.

However much Machiavelli respected religion, his personal interest was in arms. Good order required good laws, and good laws could only be enforced by good arms. Thus, the Roman military system became the foundation of all his political thought. Both the *Discourses* and *The Prince* work up to this and it receives its completion in the *Art of War*. He had seen the Roman system practically adopted by the Swiss, so thoroughly, indeed, that at one moment he had a panic fear that they would conquer all Italy. But to have good arms the State must be supreme; the individual must sacrifice his liberty, and, if necessary, his life to the State. The system advised was so rigorous that no modern nation adopted it until Prussia set the fashion. Yet, Machiavelli was not militarist in the Prussian sense. Soldiers and officers were to remain citizens; a campaign ended, both returned to their normal civilian occupations; a military caste he would have regarded as an evil as great as the condottiere system. But the chief duty of the ruler must be the training and upkeep of the national army. For this purpose, a prince doubtless had advantages over a republic; the wholly imaginary Castracane and the not wholly real Cæsar Borgia were made his models. But this did not entail irresponsible autocracy, for the whole people could not be armed, unless the whole people consented. And a popular army must consist mainly of infantry, and thus infantry comes to be the backbone of a national force.

This popular service leads to another side of Machiavelli's principles, which has a very modern bearing, that is the share of all classes in the service and in the government of the State. His instincts are radical, he believes in the people rather than in the upper classes; from the governmental standpoint, rule based upon the people is more durable; the people is more loyal, more easily satisfied; it wants, not to oppress, but merely not to be oppressed; ignorant as it may be of general principles, it has a sound instinct for particulars. Against the upper class Machiavelli seems to have a personal prejudice, yet he would not exclude it from the construction of the State. Even the despot of Cæsar Borgia's type cannot dispense with either people or nobles; he must rely upon the people, but must also satisfy those humours which, being unsatisfied, lead to trouble. It must be remembered that the people, in Machiavelli's sense, would include the middle class, a large and intelligent body in Florence. Government, then,

must not rest on Junkerism, on bourgeoisie, or on labour; it must be compacted of all classes. All must be enlisted in the service of the State; the State must be framed for the benefit of all classes, but it must control all classes. If such a State were to expand, and Machiavelli meant it to expand to the limits of all Italy, the provinces annexed must be made, not subjects, as was the usual Florentine practice, but companions, as in ancient Rome; the Italian State would be in a sense a federation of provinces, resembling that of the Swiss cantons. Here at last in the *Discourses* rather than in *The Prince* there is evidence of constructive thought. Outside the limits imposed by the State free play was left for individual tastes and energies, but within them the State was all in all and over all—*Deutschland über alles* in the true sense of that much-abused phrase.

These subjects of modern interest are illustrated in the *Discourses* rather than in *The Prince*, and yet it is on the latter alone that Machiavelli's fame has rested. How is the extraordinary vogue of this little pamphlet to be explained? In great measure by the date, not of its composition, but of its publication (1531). The second expulsion of the Medici, the revival of fierce republicanism with the martyred Savonarola as its prophet and the Holy Ghost as its patron, the gallant defence of Florence and its tragic fall produced a violent reaction against Machiavelli as being in *The Prince* the parasite, in the *History of Florence* the panegyrist of the Medici. European interest was aroused. *The Prince* became the text-book for would-be absolutists, the target for lovers of liberty. The question was one not only of politics, but of ethics. No one had ever stated the cause of the Is against the Ought To Be so trenchantly as Machiavelli. This had been to his contemporaries an academic commonplace, but to the stirred consciences of the Reformation and the Catholic Revival it was a vital question of morals. Jesuits and official Papalists denounced it as subversive of religion and Papal authority, Protestants as dangerous to morals and to liberty. The indifferents, the realists, the new men of science, rallied to Machiavelli's defence. Do the same principles apply to State and to individual practice? Is there a national as there is a personal conscience? The controversy was afoot, and every newspaper editor knows how much easier it is to start a controversy than to stop it.

The interest in Machiavelli's call for the liberation of Italy was more intermittent, but it naturally rose to fever-heat with the *Risorgimento* in the middle of the last century. Dante, who had summoned a German Emperor to give peace to Italy, fell

out of favour, and Machiavelli, who had called upon Italians to expel the foreigner by force of arms, became the popular literary hero. And yet of the two greatest figures of the *Risorgimento* Mazzini condemned him as causing the moral ruin of Italy, and Cavour preferred Guicciardini as the better guide for the practical statesman.

This call, however, contained in the last chapter of *The Prince*, and somewhat loosely attached to the structure of the pamphlet, is in chief measure the true cause of the writer's fame, and that for the beauty of its words. It is probably the finest patriotic cry that ever issued from any language. It gave value to the little book, which was aided by its very shortness and its very easiness. And here we have reached Machiavelli's chief claim to immortality. He had an incomparable style, the least ornate, the least redundant, the most simple and direct, the clearest and most forcible of all Italians of his day, or perhaps of any day. It is at least remarkable that his two works which are at all widely read, *The Prince* and the *History of Florence*, are those which best lend themselves to the display of style. Of these *The Prince* is the finer as being the younger, the less laboured and conscious. His style is so perfect because it is so genuine, because it comes hot from the furnace of his feelings or his thoughts. Had he been a characteristic Renaissance Humanist, he would have cast about for added ornament; the product would have cooled and lost its savour. Most of us find that we cannot write as vividly as we think; there is a gap between the thought and its expression. With Machiavelli it was not so. Whatever his contradictions, he felt so keenly on the subject which he was treating that thought and expression were almost simultaneous.

A recent writer, Alfredo Oriani, has called him the painter of politics, his gift being that of the brush rather than of the brain. His art is pictorial rather than philosophical; *The Prince* is a flash-light representation of the policy of an Italian State as Machiavelli saw it. Others have called him the reviver or creator of political thought. Oriani, who sets no value on his philosophy, proclaims him, more truthfully to my mind, the creator of modern Italian prose, and that is glory enough for any man.

E. ARMSTRONG

NOTES AND NEWS.

In our last number we had to congratulate Miss Rose Graham on being the first woman elected to the Council of the Royal Historical Society. We have now to congratulate her and Mrs. Strong, the archæologist, on being the first women elected as Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. Our congratulations are also due to Miss Eileen Power, the first woman elected to an Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowship; our only regret is that her absence may postpone a continuance of her economic contributions to "Historical Revisions," to which we and our readers had looked forward.

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The question of the Scheldt continues to be a bone of contention, historically and politically; and the convention to which we referred in April has not yet been ratified. The Brussels *Standaard* for May 8 criticises Professor Terlinden's articles in *HISTORY* from the Flemish point of view, and we print a letter on the subject from Professor Geyl. A reasoned reply from General de Bas, Director of the Military History Branch of the General Staff of the Dutch Army, will, we hope, appear in our October number.

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The *Historical Atlas for Schools*, to the preparation of which Dr. Reid and her colleagues on the Illustrations Committee of the Association have devoted unsparing pains, is to be published in the autumn by Messrs. Philip and Son. It incorporates the results of the great war and the treaties of peace.

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We have pleasure in calling attention to a new venture in historical scholarship by the Cambridge University Press. It consists in a series of *Studies in Medieval Life and Thought*, edited by Mr. C. G. Coulton, and the first volume, which we hope to review in our next number, is Miss Margaret Deanesly's *Lollard Bible*. Mr. Coulton announces an heroic resolve: in all copies sold after the first year there is to be inserted an "errata" slip embodying the corrections up to date, and they are all to be incorporated in any fresh impression. We hope other publishers will be willing and able to follow this example of sacrifice on the altar of historical science.

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The Regional Association proposes to hold a summer meeting from Aug. 21 to Sept. 11 at Chalice Well, Glastonbury, the purposes of which will be (a) to make a regional survey, rural and civic, of Glastonbury and its surroundings, and (b) to proceed, from the material so obtained, by discussions and lectures to a critical study

of social life and institutions. Application, including a booking fee of 10s. 6d., should be made to Mrs. Fraser Davis, Hon. Sec. of the Regional Association, at 65, Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.

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Considerable progress has been made with the appeal for funds to establish a School of Historical Research, which we announced in our last number, and the most gratifying feature has been the response from teachers of history. There are few signs more promising for the future of historical studies in this country than the willingness of teachers even in elementary schools to devote scanty and hard-won guineas to the discovery of historical truth. For nothing has prejudiced history more, in comparison with physical science, than the extraordinary delusion that it has all been found out; and there is no commoner sign of vulgarity of mind than the customary assumption that "research" necessarily means investigation into matter.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,

I shall be glad if you will allow me to say a few words about the article of Professor Terlinden on "the History of the Scheldt." The question of the Scheldt has lately somewhat troubled the relations between Holland and Belgium. It would be a pity if the history of the Scheldt were to be re-written from the point of view of recent politics. Yet that is, if I am not mistaken, what a large part of the first instalment of Professor Terlinden's article is intended to do.

After describing the territorial arrangements at the mouth of the river, Professor Terlinden declares that "such a situation cannot be due to natural causes," but that only "abnormal reasons of hard politics" can explain it. This is quite true, and, indeed, we see this situation spring into being quite suddenly, under the most abnormal conditions of rebellion and war, in the year 1585. But Professor Terlinden goes much farther back than that. He sees a Belgian nation over against a Dutch nation at a time when the present division of the Netherlands peoples could be foreseen by nobody. He speaks of Brabant Dukes and Flemish Counts working at a "Belgian" policy against the "Dutch" schemes of the Counts of Holland, as if the Dukes of Brabant had been conscious of any closer relationship with Flanders than with Holland! What the Middle Ages and the Burgundian period show to us is the slow development of a Netherlands nationality embracing both the Northern and the Southern regions. The union of all the Netherlands under the Burgundian princes, which Professor Terlinden describes as the culmination of a traditional Belgian policy of an economic character rested on a growing national sentiment. Unity of language connected Flanders and Brabant with Holland and the rest of the Northern Netherlands. The Netherlands State might have stood the test of time

well enough if it had not gone under in the upheaval of the rebellion against Spain.

And why was it wrecked in those critical years? Professor Terlinden gives one to understand that "the Dutch" did not give all possible assistance to "the Belgians." But in 1576 all the Netherlands showed a united front to Spain. Only in the South, where Alva had stamped out Calvinism much more completely than in the North (although originally it had been stronger there), the Catholic party was open to the blandishments of the Spaniards. In 1579 Parma succeeded in detaching all the Walloon regions from the States-General, and he then set about methodically reducing the rest of the Netherlands. It was naturally the turn of Flanders and Brabant first. They were weakened by internal dissension, and, as Professor Terlinden points out, they lacked the splendid natural defences of the Northern provinces, by which the advance of Parma was stopped.

So the separation of the Northern and the Southern Netherlands came about quite accidentally. When Antwerp fell, and almost the whole of Brabant and Flanders had come back to the obedience of the Spanish King, it was only natural that the other provinces should still cling to the advantageous strategical position on the mouth of the Scheldt by which they could prevent the Spaniards (just as the Germans were prevented in the late war) from making use of their conquest. But it is unlikely that many people at that time foresaw that this state of affairs was going to be perpetuated. It must have looked much more probable that either the independent provinces would succeed, with the help of England, in re-conquering Antwerp and the rest of the Southern Netherlands, or would be reduced by the Spanish armies, as their friends had been. But so far does Professor Terlinden allow his mind to be governed by his knowledge of what happened afterwards that he suspects designs against "Belgium" even in the fortification of Terneusen "by the Dutch" in 1583, that is, before the fall of Antwerp. But that move, undertaken under the authority of the States-General, on which at that time Brabant and Flanders were still represented, was intended to secure the access to Antwerp and the inundation works for the defence of Ghent against the menacing advance of Parma in Flanders.

I shall not discuss all the points where Professor Terlinden seems to me to have shown his partiality against Holland. There is, for instance, his contention that King William I. on August 2nd, 1831, "violated" the armistice with Belgium, while the truth is that already in June he denounced it in the event of Leopold of Coburg accepting the eighteen articles. There is another point about Professor Terlinden's article which I am afraid shows that he underestimated the historical knowledge of the public for which he was writing. I mean that while he has much to say on the economic exploitation of Belgium by Holland after the Treaty of Utrecht, he is silent on the very active share which England had in that policy which nobody thinks of defending to-day. The suppression of this well-known fact must have aroused the suspicions of English readers rather than have created in their minds the prejudice against Holland which Professor Terlinden evidently intended it to do.

P. GEYL.

SIR,—May I protest against the sweeping criticism of the examination of Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board, contained in the letter signed "1846"? I trust that the writer has since read Professor Pollard's article on Historical Criticism, and especially pp. 23-25. What are the charges which "1846" makes against the examination in general, and the history syllabus in particular?

(a) It is "one of the worst of all possible examinations." From what point of view? From the administrative point of view I think that it is quite the best from which I have suffered. Nobody dislikes writing letters and filling up forms more than I do, and I am convinced that in this examination these worries are brought to the irreducible minimum. This is hardly the place to consider the syllabus as a whole, but there are few examinations in which a wider choice is given in Classics, Mathematics, Languages and English. The syllabus for the English Literature is most refreshing. Boys cannot take this examination without realising that there are other English writers besides Shakespeare.

(b) His chief accusation, however, is that the history periods are too long, and especially the new European history period. He asserts that this period must encourage "cram." Surely the papers as set in the past two years and the liberal choice allowed in each period flatly contradict his assertion. When we look more closely at the new period, we must realise that the period entails hardly any more memory work. The old period 1815-1871 is chiefly concerned with France, Italy and Germany. To understand the history of France in the twentieth Century, it is already necessary to trace in outline its story from the Seven Years' War. To understand the growth of Germany, a knowledge of the work of Frederick the Great is equally essential. England's own history covers the Seven Years' War and the Napoleonic Wars.

What then is left for the average boy of seventeen to master, which he has not to grapple with already? Russia, Poland and the Turkish question. Even if he omitted to study these questions, he would have covered sufficient ground to pass the examination. I have invariably found that the boy who can be induced to read the interesting books, does pass the examination without any cramming, and that the failures are those who try to learn facts and dates without trying to appreciate their significance or historical setting. All the boys who take the Certificate or Matriculation examination, have already been over the outlines of English History, and I do not think that two terms for this period is too short. If that is so, the third term should be sufficient for the English period.

S. M. TOYNE.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

XIV.—THE PETITION OF RIGHT.¹

When Hallam, early in the nineteenth century, wrote of the Petition of Right as "this statute," he seems to have settled, at **any** rate for the text-book writer, its nature once and for all. A statute he called it, and too often a statute has it remained, though any investigation of the events leading up to it, even its very title, must have made it clear that it differed in several respects from the ordinary Act of Parliament. What, then, was it exactly? This can be understood only if the circumstances leading to its presentation be carefully studied.

In 1626 Charles I. had ordered the collection of a forced loan; to this many of his subjects had refused to contribute, and had in consequence been committed to prison, and had there remained without being charged with any specific offence. Of these prisoners, five knights applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus in order to bring their cases before the courts. They could not demand such a writ as a right, but as an act of grace the Crown allowed it to be issued; the more ordinary course of procedure (and the one adopted by Sir John Eliot) was to petition the King or the Privy Council for release.

To the writ of Habeas Corpus a return was made that the prisoners were committed by the special command of the King, and no other cause for commitment was shown. There was no question of the complete discharge of the prisoners; they merely sued to be released on bail; to this the judges returned judgment that they should be remanded—not until they should be tried according to the law, which would have meant a definite refusal of bail—but simply remanded; this was not a final judgment, and merely implied a remand while the judges consulted together or until they received information from the Crown as to the real cause of commitment. As the knights made no further application to the court, no further and final judgment was given, and the matter was left undecided.

When, however, Parliament met in March, 1628, the whole question of arbitrary taxation and of imprisonment to enforce it was debated at great length in the Commons; on March 26th they passed a resolution condemning taxation without a parliamentary grant, and on April 1st three more concerning arbitrary imprisonment. These

¹ Modern literature dealing specifically with this subject is very limited: there is quite a good monograph on the Petition of Right by Miss F. H. Relf (Univ. of Minnesota: 75 cents), which embodies the most modern views on the subject, but this should be read in conjunction with S. R. Gardiner: *History of England*, 1603-42, vol. vi. (Longmans, Green and Co.). Most constitutional histories deal with the matter, but usually in a very hackneyed manner. An article by E. Jenks on "The Story of the Habeas Corpus," published in the *Law Quarterly Review*, xviii., p. 64, is valuable in connection with the Five Knights' Case.

declared (1) that no man ought to be committed by the command of the King or Council without cause being shown; (2) that the writ of Habeas Corpus should not be denied to any man who is committed to prison; and (3) that, if the return to such a writ showed no cause, the prisoner ought to be delivered or bailed.

To these resolutions the Lords failed to agree, as they considered that they were too sweeping, and therefore at Wentworth's suggestion the Commons resolved to proceed by an ordinary bill. But the bill, when drafted by a committee of which Sir Edward Coke seems to have been the most influential member, did not meet with Wentworth's approval, for it roundly denied the King's power to commit without cause shown, while asserting the prisoner's right in such a case to be bailed or delivered; to this was added a denial of the legality of arbitrary taxation, and of arbitrary billeting of soldiers. Wentworth would have preferred not to offend the King too seriously by a complete denial of his right to commit, but to embody in the bill the second and third of the Commons' resolutions of April 1st and so to ensure speedy release if any such commitment took place.

The King naturally had an even stronger objection to the Commons' proposals, and made it quite clear that no bill that did more than confirm the ancient laws and liberties of the subject would be allowed to pass. For the Commons this was not nearly sufficient, because, though they had declared again and again that all they wanted was the enforcement of such ancient laws and liberties, yet, when put to it, they were forced to admit that what they sought was "the explanation of the lawe" and "the old put in fuller sense," because "the Acts of Parliament include these questions in substance but it is only implied." They needed a bill to interpret the ancient laws from their particular point of view, so as to shut out for ever the equally legitimate interpretation that the Crown had put upon them. Therefore they rejected the King's idea of a mere confirmation of the laws, and, seeing that there was no hope of passing their bill, dropped it and decided to proceed by petition of right. The petition was a *pis aller*, a makeshift, and not the all-conquering statute that Hallam believed it.

What, then, was a petition of right? When a private individual found himself suffering hardship from the actions of the royal government or the royal laws, he might do one of two things, according to the circumstances of the case: if the grievance of which he complained had arisen out of the existing law of the land, he might present a petition of grace to the King in Parliament praying for an alteration of the law in his particular case; if, on the other hand, he felt that the King, by virtue of his prerogative, had overridden the law, he could make a petition of right asking that the benefit of the law should be allowed him. By the sixteenth century these two methods of procedure were becoming distinct, because people were beginning to realise more clearly the difference between legislation and judicial award; the petition of grace came before the two Houses of Parliament, and, like any other proposal for the alteration of the law, it usually went through the procedure of the three readings in each House and the assent from the Crown; this was the origin of the private bill of the present day, which must still be accompanied by the petition of its promoters. The petition of right, on the other hand, having received the royal endorsement, "*soit droit fait a la partie*," would be sent to the appropriate court, where the suitor

could then make his claim, even though it were against the Crown,² unless the King himself at once admitted the injustice and gave orders for it to be put right; and this, in later days, was very unusual.

How, then, did the Commons propose to adapt this procedure by petition of right to their purpose? "According to their own statements, for the Houses of Parliament to present a petition of right to the King was for them to act in their judicial capacity as the High Court of Parliament, was for them in that capacity to declare what the law was."³ Yet it is very doubtful if this view of their action can be wholly upheld. What they really seem to be doing is petitioning the King that a particular interpretation of certain laws in certain specific cases is to be regarded by the courts as the right one; and in doing this they acted as representing the King's individual subjects who had suffered by a contrary interpretation of those laws, and not as a court at all. Judicial courts did not present petitions of right. And by adopting this procedure, the Commons were able to place on record the statement that certain definite grievances were illegal according to the already existing laws, to gain the King's assent to this view, and consequently to secure that this statement would be binding on the judges, while at the same time there was no attempt to infringe the royal prerogative by an enlargement of the law. Yet this represents a distinct weakening of the Commons' attitude, for the lawyers among them undoubtedly knew quite well that there was a vast difference between this statement of particular grievances and the sweeping prohibitions contained in the original resolutions of April 1st.

In itself this public petition of right differed in an important respect from an ordinary private petition, for it was to be binding on the judges, while an ordinary petition was merely a statement of the petitioner's claims on which the judges would proceed to adjudicate. How was this difference brought about? Mainly by the procedure which the Commons adopted, for they ingeniously sent the petition through almost all the ordinary course that went to the making of a law—the three readings in each House and finally the King's assent; as Pine said, "If the King subscribe his hand, he subscribeth that all therein is our right." When this is read along with Sherland's remark that "it will be a record when it hath the Kings answer and [is] entered on the Roll in the Lords House," it will be seen at once how the procedure through which the petition passed and the collective dignity of its promoters served in the minds of contemporaries to make the Petition of Right something exceptional and apart, something really novel and different from all other petitions of right.⁴

It is, moreover, this use of pseudo-legislative procedure which has led almost all historians of this period from Hallam to Gardiner

² This is still the only method of redress a subject has when his land, goods or money have found their way into the possession of the Crown (*cf.* the recent *de Keyser's Hotel* case, which originated in a petition of right).

³ Relf, *The Petition of Right*, p. 36.

⁴ The so-called "petition de droit" of 1610 (see *Parliamentary Debates in 1610*: Camden Soc., 1862) might be quoted as a precedent; but it differed considerably, for it really referred only to a matter of domestic importance to the Commons themselves, and so there was no immediate question of later adjudication by the judges; the King's answer was given in the course of an interview with certain members of the Commons, and the whole proceeding was not of record.

to refer to the Petition as a statute. After it had been given three readings in the Commons, there arose the question as to whether it should be endorsed "*soit baille aux seigneurs*;" and quite definitely on the ground that such endorsement would make the petition a bill (in this way petitions of grace were turned into private bills), and so give the King further offence, it was decided to send it to the Lords unendorsed and merely as a petition of right. After it had been read three times in the Lords, the King agreed to give a formal assent at once and in full Parliament. Again, had the Petition been a statute, this would have automatically terminated the session, according to the general opinion of contemporaries; but it did nothing of the kind. And, moreover, the form of assent that the King gave differed from the forms used for public bills (*Le Roi le veult*), for private bills (*soit fait come est desire*), or for private petitions of right (*soit droit fait a la partie*). The answer which the Commons ultimately obtained (*soit droit fait come est desire*) was of their own concoction, had no precedent whatever, and was obviously as hybrid a production as the Petition itself; for, just as a great deal of the procedure more proper to a private bill had been grafted on to the Petition in order to give it solemnity and weight, and to make it of record, so the royal forms of assent to a private petition of right and a private bill had been fused into one glorious and unhistorical whole. If anything, indeed, were needed to complete the evidence that the Petition was no statute, it is this form of royal assent.

And what of the first answer that the King offered on June 2nd? This was, in reality, as much an acceptance of the Petition of Right as was the final one of June 7th, only not quite so free from ambiguity in the possibilities of its legal interpretation. The Commons were prepared to accept it; they did not seek to force a more definite answer from Charles, though they naturally welcomed the deputation for a clearer assent which the Lords proposed in the vain hope of stemming the attack on Buckingham and the King's policy. Coke himself says, "I would not find fault with the last answer . . . till I were sure whether we should have a better one." The Commons got one that was better, because it was briefer and more to the point, and therefore less open to the subtleties of the legal mind, and not because its real meaning differed much from that of its predecessor. The King was not far wrong when he said of his second answer, "I am willing to please you in words as well as in substance. . . . This I am sure is full, yet no more than I granted you in my first answer."

If, then, the Petition of Right was not a law, and was merely a petition for the enforcement of laws already existing, in what way was it superior to the confirmation of the ancient laws and liberties which the King had offered and the Commons had rejected at the very beginning? The great gain the Commons had made, was that they had placed on record the King's acceptance of the statement that according to these laws certain definite grievances were illegal. But it went no further than this: it laid down no wide constitutional principles that the judges could regard as binding. It said, for example, that benevolences and forced loans were to be regarded as infringing the law, but, when it was a matter of tonnage and poundage or ship-money, the Petition of Right was of no legal value as an argument. There was no general prohibition of financial exactions in it, and the judges were forced to fall back on the elaborate discussion

and interpretation of early precedents which had already led to so much dispute.

Therefore in effect the Petition of Right, hybrid and novelty though it might be in many respects, was exactly what its name implied: the recognition of a claim that every subject of the Crown had been wronged in certain specific matters, and that, in future, in those matters, the laws would be observed.

E. R. ADAIR.

XV.—THE BALANCE OF POWER.

There is no phrase more familiar in histories dealing with modern foreign policy than the Balance of Power, and there is none which illustrates more forcibly the truth in the cynical remark that phrases are used to cover the absence of thought. Someone invents a telling and epigrammatic expression and it obtains a vogue among people who seldom trouble to ask what they mean by it or whether the meaning they attach to it has any relation to the meaning it bore in the mind of the inventor. It is not known who invented the phrase, "the balance of power." Andrew Yarranton, the engineer and agriculturist, in his *England's Improvement by Sea and Land to outdo the Dutch without Fighting*, published in 1677, speaks of the "balance of Europe"; but apparently it was William III.'s struggle against the supremacy of Louis XIV. that gave popularity to the idea and to the phrase, and in 1701 the "London Gazette" spoke of the "glorious design of reestablishing a just balance of power in Europe."¹ In 1807 Canning referred to "that established line of policy known as the balance of power,"² and in 1815 Castlereagh in his despatches defined it as "a just repartition of force amongst the States of Europe."³ This is practically the definition given a little more elaborately in the *New English Dictionary*, "such an adjustment of power among sovereign States that no single State is in a position to interfere with the independence of the rest."

It was clearly the power of France, first under Louis XIV. and then under Napoleon, which created the phrase and determined its meaning; and the method by which effect was to be given to it in practical politics was the establishment and maintenance of a reasonable proportion of power among the half-dozen leading States in Europe, so that no one of them should attain preponderance. The idea was that if any State threatened to do so, the rest would combine and crush it; there was to be no balance between the single overmighty State and the rest, but an overwhelming preponderance of their collective power. Power was, so to speak, to be rationed, and the greedy individualist to be repressed by the community. It was really the germ of the idea of a League of Nations for the preservation of security.

Unfortunately the history of the nineteenth century destroyed the situation contemplated by Castlereagh and his predecessors without destroying the vogue of the phrase they used, which came to be applied to an entirely different condition of affairs. Instead of remaining five or six independent units, guaranteeing peace by a multiple equilibrium, the Great Powers coalesced into two great

¹ No. 3758, p. 7; Murray's *N.E.D.* s.v. "Balance" 13c. ² *Speeches*, v. 5.

³ Pollard, *The League of Nations: An Historical Argument*, 1918, p. 19.

alliances, which acted practically as units in foreign affairs; and the Balance of Power came to be regarded as an equipoise between two equal weights. There was much to be said for Castlereagh's plan for keeping the peace; there was nothing to be said for the new balance. For there is nothing so unstable as an equal balance between two opposing forces: the more perfect it is, the slighter the disturbance that is required to upset it. A ten per cent. increase of power in one among six European States would not seriously have disturbed the equanimity of Europe: a similar increase of power in one of two Alliances over the other was an appalling prospect. Hence the race for armaments leading to aggressive war on the part of the competitor most alarmed by the inevitable approach of political or economic bankruptcy. Yet the phrase, originally used to describe a reasonable plan for keeping the peace, continued to be employed to advocate a system which could only lead to war.

There is another criticism fatal to the use in the twentieth century of a phrase applicable to the eighteenth. The continent of Europe alone was in the minds of those who invented it. But Europe ceased to be the world in the eighteenth century; and a balance of power in Europe ceased to be a panacea when world-power became the crux of international politics. In Great Britain we harped on the necessity of a balance of power in Europe while seeking to upset, or to prevent, its establishment anywhere else; and the staunchest advocates of a balance of power in Europe were the fiercest opponents of a balance of power on the sea, in Africa, in Asia, or in America. Other countries inferred and said that we only desired a balance of power in Europe because the more their hands were tied on the continent, the freer would ours be for naval and colonial expansion. Historical phrases are all very well, but endless confusion of thought accrues from their application—whether the phrase be “liberty,” “free trade,” “military service,” “impressment,” “gild,” “parliament,” or the “balance of power”—to conditions totally different from those which the phrase originally expressed.

A. F. POLLARD.

REVIEWS.

The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts. By M. R. JAMES.
(Helps for Students of History No. 17.) S.P.C.K. 2s.

This little book is as fascinating as its title. No one but Dr. James could have written it. The touch is so light that one hardly realises the immense learning involved. Dr. James deals with Greek and Latin MSS., the chief centres of their production at different periods, their transmission, and various adventures, with illustrations of the kind of evidence available for tracing their peregrinations. It is interesting to learn from so great an authority that "there are but very few cases in which we are warranted in proclaiming from the aspect and character of the script that a book was written at one particular place and nowhere else." It is therefore the more important to note and to be able to interpret the minute indications of ownership and provenance which are to be found in MSS. Dr. James shows how the name of John Farley scribbled in Greek characters on a page of the Greek psalter at Caius College enabled him to recover the history of the MS. from within a hundred years of its making to the present day. Bindings and fly-leaves so far as they have not been destroyed by the spirit of restoration, afford invaluable clues and often yield amazing results. Leaves of a fourth century (or earlier) copy of Virgil written in square capitals were found in the bindings of books at St. Gall. Parts of a fourth century Latin Bible, adorned with paintings of high excellence, were found being used as covers for municipal documents at Quedlinburg. These, of course, are exceptional cases, but anyone who is on intimate terms with MSS. may expect to make discoveries which, if they do not excite the general public, will at least afford pleasurable thrills to the discoverer.

The book suggests, both by what it says and by what it omits, a good many lines of study. A new edition of Gottlieb's *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, which would include the material added in the last thirty years, would be welcome, as would a systematic collection of press-marks, especially of English monastic libraries. Some have been published by the New Palæographical Society, but these reproductions do not as a rule show at a glance the position of the press-mark on the page—a point of some importance. The compilation of an index of the first word of the second leaf of the MSS. under their charge might be commended to custodians of MS. collections as a relaxation for their leisure hours: it would probably lead to many identifications. The early collectors of books in England have hardly received their due meed of praise. Dr. James refers to some of the fifteenth century collectors who are important for the history of the revival of learning—such as William Gray—but the fourteenth century people (except Richard of Bury,

whom Dr. James regards as a humbug) were not big enough to be included. One of them, for instance, was John Erghome, a member of the Austin Friary of York, whose library catalogue Dr. James edited. Erghome was much interested in science, medicine, magic, etc.: his collection of books might be compared with the much larger and nearly contemporary collection of Amplonius, which fortunately survives at Erfurt, and which, by the way, contains many MSS. of English origin. Another collector was Cardinal Adam of Easton (one of the cardinals who suffered from the brutalities of Urban VI.), who died in 1397, and whose legacy of books to the prior and convent of Norwich arrived ten years later in London in six barrels, and was to be admitted free of duty. He seems to have been a Hebrew scholar. Are any of the contents of those barrels among the hundred odd MSS. from Norwich known to Dr. James?

The *Wanderings and Homes of MSS.* should be possessed and read by all who care for MSS. and the transmission of literature from ancient and mediæval times. It is full of good things—from the identification of the relics of the library of Cassiodorus among the palimpsests of Bobbio to the story of the thefts of the notorious Libri.

A. G. LITTLE.

Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediæval England. The Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals. By T. F. Tout. Vols. I and II. 1920. Manchester University Press. 36s.

Administrative history, as Professor Tout reminds us, is not a popular subject in this country, despite the richness of the manuscript sources from which it may be drawn. His own book, of which the first two volumes are before us, is the lawful successor of Madox's *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer*. In the two hundred years and more which separate these books it is difficult to name any work on the same branch of English history which is fairly comparable with either of them. In Madox's time it was scarcely possible for anyone without an official connexion with a department of state even to attempt such a work; and even now, though much has been printed, it is a great achievement for a busy and successful teacher to have carried through, in the intervals of business, the examination of original documents which such a book as this involves.

Nor is the subject an attractive one at first sight. Our author himself apologises for its dulness and complexity. Yet he is convinced of its importance, and those who follow him through the labyrinth will surely share his conviction and dismiss the apology as uncalled for. The painful investigation of the manner in which public business was conducted gives depth and background to speculations on the causes of events, and often supplies a touchstone for testing their validity. Besides, the results are more secure. We cannot do more than guess at motives and characters, but we can often arrive at practical certainty in matters of procedure if we have the patience.

The history of the two great departments, the Chancery and the Exchequer, is not yet fully written. Both reached independence and formal procedure at a comparatively early date, and both possess long series of records. Those of the Chancery have been to a large

extent published, and a history of the administrative procedure of that department is being written. For the Exchequer we have Madox's history, which covers the most interesting period, and the next step to be taken is the further publication of its records. Professor Tout has therefore taken for his province the corresponding portions of the administration which remained in close touch with the king when the Chancery and the Exchequer "went out of court," and succeeded to their respective functions as the secretariat and the privy purse of the Sovereign. But the records of the Wardrobe are broken and scattered, nor does much survive, earlier than the 17th century, of the records of the Small Seals. Thus the periods for which it is easiest to get some continuous information about the Wardrobe and Chamber are those during which they accounted at the Exchequer. But the most interesting periods of their history, when for one reason or another they acted independently, are precisely those for which the information which has come down to us is most fragmentary and confused. The same difficulty meets us in the history of the smaller seals. Our main information is derived from the series of warrants issued under them which have been filed by the Chancery as authority for the use of the Great Seal. We know that the seals were used for other purposes, both diplomatic and administrative, but record evidence is comparatively scarce. All this has added to the interest and difficulty of the task which Professor Tout has undertaken.

The importance of the subject will be best realised if we remember that the modern conception of the Treasury, with its subordinate revenue departments, the great spending departments, and the Secretaries of State is far removed from mediæval theory and practice. We can trace in these volumes the progress from the King with his seal and his strong box to a more developed organisation. These primitive instruments rapidly become independent, but can only administer within narrowly defined limits. The King remains his own War Office, Admiralty, Foreign Office, and so forth, nor does he part with his control of finance. The Exchequer regulates the accounts of the sheriffs and certain other branches of revenue and expenditure, but it does not necessarily receive the proceeds of taxation, nor even of all lands in the King's hand. Guienne and Ireland are out of its jurisdiction, still less does it control the whole national expenditure. The gap thus left is filled by the Wardrobe, which takes the place of the spending departments, and receives money directly from the King's debtors, even diverting some of it on its way to the Exchequer. The Chamber, in like manner, may have particular sources of revenue assigned to it of which the Exchequer has no power to take account. Both these departments may account in the Exchequer, but in times of war, or under a king who resents control, it is impossible to see that they do so.

In the same way the King's authority ceases to be exercised directly through the Great Seal, which is not sufficiently under his hand, and a succession of smaller seals grows up, which in their turn acquire independence and formalise their procedure. Baronial control took two forms, either the restriction of the powers of the Wardrobe and the small seals, or the manning of the departments by nominees of the barons. All this is patiently worked out by Professor Tout, who carries on and extends the work done inde-

pendently by Mr. Conway Davies and himself on the reign of Edward II. These two volumes carry us to the end of the reign of Edward II., and the work will be finished in two more volumes, ending with the accession of Henry IV. The Great Wardrobe, which included among its functions the work which is now done by the Army Clothing Factory, is reserved for the later volumes, as are the various privy wardrobes and the description of the several seals.

It would be unfair to complain of the faults which are incidental to pioneer work on this scale. The author is conscious that it contains both inaccuracies and repetitions, but the inaccuracies are not such as to invalidate the argument, nor do the repetitions injure the arrangement of the book. A few comments may, however, be permitted.

In the chapter on the "Differentiation of the Exchequer from the Chamber" there is a certain tendency to exaggerate the departmental character of the early Exchequer, and to lose sight of the fact that it was regarded as a sitting of the Court for financial business at regular intervals. It may even be doubted whether even in the reign of Henry II. it could be properly said that there was any Exchequer in the interval between the Michaelmas and the Easter sessions. The same criticism applies to the discussion of the statement in the "Dialogus" that writs of "Liberate," etc., were attested "ad scaccarium" (p. 137). The writs referred to were those drawn as warrants for the payment of sums found by the court to be due, or for the allowance of sums adjudged duly disbursed. Such writs were necessary vouchers. The court had the authority, as the King's court, to instruct the Chancellor to issue them. At a later date these writs were issued by the Chancery under the single Great Seal, not under the Great Seal of the Exchequer, by virtue of what are called "Bills of the Exchequer." The Exchequer was not therefore warranting its own acts in the proceeding described in the "Dialogus" any more than it did in its later procedure. If we knew when the "Exchequer Bill" became necessary as a warrant for such writs, we should probably have a definite date for the assumption of independence by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the second volume too much stress is perhaps laid on Fleta's assertion that the Keeper of the Privy Seal is the only keeper of a royal seal independent of the Chancellor, and on the final emergence of four separate chanceries, viz., the Signet, the Privy Seal, the Great Seal, and the Seal of the Exchequer, but the comparison with the French "Grande Chancellerie" is worth making. Had the plan which is here attributed to Baldock taken effect, there would have arisen a class of chancery clerks, serving in different offices, somewhat akin to the corporation of civilians which inhabited Doctors' Commons.

A few minor points may be noted for correction. The later records of the Great Wardrobe after the Restoration remained for the most part with the family Papers of the Duke of Montagu, its Master, and were given by the Duke of Buccleuch to the Royal library at Windsor. The Lord Chamberlain's records, which contain a very few of them, are open to the public up to A.D. 1800. A card-catalogue was made by the late Sir William Hope to a large number of the Public Record Office seals,

and is accessible to students. It is not true (I., p. 16) that "every law-suit began with a judicial 'writ of chancery.'" It also seems doubtful whether the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer were "always (I., p. 40) made up in triplicate," and whether Edward II. went to France in 1304 (II., p. 179).

In conclusion it may be said that all serious students of English mediæval history will have to study this book, and that it provides starting points for many fruitful researches. May I suggest, as one among the many, the system of book-keeping practised by the Wardrobe of Edward I.?

C. JOHNSON.

The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Vol. II. (in three parts). Ed. JOHN BROWNBILL. The Chetham Soc. 1915-1919.

The Furness Coucher Book—a register of charters, deeds, records of law-suits, and other important documents relating to the abbey and its property—was compiled at the instance of Abbot Dalton by the monk John Stell, who completed his task in the year 1412. Stell's transcriptions fill two large volumes. The first, which is in the Public Record Office, was edited by the late Canon J. C. Atkinson for the Chetham Society more than thirty years ago. At that time, after many vicissitudes, the second volume had found incongruous quarters at Berlin; but shortly afterwards it was bought by the British Museum, where it still remains. Its contents refer almost exclusively to the abbey's property outside Furness—that is to say, in Cumberland, in the part of Lancashire adjoining the eastern and southern shores of Morecambe Bay, in Lonsdale, Ribblesdale, and Craven, in York and its vicinity, and in Boston. The Coucher Book itself ends with the second part of Mr. Brownbill's work, the third part of which constitutes an appendix. This contains the rental of the abbey's estates at the time of the suppression, extracts from sixteenth-century court-rolls of manors previously belonging to the house, and a number of other documents throwing light on its history. There are also eighty pages of notes and additions to Volume I., the editing of which was subjected to much criticism. Nearly all the material in this part is derived from the Duchy of Lancaster records in the Public Record Office.

It would be unreasonable to expect the Coucher Book to add greatly to our knowledge of the main currents of mediæval history. It was not intended to be a chronicle of striking events or a review of the abbey's internal life, but merely a handy reference book, in which the business officials of the monastery might look up the rights and privileges of their house when occasion demanded. The book consequently contains little but bald legal documents, many of which, moreover, were entered in an abbreviated form. It offers, however, a store of valuable material to genealogists, students of place-names, and those interested in the local history of the districts where the abbey held property. Mr. Brownbill has rendered mediæval studies a notable service by adding so scholarly a piece of work to the long and noble series of the Chetham Society's publications.

W. T. WAUGH.

Henry V. By R. B. MOWAT. 1919. Constable. 10s. 6d.

"His life shows the importance of personality in the history of human affairs." In these words Mr. Mowat sums up his study of Henry V. and therein gives the key to the glamour that has surrounded this hero of the later middle-ages. Personal magnetism is an elusive quality, and its influence is felt long after its possessor has passed from the scene. "The winning, ingenuous ways" of Henry V., to which Mr. Mowat refers, not only won for him the loyalty and affection of his contemporaries, but fired the imagination of 16th century Englishmen, and have influenced the judgment of the latter-day historian. His latest biographer has not escaped the charm, for in this work we find its subject portrayed as that "ever glorious prince" who kindled into flame for a moment "the dying energies of medieval life," as Bishop Stubbs so picturesquely worded it. It is unfortunate that this almost necessarily carries with it a depreciation of the work of other great men whose personalities were less incisive. Notably is this the case with Henry IV. If ever a man builded for other men's glory it was this first Lancastrian king. Mr. Mowat makes much play with the contrast of Henry V.'s peaceful England with the "unquiet times of Henry IV.," as the chronicler Hall later called them, and deduces therefrom evidence of the son's greater capacity as an administrator. But surely this is hardly a sound judgment. The elder king's reign began in turmoil, and progressively developed into greater and greater peace. His son reaped the reward, and his only contribution towards maintaining peace was his disastrous policy of "busy-ing restless minds in foreign quarrels." To say that "English power had sunk low under Henry IV." is surely hardly accurate. Rather English power had sunk practically to the zero mark at the end of the reign of Richard II., and his successor slowly and painfully raised the country's reputation. Even then the power may have been low, but the sinking had occurred before 1399.

Henry V.'s most permanent gift to England, Mr. Mowat argues, is the sentiment of patriotism, but is he not here attributing more to the man himself than to the legend that grew round his name? It fell to his lot to be the hero on whom the intense patriotism of the Elizabethan age fastened to express its sentiments, and so, indeed, he played his part; but in his own age, apart from the pageants which celebrated his victories, there is little evidence of patriotic enthusiasm. Desertion from his armies was by no means uncommon, and the nation as represented in Parliament showed no desire to vote money for the war, however much war profiteers like Henry Beaufort might be inclined to lend their money. It may be quite as justly said that Henry helped to inspire Dr. Johnson's famous definition of the virtue which can be so easily misused.

K. H. VICKERS.

England under the Yorkists. Edited by ISOBEL D. THORNLEY, M.A.
(Univ. of London Intermediate Source-books of History, No. 2.)
Longmans. Pp. xx+280. 1920. 9s. 6d.

This volume covers much less than half the period comprised in Miss Hughes' *Illustrations of Chaucer's England* (No. 1 of this series). Miss Thornley has therefore been able to give a much fuller

selection of documents, introduced by a comprehensive and well-arranged account of sources. Her book will serve as an admirable guide to a period which from some points of view is more perplexing and less attractive than any in English history. The struggle between Yorkists and Lancastrians was not ennobled by any great principles, and it was disgraced by ferocities and treacheries. Yet in many respects the years of Yorkist rule are full of interest and instruction, if we study the life of the nation, not merely the fortunes of a short-lived dynasty. Miss Thornley has given about half her available space to political history; the other headings are constitutional, ecclesiastical, economic, social, and Ireland. Excellent use is made of the memoirs of Philippe de Comines, who in his lucid comments on international relations finds time for poking fun at the English love of prophecies, and for a patronising reference to Edward IV.'s "fairly good French." Equally illuminating are the extracts from the Calendar of Milanese State Papers, which show how closely affairs in England were watched by shrewd Italian ambassadors. Among the English authorities used mention must be made of the civic chronicles, *e.g.*, the unpublished Great Chronicle of London, whence is taken a notable passage (dealing with the events of June-July, 1483), which concludes with the scathing words:—"And thus he (*sc.* Richard III.) tawgth othyr to excerceyse Just and good which he wold not do hym self."

From the constitutional standpoint the Yorkist period is of special importance; the evils that had caused the overthrow of the Lancastrians still persisted, but the remedies of the Tudors (*e.g.*, the Councils of the North and of Wales and the Marches) were already being applied. Miss Thornley quotes largely from the works of Fortescue, our first constitutional historian, and illustrates from contemporary records how far practice differed from theory in such matters as taxation, the use of torture, and the administration of justice. Fortescue tells us that the King of England "cannot burthen his subjects against their wills with strange impositions," but in 1475 Londoners were being summoned before Edward IV. to pay benevolences, and "when they went they looked as if they were going to the gallows."

The comparatively few pages allotted to the ecclesiastical section illustrate the condition of monastic houses, the quarrels of seculars and regulars, the strength of anti-papal feeling, and the existence of heresy, particularly in London. The Venetian Calendar yields a noteworthy letter from Edward IV. to Sixtus IV. respecting Bishop Pecock, that tragic figure, "tolerant in an intolerant age," whose arguments against heresy were themselves deemed heretical. In the economic section special stress is rightly laid on the importance of the English cloth manufacture, and the desire to export as little wool as possible so that "the comyns of thys land may wyrke at the fulle." In the Yorkist period foreign trade was mainly in the hands of foreigners, Hansards and Italians, but the English were bent on keeping the woollen manufacture in their own hands, and an Act of 1484 forbade the making of cloth by any foreigner. In the section on Industry and Internal Trade illustrations are given of the life of goldsmen, at work and at play. Under the head of social conditions a great variety of topics is touched on—clothes, decayed towns, borough ordinances, plague, manumission of villeins, civic

pageants, rules for good manners. The documents dealing with education are particularly well chosen, including some relating to grammar schools and to the new art of printing. The universities are dealt with (not very liberally perhaps) in three extracts. Lack of space doubtless, and no undue preference for Cambridge, has caused the omission of any reference to Oxford, save as a model for a proposed university at Drogheda; but it is worth remembering that William Sellyng, a student of Oxford, and Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, brought back from Italy some Greek MSS. and taught Greek to Thomas Linacre; also Chandler, Warden of New College, appointed as praelector Cornelio Vitelli, from whom, probably, Grocyn learnt the rudiments of Greek.

Miss Thornley's editing is extremely careful and judicious; here and there, however, further explanations are desirable. "Magre" (p. 5) means spite or ill-will; "HardeLOWE" (p. 40) is Harlech; on p. 141 a reference might well be given to Prof. Pollard's argument in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xxx., pp. 660-2, in favour of rendering "*in pleno Parlamento*" as "in open Parliament"; Hokeday (p. 173) was the second Tuesday after Easter; "margue" (p. 208) is an obvious slip for "marque"; "Gotifaldi" wool (p. 215) is clearly Cotswold wool. In the sumptuary law of 1463 (p. 230) "corses" are girdles; "cadas" is a kind of stuff, probably serge; "huer" (p. 225) is a cap. In the extract from the Babees Book (p. 245) "Summe helle water" means "some pour water," and "with nokyns meet" (p. 246) means "with no kind of meat."

CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL.

A History of the Church in Scotland. Vol. I. (396-1546). 1913. 2nd edn. 1915. 15s. Vol. II. (1546-1560). 1918. 7s. 6d.
By ALEX. R. MACEWEN, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.

The Story of the Scottish Church from the Earliest Times. By NINIAN HILL. 1919. Maclehose. 7s. 6d.

Sidelights on Scottish History. By MICHAEL BARRETT, O.S.B., of Fort Augustus Abbey. 1918. Sands. 6s. 6d.

The fact that the first volume of the late Professor MacEwen's History has reached a second edition is the best testimony to its value, and it may now be regarded as the standard work on its subject. Dr. MacEwen brought many gifts to his task. Professor of Ecclesiastical History in New College, Edinburgh, this son of Balliol was equipped with a knowledge of ecclesiastical history in general which precluded him from treating the history of the church in his native land on narrow and parochial lines. He was abreast of the recent research embodied in the works of Dowden, Herkless and Hannay, Hume Brown, and Andrew Lang. If his creed was necessarily that of his own church, his sympathies were liberal; and in an easy yet precise style he could do justice to the best in the old church as well as in the new.

The expectations raised by the first volume are fully justified by that portion of the second, covering the years 1546-1560, which he left complete at his death. It opens with a characteristic chapter on "Renaissance in Scotland," Renaissance being used to designate "the process by which intellectual and spiritual energies which had been latent in the Middle Ages were brought into play." The reli-

gious revolution was but one aspect of this process. The definition of the national "genius," the part played by the lesser nobles and the gentry in the national life, the rise of the burghs, the increase in foreign trade—these forces in Western Christendom as in Scotland contributed to the fall of mediævalism. But the crisis in Scotland was promoted and directed by religion: hence the importance of the Reformation in Scottish history. Against this economic, social, and political background is set forth the story of the early reformers, of John Knox, of the Wars of the Lords of the Congregation, and of the religious settlement. So much has been written on this period of Scottish history that a new interpretation was hardly to be looked for; but there is no one book which, within the limits of some two hundred pages, gives such a fresh, clear, and scholarly account of the most momentous years in the history of the church in Scotland.

Mr. Ninian Hill is well-informed, and his book adequately fulfils the purpose "of providing the general reader with a brief sketch of the history of the Church of Scotland." It contains ten excellent illustrations of churches and ecclesiastical monuments. "The Interior of Crathie Parish Church," with its "chancel," "Holy Table," and "reredos," throws an interesting side-light on some recent developments in the church of John Knox.

Published *permissu superiorum*, Father Barrett's volume, parts of which have already appeared in Roman Catholic periodicals, is avowedly addressed to his co-religionists. The sections dealing with the social and religious life of pre-Reformation Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the religious drama in the Middle Ages, if slight, are pleasantly written. The point of view of the author in dealing with more controversial subjects is perhaps best illustrated by the longest section of the book, entitled, "Factors in the Scottish Reformation." These are discussed in the following significant order:—1. Seeds of heresy; 2. Too great mildness in punishment of heretics; 3. English intrigues; 4. Apathy of the clergy; 5. Ignorance of the laity; 6. Relentless persecution by the State. John Knox is the "arch-heretic," "who spared no pains to revile everything which, as a priest, he had been taught to look upon as most holy."

H. W. MEIKLE.

France, Mediæval and Modern. By A. HASSALL. 1918. Clarendon Press. 5s.

French Catholics in the Nineteenth Century. By W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D. 1918. S.P.C.K. 5s.

Mr. Hassall's history of France is the shortest of the half-dozen that have been produced by our new interest in our neighbours that the war has created. Mr. Hassall's wide knowledge, his experience as a writer of history books, and his special devotion to French history raise expectations that are not altogether fulfilled. The book is too crowded with dates and names and facts for the general reader, and the student who is working for an examination will find it deficient in clearness of language and arrangement. There are many expressions in it which have their meaning for the learned, but require an interpreter for the young student. It is a hard saying (p. 98) that "Montaigne summed up in a most attractive

form the scepticism which was the outcome of the French Revolution." On p. 150 we read of France under Louis XIV.: "Its literature was the superior of that of any other nation, as is shown by the orations and writings of such men as Bossuet and Fénelon." It is indeed strange to see Bossuet and Fénelon chosen to represent France in a contest with (perhaps) Milton and Hobbes. We fancy that Molière would be chosen as first champion by a unanimity of French votes, and we doubt whether Bossuet would come fifth on the list. And will the student who is likely to use this book understand what is meant by the statement (p. 272) that the legitimist cause was ruined when the Comte de Chambord refused to give up the White Flag of the Bourbons? The book is well supplied with tables, and has admirable maps.

Dr. Sparrow Simpson's book on French Catholics in the nineteenth century is made up of eight studies, parts of which have been previously printed in the *English Church Review*. They are slight in texture, as is natural when we consider their origin, but they form a most interesting and useful book. The field through which they guide us is one that is not often explored by Englishmen, but it is a most interesting and often a noble part of the story of modern France. The three first essays, on Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, are the longest, and are written with much sympathy, and form an admirable introduction to that chapter of the history of Catholicism in the nineteenth century. The others concern men less known, such as Veuillot and Gratry, and include a study of Emile Ollivier, who would have repudiated the title of Catholic. The book is unpretentious, but deserves cordial welcome and recommendation.

A. J. GRANT.

A Survey of Modern History. By H. W. HODGES. 282 pp. 1919. Blackie. 6s.

Outlines of European History from 1789 to 1914. By C. L. THOMSON and M. B. CURRAN. 424 pp. 1920. Marshall. 6s.

An Outline Sketch of the Political History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century. By Professor F. J. C. HEARNshaw. 180 pp. 1919. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.

The History of Europe from 1862 to 1914. By L. C. HOLT and A. W. CHILTON. 611 pp. 1918. The Macmillan Co. 14s.

Armed Peace: A Political History of Europe from 1870 to 1914. By W. S. DAVIS, in collaboration with W. ANDERSON and M. W. TYLOR. 391 pp. Heinemann. 10s. 6d.

European History since 1870. By C. H. CURREY. 235 pp. 1918. Sydney: Teachers' College Press. 4s. 6d.

These books, taken as a group, are interesting evidence of the general Anglo-Saxon view of the nineteenth century. The authors come from the University of London, from the secretariate of historical societies, from the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, the University of Minnesota, the United States Military Academy, and the Teachers' College, Sydney. Two of the books are school-books, one is a text-book for a wider public, three are books for the general reader.

The school text-books reach a fair standard of accuracy, but do not try to leave the beaten track; they describe rather than account for the events of their period; and in their descriptions the authors

have not learned how rightly to economise space. Thus Mr. Hodges, though he successfully avoids the "Hurrah" type of school history, puts into his book too much of the talk which a good schoolmaster gives to his class; the book is thus rather a substitute for, than supplement to, a class lesson. The method is, in itself, a little dangerous: it may lead to dogmatism of a somewhat alarming kind; it perpetuates illustrations useful in talk, but jejune in print; and because it leads to diffuseness, it may even defeat its own end, and become dull. Thus the description of Albania on p. 102 might have been cut down to make room for an account of Ali Pasha's death (a story that would fix in a boy's mind the essential wildness of Balkan politics). Similarly, the Zollverein is given as one of the causes of German unification: the equally important fact that a great railway system cannot be worked in a hundred little states is ignored. The union of Moldavia and Wallachia under one prince is mentioned; two more sentences would have sufficed to show how this union was carried out in spite of the foolish prohibition of the Powers. Still, Mr. Hodges has written a readable book; his maps are quite excellent, and he is much to be congratulated upon including a chapter on American history.

Miss Thomson and Miss Curran have definitely acknowledged themselves to be middlemen between the older schoolboy and the larger text-books. It may, perhaps, be said that this service is best performed by the experts themselves—and has been so performed. In any case, a book of this kind should retail foreign sources and not merely minor English and French text-books. The list of authorities which the authors have selected is not very representative of English, still less of French historians, while it does not include any untranslated German or Italian writers. Nor does the book go deeply into questions. For instance, Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition is described without any reference to the question why the brilliantly successful general of the Italian campaigns should have staked his military reputation on an overseas expedition, when he must have known that he could not keep the command of the sea. The Ultramontane movement is mentioned, but not explained; papal infallibility (wrongly defined) is treated almost as a sudden freak; important men such as Andrassy, Gorchakoff, Stratford Canning, Gambetta are merely labelled, and there is no attempt to view with imaginative sympathy lost or unpopular causes.

Professor Hearnshaw's *Outline Sketch* is businesslike and interesting, although in the few passages where the author permits himself a little purple, his style hardly suits his public (e.g., "a restless and reckless ochlocracy"); nor are his comparisons always happy—as, for example, the remark that "Louis XVI., both in character and destiny, recalls Charles I." But there is altogether admirable compression and generalisation, and the book, with its temperate judgments and wide outlook, would be of value as an introduction to European history. It is a pity that it does not contain a short chapter on the primary and secondary authorities available in any large municipal library or institution.

The American and Australian books have great interest for a stay-at-home reviewer; they represent a point of view from which the next generation of non-European Anglo-Saxons will judge European affairs. The difference of outlook from our own is sometimes clear from the failure to catch certain of the subtleties of English life; Glad-

stone, for example, is said to have "had a regular academic training, and topped it off with six months of foreign travel"; the word "Ulsterites" sounds to us more a medical than a geographical or political term; and it is startling to find Bismarck regarded as a "genius moving among men of little minds." But in the general spirit of the books there is great hopefulness and real evidence that the repercussion of European politics upon the democratic world outside Europe is being understood better than it was ten years ago. It must be said, however, that none of the three books—though two of them are larger in size—really go more deeply into questions than do the English text-books. Messrs. Holt and Chilton are the most ambitious. Their book is well planned, but the execution is not so good; there are some tell-tale slips and omissions in the bibliography; the method of elaborate subdivision has been followed, but has led to a good deal of verbal repetition; events are mentioned in one chapter, described and explained in another. The details of the 19th century wars are not always given with accuracy, and there is an odd failure to make the characters living.

Dr. Davis and his collaborators begin with a startling remark of President Wilson's that "you can explain most wars [not the recent war] very simply." They then propose to give a "non-technical" account of the causes of the recent war. It is unfortunate that the authors' idea of a "non-technical" history is a history in which documents can give place to verbiage. Thus the first chapter has a brightly coloured account of the incident of the Ems telegram. Moltke's feelings, Roon's feelings, Bismarck's feelings are described, but the text of the telegram is not given. Occasionally this love of bright antitheses gets the better not only of historical accuracy, but of good taste: it is surely a complete "high-brow" misunderstanding of European history to speak of the Russian peasant as "groveling before the local orthodox priest and his dirty icons." When these criticisms have been made, and when the reader is put on his guard, it must gladly be said that Dr. Davis has produced an eminently readable book, full of life and full of picturesque and amusing stories. Some of these stories to a "technical" historian are a little worn; many are merely "ben trovato," but all the same, a book on the 18th century from the same writers would be a welcome entertainment!

Mr. Currey's book is, more even than Dr. Davis', a war book. As such it shows soundness of judgment in beginning with the Balkans, and in concluding with a short but good summary of what may be called the deeper causes of the war. There are, indeed, odd lapses, such as the remark that a Greek quarter "grew up" in Constantinople. But Mr. Currey has written clearly, has consulted as many authorities as were accessible to him, and should have a good educational value for his readers.

Perhaps one criticism applies to all these—and most other—books written about the war during the years of the war, and accounts for their air of unreality. It is so easy to forget, so uncomfortable to remember "how men fight and lose the battle, and the thing that they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name."

E. L. WOODWARD.

History of the Civil War, 1861-1865. By JAMES FORD RHODES.
1919. 8vo. Pp. 400. New York: The Macmillan Company.
12s. 6d.

During the war many parallels to be found in the American Civil War, besides its almost equal length, occurred to us: the great work done by women (even in munitions), the small value of half-trained troops, the long stalemate of trench warfare in the Petersburg lines, the triumph of attrition and of the "Anaconda" blockade, and the final defeat of the men in grey in both cases. They made us look forward to reviving our memories of 1861-1865, and Dr. Rhodes' beautifully printed 400-page volume seemed made for the purpose. Though we have read it from cover to cover with interest, it is not what we expected. History, in the sense of being impartial and founded on the best authorities, it is not; military history, though it is mainly concerned with the operations of war, it is most certainly not; it is merely a review in which the author has written at length on phases that apparently interest him, and omitted mention of much that should appear in even a condensed history. The book is of little use, and would be merely puzzling to anyone commencing the study of the war, and it is of no use whatever to military students. Frankly, it is written by a Northerner for Northerners, and it speaks of American institutions and national heroes without explanation or introduction as if they were subjects of common knowledge. The author is kind enough, however, as regards the "Missouri compromise," "Copperhead," "Sanitary fairs," and such like, to give a reference to his seven-volume *History of the United States*.

For him the war was fought to abolish slavery; will our great war be equally ineffective in abolishing militarism? Mr. Dooley, in a jest that is perilously near the truth, has summed up the results of the Civil War—"the war of emancipation has given every negro the right to be lynched"; and he might have added a parenthesis about peonage. Whose is now the "Lost Cause" if the war was not fought to maintain the Union? Dr. Rhodes has to admit that during the war "instead of rising they [the slaves] remained patiently submissive and faithful to their owners. . . . The able-bodied negroes remained on the plantations on the sparsely settled country of the Confederacy, while, with few exceptions, the white people were old or diseased men, women and children. Here is a remarkable picture, and one that discovers virtues in the Southern Negro, and merit in the civilisation under which they had been trained."

Lincoln is his one hero, and everybody else is belittled to make him greater. This is hardly necessary in these days. Even the British public know all about him, for has not his story been presented to them in a novel and in a play? Dr. Rhodes devotes pages to prove the incapacity of General McClellan. Now, it is undisputed that he handled remarkably well a less than half-trained "organisation" of men recruited mainly from the cities, with hardly a regular officer amongst them, against an army of men accustomed to the outdoor life, operating mostly in their own territory, led by the pick of the professional officers of the U.S. Army (Dr. Rhodes never points out these differences) and commanded by one whom the late Colonel G. F. R. Henderson called "the greatest

English-speaking general of all time." What is most significant as regards McClellan's military skill is the miserable failure against Lee of the commanders selected by Lincoln to succeed him—Pope, Burnside, Hooker. Dr. Rhodes does quote some favourable judgments of McClellan, but not the one that will ever carry most weight. When Lee was asked after the war, as recorded by his youngest son, who was the best general on the other side, he replied, using for once a forcible expression: "McClellan, by all the odds." Among soldiers there is no reasonable doubt that had not Lincoln interfered with his commander in May, 1862, and, to protect Washington, withdrawn McDowell's Corps, McClellan would have taken Richmond. Dr. Rhodes slurs over this grave mistake of Lincoln's. No other Northern commander got as near to the Confederate Capital as McClellan did for three years. Dr. Rhodes admits that he wanted to carry out in 1862 the operation of crossing the James River which led to Grant's success, but was prevented by the President.

Lincoln's great merit, as head of the Government, in reference to the Army is that in the course of a long war he learnt not to interfere in military operations. The great war would have been shorter, perhaps, if some living statesmen had become equally wise. To Grant the author allows some merit, but we are constantly being reminded that he drank during the war, *e.g.*, on pages 255, 305, 325, etc. Even if true, it never affected the issue. After a hard day's fighting a glass of good wine is one of the greatest gifts of God, a German general has written, and for once we agree with our late enemy. Even Stanton is labelled inefficient, along with Halleck. Sherman, Farragut and Thomas, however, seem to be favourites, although the last-named's important victory at Nashville gets exactly two lines; Second Bull Run has four lines, whilst the capture of Donelson has five pages, and Chancellorsville seven. There is exceedingly little about the Navy, and no allusion to the influence of sea power in Grant's Wilderness campaign. In general, however, operations in the West, where the Federals had practically continuous success, receives more attention than the Virginian and decisive theatre. The author does not, however, point out that in the West the *personnel* of the two opposing forces was much of the same class, and the balance was turned by superior numbers and far superior war material. He surely does not believe what he writes that "During the last two years of the war the Northern artillery *may* have been superior to the Southern." After 1861 it was superior in numbers and quality, and particularly in ammunition. Let him look at the "Atlas" that accompanies the Official Records, and he will see a plate of the Confederate artillery—a most astonishing museum of old iron.

One most remarkable thing, which alone would cause one to doubt Dr. Rhodes's judgment, is that he praises Kilpatrick as a cavalry leader ("Killcavalry" is what the army called him), and he never from first to last mentions the name of J. E. B. Stuart—not even the absence from the field at Gettysburg of the mounted troops he commanded; yet the loss of Lee's "eyes" at this crisis was a very great and far-reaching factor in the operations. But what can be expected of an historian who accepts to-day the statements of Longstreet and Carl Schurz about Gettysburg? Dr. Rhodes seems to have no knowledge of other wars to give him a standard by which to judge the Civil War. He believes that

the surrender of 28,231 men at Appomattox C.H. is a record in modern campaigns, and speaks of the "huge mine" of the Petersburg salient. (It was 8,000 lb.; a record of over 100,000 lb. of powder was made at the siege of Alicante years before.)

It is when he gets away from things military that he is at his best. The chapter on the social life and conditions of living in the North and South during the war is excellent. The Slidell and Mason incident is well told, though at unnecessary length for such a book. There is a chapter, of course, on the *Alabama* (without mention of Admiral Semmes's name), with a great deal about the general sentiment of the British towards the war. He quotes a speech of Gladstone, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, in October, 1862, in which he said, "We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States so far as their separation from the North is concerned," and gives the views of many distinguished Englishmen. He is indignant that Carlyle declared himself neutral. "Carlyle, who had received the first money for his 'French Revolution' from Boston, when 'not a penny had been realised in England.'" He does not give his authority for writing: "Tennyson, the poet of the people, though filled with conventional horror of the war, was inspired by the hope of the abolition of slavery, and used to sing with enthusiasm:

'Glory, glory, hallelujah,
His soul goes marching on.'

J. E. EDMONDS.

A Short History of the Great War. By A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Litt.D. Methuen. 10s. 6d.

A Short History of the Great World War. F. MAYNARD BRIDGE, B.A. H. F. W. Deane and Sons, The Year-Book Press. 6s.

Battles for Peace. By ELIZABETH O'NEILL. Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d.

"Strategy," wrote Clausewitz, "is the theory of the use of combats for the object of the war," but "To see the whole secret of the art of war in the formula *in a certain time, at a certain point, to bring up superior masses*—is a restriction overruled by the force of realities." Amongst such realities he acknowledges the force of political considerations, but he calls the custom of keeping strategy in the Cabinet and not with the Army "a thing only allowable if the Cabinet is so near to the Army that it can be taken for the chief headquarters of the Army." We find on the side of our opponents in the Great War the nearest possible approach to a practical application of those doctrines. About the Allied and Associated Powers, on the other hand, Professor Pollard writes: "The strategical conduct of the war rested not with the Entente generals, but with the heterogeneous Governments which employed them"; and again, "A strategy which may be unsound on purely military grounds may be completely justified by political reasons." In these extracts we find the core of the divergent views of strategy, as seen by those responsible for the conduct of battles, the seaman and the soldier, and by those responsible for the conduct of war, the statesmen. The creed of the fighting leaders is that, if everything in war could be subordinated to the winning of battles, then "political considerations" would soon settle themselves.

In a vivid narrative, Professor Pollard brings the trained mind

of the historian to bear upon such problems under present day conditions; he deals in detail with the kaleidoscopic situations at different periods in the different war areas, and their relationship to the main issue. We are able, with his help, to apply the test of military or political effectiveness to every operation, and to trace the relative value attached thereto, on the one side by a "Cabinet that can be taken for the chief headquarters of an Army," and on the other by the "heterogeneous Governments that employed the Entente generals." We can grasp the vital importance in these days of having, behind the fighting forces, great industrial nations whose productive energies can be devoted to the provision of war material for the fighting forces. The sore need of such resources is shown to have been one of the most potent factors leading to the collapse of the Russian armies. We can also trace the influence of food supplies, as affected by a sea blockade, upon the ultimate issue in a war fought to a finish between nations.

It is impossible to do justice to Professor Pollard's book within the compass of a short review. He has undertaken a Herculean task in writing it so soon, and he has succeeded where most others would have failed. In future editions he will doubtless embody a few amendments based upon later information. For instance, in his account of the sea war, we find the loss of the "Indefatigable" and "Queen Mary" at Jutland attributed to the fire from Scheer's battleships during Beatty's turn from S. to N. Both vessels were lost in the action with Hipper's battle-cruisers, before the German battleships came in sight and Beatty turned northward. Then again, material from Ludendorff's account of the inception and conduct of the battle of Tannenberg, subsequently published, will doubtless be embodied when the book is revised, and some of the inner history of the causes of failure of the Nivelle offensive of 1917 could be added with advantage. Taking the history as a whole, the reader is struck with the brilliant powers of intuition and deduction which have enabled the author to deduce from current events the motives actuating the statesmen and the soldiers of different countries. Most of his deductions have already been confirmed by first-hand evidence.

In connection with the conflict between political and military ideals in the conduct of war, it may be of interest to mention here our own distribution of military man-power. For every three men sent to fight the main German army on the "Western Front," in France and Flanders, we sent two men to other theatres. Professor Pollard describes the political and other motives which led to that departure from the theoretical conception of sound military strategy. His pages dealing with the Dardanelles, Macedonia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria are of special interest in this connection. The aftermath of British strategy in 1915, when we launched, with insufficient resources, two great offensives in different theatres of war, one of them for "political" reasons, is clearly brought out in the chapter on the Foundations of Peace, which is one of the best in the book.

Those who allot to whole nations collectively the credit for noble and unselfish impulse in war will find the following passage both wholesome and humbling:—

"The intense agitation of war brought out the worst in the bad as well as the best in the good. Much that came to the top was scum,

while often the salt of the earth went under. Treason blotted the pages illumined by heroism, and profiteering tarnished peoples deemed by the devotion of their sons. Wastefulness and corruption ran riot even in government circles, while thousands of humble men and women voluntarily stinted and starved themselves beyond the rigid requirements of the law. Lip-service was paid to the principle of equality in sacrifice, and some efforts were made to enforce it. But they failed to remove the inexorable inequalities of human fate, and the war which brought death and distress to millions, brought to others ease and honours, wealth and fame."

Professor Pollard's book is indispensable to all students of the Great War. In their interest it is hoped that in future editions the dates and years will be added to the page headlines.

The material in Mr. Bridge's little historical précis is admirably arranged. It can be recommended to all in search of a brief recital of the main facts in a convenient form, without comments. The emphatic type of the headlines to the paragraphs will be found specially convenient by those needing a handy book for speedy reference, and there is a good index. The book is eminently readable, being written in popular language, and it is, in the main, accurate, considering the date of compilation (January, 1919), but there is a slip under the heading "War," on page 13. The date of the invasion of Belgium by the advanced guard of the German Army is given there, and in the chronological table, as August 3, 1914. The point is of some importance. The same error crept into the Bryce Commission report. Both the Belgian and German accounts show that the date was August 4th, early in the morning. Then again, in a paragraph "Britain and her Allies" (p. 62), we find a reference to "our Two-Power Navy" in 1914, a standard abandoned by us for some years previously; and the account of the Battle of Jutland is marred by the sentence: "The German losses must have been much heavier than ours, although they did not admit it." "By the light of the future," writes the author, "statements may have to be revised and opinions reconsidered." New material which has since become available for writers of history indicates that the book has not lost in value, and we can endorse the author's hope that teachers will find it useful, either as a class-book for their pupils, or a foundation for their own teaching. The moral impetus which inspired the Entente Powers to ultimate victory is indicated by an artistic frontispiece in colours, by Henry J. Ford.

Battles for Peace is a less ambitious work than the two previously mentioned. The narrative is carried up to April, 1918. It is "The story of the Great War told for children," as the sub-title explains. The author has shown judgment and sense of proportion in selecting for emphasis the outstanding features of the struggle between the fighting forces at sea and on land. The book, stopping, as it does, before the climax and débâcle of the Central Powers, requires completion, and it is worthy of the task involved. The present text requires little revision. The current fallacy that the German losses at Jutland were heavier than the British is, however, repeated, and the date of the invasion of Belgium is given as August 2nd. Maps of France and Flanders, and of Northern Italy, should be added, as without them it is difficult in places to follow the text. G. G. ASTON.

- New Methods of Adjusting International Disputes.* By Sir THOMAS BARCLAY. xiv+206 pp. 1917. Constable.
- A Confederation of the Nations: Its Powers and Constitutions.* By ERNEST BARKER. 54 pp. 1918. Clarendon Press. 1s.
- League of Nations: A Chapter in the History of the Movement.* By THEODORE MARBURG. 6+139 pp. 1918. Macmillan Co. 3s.
- The European Commonwealth: Problems Historical and Diplomatic.* By J. A. R. MARRIOTT. xi+370 pp. 1918. Clarendon Press.
- A Republic of Nations: A Study of the Organisation of a Federal League of Nations.* By R. C. MINOR. xxxix+316 pp. 1918. Milford. 12s. 6d.
- The Commonwealth at War.* vi+256 pp. 1917. Longmans. 6s. 6d. By A. F. POLLARD.
- The League of Nations: An Historical Argument.* By A. F. POLLARD. 68 pp. 1918. Clarendon Press. 1s.
- The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion.* By GEN. SMUTS. vi+71 pp. 1918. Hodder and Stoughton. 6d.
- A Society of States: Or Sovereignty, Independence, and Equality in a League of Nations.* By W. T. S. STALLYBRASS. 176 pp. 1918. Routledge. 1s. 9d.

All these works are material for history, rather than recorded fact. All written before the Peace Conference, and most of them after the close of hostilities in 1918, they express the views of learned men as to the means of making peace permanent. All are based on broad knowledge of the past, and all are reasonably optimistic. All express the desire for action, were intended to simulate it, and formulate, some more, some less, definitely constructive plans. They represent public opinion in the making; public opinion of those rather near the centre of authority.

Sir Thomas Barclay has written a conservative treatise describing and relating to the general system of international law, the newer methods of settling international disputes. More than half the space is devoted to arbitration, the first genuine instance of which he finds to be the *Alabama* case of 1871, and in connection with which he discusses The Hague Conferences. From this point of view his work constitutes a valuable *addenda* to the standard books on international law, given in clear, concise, and reliable form. In addition, it is permeated with a sense of the urgent necessity of an effective machinery for peace, as is indicated by his dedication to Andrew Carnegie. This machinery he hopes to find in an extension and improvement of methods already devised, while the power to make them effective he thinks can best be formed "by the revival of such a European concert as will insure co-operation among States on a similar level of civilisation" (p. 134).

The volume of Mr. Marriott contains fifteen essays, all but one written during the war. The main theme is found in the development of democracy and nationalism in Europe during the modern age, particularly since the middle of the nineteenth century, but a subsidiary theme is found in the problems of the Near East, which are treated with all his accustomed command of the situation. The first chapter is entitled, "Nationalism, Internationalism, and Super-nationalism," and the last, "Projects of Peace: The Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe." Mr. Marriott still feels the enthusiasm of the mid-nineteenth century for the principle of nationality,

he believes that the cause of the fall of the Holy Alliance was in part, at least, the inherent impossibility of such a project; he lacks Sir Thomas's confidence in International Law. He, therefore, concludes that if a League of Free Nations is possible, it is only in the distant future. Several steps must be securely made before the final one is taken. The first should be a closer union between Great Britain and the United States. If a League is to be formed at once, membership must be confined "to States reasonably equal in power, not disparate in government, inheriting similar traditions, and inspired by common ideals. To attempt more is to risk all" (p. 370).

Professor Pollard throughout the war made it his practice by lectures and articles to assess current events against the background of history. His *Commonwealth at War* is the most striking illustration of this practice of comparison and retrospection which alone preserved sanity in the stress of immediate disaster and apparent chaos. His enemies are credulity and loose thinking, and his continuing aims the rout of both by historical method. Constructively he discusses the British Empire and the League of Nations. The first he would not organise: "It will grow as the outward sign of an inward grace" (p. 177). The problem of a colonial voice in foreign affairs he would meet by the inclusion of colonists in the House of Lords (p. 173).

The second book of Professor Pollard consists of three lectures delivered during the last month of the war, forming an epilogue to the previous volume. Professor Pollard differs from the preceding writers in believing in the necessity of additional international machinery in the form of a League of Nations. He believes such a league to be the logical outcome of historical development, and that it should be based on democracy, which has been developing alongside of world unity. With his strong historic sense he would have the League start merely with judicial powers, trusting to the growing confidence in its justice to prevent war, and leaving to time provision for other functions.

Mr. Marburg tells briefly of the movement in the United States which resulted in the formulation of the plan for a League to Enforce Peace. In thus formulating a plan the leaders in this movement differentiated themselves somewhat from the preceding writers, but the plan itself was simple, its essential point being the pledge to use force to compel the signatory Powers to submit disputes to arbitration or conciliation. With characteristic American directness the originators of the plan straightway sought to commit in its favour all those in high places at home and abroad.

Mr. Barker, in his admirable little pamphlet, which is enlarged from a lecture delivered on November 20, 1918, goes farther than any of the preceding writers in his conception of the scope of international organisation. His proposals are based on what he considers to be the defects in the present system of international relationships, and the actual co-operation existing during the war. He believes that arbitration, even combined with conciliation, will not prove sufficient, but that a Congress to discuss, and an Executive, are necessary from the first. He discusses the question of representation, and is fertile in well-considered suggestions.

Mr. Stallybrass approaches the question from the side of theory rather than history. While he reviews much of the recent literature

of the subject, he advances with boldness, and with considerable originality, his own views. His greatest contribution is his ruthless handling of the traditional view of sovereignty. An interesting appendix discusses his problem as it presented itself in the formation of the constitution of the United States.

General Smuts' book is the hasty outpouring of a mind full of the practical problems of the movement for a League of Nations, and sharpened by daily argument with the disbelieving and the unbelieving. To the historian it will be especially interesting as showing the influence which he exerted at the Peace Conference, for page after page present, as logical and desirable, provisions which the Treaty subsequently embodied. In general, his views were more concrete than those of the other writers, and the net result is to pile up more functions than they upon the international organization to which he looks forward.

It has seemed to the reviewer that American scholars failed to perform their obvious duty of contributing to the formation of a united world, the experience derived from the greatest experiment in federal unity history has afforded. The attempt of Professor Minor to remedy the omission, however, is a little too innocent to be a great assistance. He adopts the simple expedient of taking the constitution of the United States and making, clause by clause, such changes as seem to him necessitated by the difference in circumstances. Or rather, when one notes that he is professor of Constitutional and International Law at the University of Virginia, and recalls certain aspects of American history, one is tempted to think that the changes are such as he might think would have improved the United States constitution itself. For instance, the right of secession is carefully provided for. The result he presents ready for adoption by the Peace Conference.

Writing from after the Peace Conference and from America, one cannot but be conscious of a dulling in the sense of hope and idealism which inspires all these writers. Certainly none of them could have been entirely pleased with what was done at Paris. All of them, however, show too much knowledge of human affairs to be discouraged by a failure to remodel the world to their exact pattern, and one may think of them all as accepting the results of those compromises that resulted from a council representing so many types of thought and differing lines of development. It is evident, however, that all looked to the United States for support and leadership, and that the opposition encountered there must prove a disappointment, and should it fail in co-operation, its abstention will cause many doubts of the success of the whole.

Thus to extend our review from the books themselves to the fate of the project they discuss is not to wander so far afield as may at first appear. They were written with a purpose and must be judged in part by their adaptability to their purpose. They fairly represent the mass of publications which was intended to prepare the public mind for action, and may be compared with the literature forerunning other great movements. One cannot but feel that on the whole the approach was less well prepared than, for example, that to the American constitution. The English discussion, admirable in background and in the firm connection established between the past and provision for the future, is addressed for the most part to a limited audience. In style and character of argument it appeals to

the leaders of a democracy, rather than to the voters. The American discussion, on the other hand, is entirely too abstract and simple, and utterly failed to prepare a public mind almost blank as to the complexities of the situation for any solution short of a millennium. Peace is a more difficult thing than war, but one cannot but believe that had there been a campaign of information relating to its problems at all comparable to that on the reasons for, and the measures of, the war, there might well have been less disparity between the results at Paris and the attitude of the American Senate.

If rumour be true, President Wilson cannot be held free from blame for the absence of this effort. Believing that talk of peace would temper the earnestness in war, he seems to have discouraged the systematic canvassing of peace problems, at a time when all the ability of the country was in his hands to use or discard. His own treatment of the subject, so sound and inspiring, dealt with general principles only, and even on his return home, he failed—in American slang—to get down to cases. If the world is to take its next step wisely, under its present democratic auspices, its publicists must do better than they have yet done.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Professor Walter Alison Phillips' *Confederation of Europe* (2nd Edition, Longmans & Co., 12s. 6d. net) is the only work on the Congress period which is based on the immensely important documents in the British Archives. This new edition has been revised in the light both of new published material, and of the events of the Great War and Peace Congress, though the framework of the book remains unaltered, and in spite of the Great War the Author stands by the conclusions which he enunciated in 1914. The book is so well known that it is scarcely necessary to insist on its great importance at the present time. The experiments of the Congress Period now furnish us with material of vital interest, and their proper study and interpretation may well influence the future to a very large degree. The reputation of Castlereagh as an international statesman has already been established by Professor Alison Phillips, and, if his judgments on Alexander are less generally accepted, he has contributed very much to the elucidation of one of the most curious characters in history. The ideals of these men and the reasons for their failure to establish an international machine which should stand the test of conflicting interests should be part of the knowledge not only of the student, but of the general public.

Professor Alison Phillips' criticism of the League of Nations in the light of past history is acute and penetrating, but lacks perhaps an intimate knowledge of recent events. It sets too little store both on the *imponderabilia* of modern life and on the great changes which have modified the machinery, economic conditions and aspirations of states since the time of Castlereagh and Alexander. But the League has everything to gain from the well-informed criticism, and all its advocates should be prepared to meet the difficulties raised in this exceedingly able work.

C. K. W.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS

[Under this head is given a list of most of the books dealing with history which have appeared during the preceding quarter, with an indication of the contents when they are not clearly expressed in the title. The references are, unless otherwise stated, to notices in The Times Literary Supplement, the pages of which are numbered continuously and can therefore be identified without specification of date.]

HELLENISM IN ANCIENT INDIA. By G. N. Banerjee. x+373 pp. Butterworth. 10s. (p. 151.)

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. Vol. i., to A.D. 313. Ed. by B. J. Kidd. 282 pp. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. (p. 366.)

ALFRED THE GREAT. 848-899. By Beatrice A. Lees. xv+493 pp. Putnam. \$1.90.

THE GREAT ROLL OF THE PIPE, 1241-1242. Ed. by H. L. Cannon. xiv+442 pp. Milford. 25s.

THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By H. F. Westlake. viii+242 pp. S.P.C.K. 15s. [Ed. Suppl., p. 197.]

HENRY V. By R. B. Mowat. 343 pp. Constable. 10s. 6d. (p. 182.)

ERASMUS AND LUTHER. Their attitude to toleration. By R. H. Murray. xxiii+503 pp. S.P.C.K. 25s. n. (p. 148.)

THE CHANTRY CERTIFICATES. And the Edwardian Inventories of Church goods. Ed. by Rose Graham. xxxi+147 pp. Oxfordshire Record Society. (p. 330.)

THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND. By H. Holloway. 240 pp. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. (p. 183.)

FACTORS IN MODERN HISTORY. By A. F. Pollard. xi+287 pp. Constable. 7s. 6d.

DUE RELAZIONE DI VENEZIA del Secolo XVI. By Arnaldo Segarizzi. Venice. Carlo Ferrari. (p. 156.)

CURIOSITÀ DI STORIA VENEZIANA. By P. Molmenti. Bologna: Zanichelli. 12 lire. (p. 344.)

THE TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA (1600-1896). By C. J. Hamilton. vii+263 pp. Thacker, Spink and Co. 5s.

BELGIUM. The Making of a Nation. By H. Vander Linden. Trans. by Sybil Jane. 356 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. (p. 344.)

JAPAN. By D. Murray. Revised by Prof. J. H. Longford. x+495 pp. Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d. n. (p. 247.)

INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR. An Economic Study. By W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. xi+328 pp. Macmillan. 12s. (p. 360.)

SAMUEL PEPPYS AND THE ROYAL NAVY. Lees Knowles lectures. By J. R. Tanner. 83 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 6s. 6d. (p. 359.)

REPORTS OF THE HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION. By R. A. Roberts. 91 pp. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

DUPLEX AND CLIVE. By H. Dodwell. xix+277 pp. Methuen. 12s. 6d. (p. 232.)

BEAUMARCHAIS and the War of American Independence. By Elizabeth S. Kite. Foreword by J. M. Beck. Two vols. Vol. i., 308 pp.; Vol. ii., 306 pp. London: Stanley Phillips. 30s. (p. 232.)

GERMANY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By G. P. Gooch. vii+543 pp. Longmans. 14s. (p. 219.)

HISTORY OF GERMANY in the Nineteenth Century. By H. von Treitschke. Trans. by E. and C. Paul. Vols. vi. and vii. Intro. by W. H. Dawson. Allen and Unwin. 15s. (p. 270.)

INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS. By P. M. Ogilvie. ix+424 pp. Macmillan. \$3. (p. 265.)

THE FAMILY OF CORBET: ITS LIFE AND TIMES. By A. E. C. The St. Catharine Press. £4 4s. (p. 314.)

A SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1815-1918. By J. F. Rees. vii+197 pp. Methuen. 5s. (p. 346.)

LORD GREY OF THE REFORM BILL. Being the life of Charles, Second Earl Grey. By G. M. Trevelyan. xiv+413 pp. Longmans. 21s. (p. 193.)

GAMBETTA. By Paul Deschanel. viii+336 pp. Heinemann. 15s. (p. 262.)

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN FISKE. By J. S. Clark. Vol. i., xvii+533 pp. Vol. ii., xi+523 pp. London: Constable. 25s. (p. 266.)

LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. JESSE COLLINGS. Part i. by the Right Hon. Jesse Collings. Part ii. by Sir J. L. Green, O.B.E. Intro. by the Rt. Hon.

Austen Chamberlain, M.P. xiii.+310 pp. Longmans. 15s. (p. 313.)

A MEMOIR OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM ANSON, BART. Ed. by H. H. Henson, Lord Bishop of Hereford. 242 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. (p. 294.)

QUEENSLAND POLITICS DURING SIXTY YEARS (1859-1919). By C. A. Bernays. 564 pp. A. J. Cumming.

THE TRANSVAAL SURROUNDED. By Dr. W. J. Leyds. Fisher Unwin, 25s. (p. 147.)

LIFE AND LABOUR IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By C. R. Fay. ix.+319 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 20s. (p. 359.)

THE HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONISM. By S. and B. Webb. (Revised to 1920.) xviii+784 pp. Longmans. 21s. (p. 206.)

STUDIES ON HISTORY AND POLITICS. By the Rt. Hon. H. Fisher. 213 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. (p. 231.)

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY. By I. J. C. Brown. 176 pp. R. Cobden-Sanderson. 6s. (p. 116.)

CONSTITUTIONAL POWER and World Affairs. By G. Sutherland. vii+202 pp. Columbia Univ. Press (Milford). 6s. 6d.

INDIAN NATIONALITY. By R. N. Gilchrist. Intro. by Ramsay Muir. xix+246 pp. Longmans. 7s. 6d. (p. 147.)

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPEAN THOUGHT. Essays by F. S. Marvin. 306 pp. Milford. 12s. 6d. (p. 247.)

THE SECRET TREATIES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1879-1914. By A. F. Pribram. English ed. by A. C. Coolidge. With trans. by D. P. Myers and J. G. D'Arcy Paul. xvii.+306 pp. London: Milford. 8s. 6d. (p. 312.)

THE VICTORY OF VENIZELLOS. A study of Greek politics. 1910-1918. By V. J. Seligman. 185 pp. Allen and Unwin. 5s. (p. 358.)

DIPLOMATIC REMINISCENCES. Before and During the World War (1911-17). By A. Nekludoff. Trans. by A. Paget. xiii+541 pp. Murray. 21s. (p. 343.)

MY THREE YEARS IN AMERICA. By Count Bernstorff. 360 pp. Skeffington. 25s. (p. 326.)

OUT OF MY LIFE. By Marshal von Hindenburg. Trans. by F. A. Holt. 470 pp. Cassell. 31s. 6d. (p. 231.)

THE GREAT WAR. 1914-1918. A brief sketch. By C. R. L. Fletcher. xv+199 pp. Murray. 6s. (p. 360.)

GERMAN SPIES AT BAY. Actual Record of the German Espionage in Great Britain During the Years 1914-1918. From Official Sources by S. T. Felstead. vii+288 pp. Hutchinson. 8s. 6d. (p. 178.)

TANKS IN THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918. By Brevet Col. J. F. C. Fuller,

D.S.O. xxiv+331 pp. J. Murray. 21s. (p. 263.)

NAVAL OPERATIONS. Vol. I., to the Battle of the Falklands. December, 1914. By Sir J. S. Corbett. xiv+470 pp., and Maps. Longmans. 17s. 6d. (p. 206.)

GERMANY'S High Sea Fleet in the World War. By Admiral Scheer. xiv+376 pp. Cassell. 25s. (p. 195.)

LIFE OF LORD KITCHENER. By Sir G. Arthur. Three vols. Vol. I., xxvi+326 pp. Vol. II., xi+346 pp. Vol. III., xi+413 pp. Macmillan. 52s. 6d. (p. 245.)

GALLIPOLI DIARY. By Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton, G.C.B. Two vols. Vol. I. xv+387 pp. Vol. II., vii+349 pp. Arnold. 36s. (p. 317.)

MY CAMPAIGN IN MESOPOTAMIA. By Major-Gen. Sir C. V. F. Townshend, K.C.B. 400 pp. Thornton Butterworth. 28s. (p. 163.)

HOW JERUSALEM WAS WON. Being the record of Allenby's campaign in Palestine. By W. T. Massey. viii+295 pp. Constable. 21s. (p. 703.)

MY REMINISCENCES OF EAST AFRICA. By General von Lettow-Vorbeck. xvi+336 pp. Hurst and Blackett. 24s. (p. 178.)

THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN FRANCE. By J. Buchan. Nelson. 15s. (p. 179.)

THE AMERICAN ARMY in the European Conflict. By Col. de Chambrun and Capt. de Marenches. Macmillan Co. 18s. (p. 230.)

THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN in France and Flanders. 1918. By A. C. Doyle. Vol. VI. ix+323 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d. (p. 164.)

DER WEG ZUR KATASTROPHE. Von. K. F. Nowak. Berlin: Erich Reiss. 10m. (p. 358.)

DER DEUTSCHE GENERALSTAB in Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Weltkrieges. Von General H. von Kuhl. Berlin: Mittler. 27m. (p. 207.)

DOCUMENTE. Von Graf Brockdorff-Rantzau. Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte. (p. 359.)

DER WELTPROTEST gegen den Versailler Frieden. Ed. by A. H. Fried. Leipzig. Verl. der Neue Geist. 6m. (p. 246.)

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION and Kautsky the Renegade. By V. I. Ulianov (N. Lenin). 128 pp. British Socialist Party. 2s. (p. 294.)

BOLSHEVIST RUSSIA. A Philosophical Survey. By E. Antonelli. 277 pp. Stanley Paul. 12s. 6d. (p. 264.)

THE ANNUAL REGISTER for 1919. xii.+240 pp. Longmans. 30s. (p. 218.)

THE PHILOSOPHICAL THEORY OF THE STATE. By Bernard Bosanquet. Macmillan. 18s. (p. 328.)

PRESENT PROBLEMS IN FOREIGN POLICY. By David Jayne Hill. 286 pp. Appleton. \$2. (p. 292.)

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS. An inquiry into its origin and growth. By J. B. Bury. xv+377 pp. Macmillan. 14s. (p. 357.)

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS. By W. R. Inge, C.V.O. Romanes Lecture, 1920. 34 pp. Clarendon Press. 2s. (p. 357.)

A NEW CHAPTER IN THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT. By B. Branford. Chatto and Windus. 5s. [Ed. Suppl., 637.] (p. 44.)

LOCAL HISTORY.

LIFE IN OLD CAMBRIDGE: Illustrations of English history. By M. E. Monckton Jones, with preface by G. K. Chesterton. xviii+142 pp. W. Heffer. 3s. [Ed. Suppl. p. 149.]

TWO CENTURIES OF LIFE IN DOWN, 1600-1800. By J. Stevensen. viii+508 pp. Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson, and Orr. 21s. (p. 292.)

THE STORY OF OLD HALIFAX. By T. W. Hanson. F. King and Sons. 5s. [Ed. Suppl. p. 185.]

GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF NORWICH. By G. A. Stephen. 28 pp. Public Library Committee. 3d.

SHROPSHIRE: the geography [and history] of the County. By W. W. Watts. Shrewsbury, Wilding & Son. 254 pp.

THE STORY OF SUSSEX. By W. Victor Cook. With a Chapter on Sussex Architecture. By O. H. Leeney. vii+232 pp. Hove: Cambridge's. 7s. 6d. (p. 347.)

SCHOOL BOOKS.

THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By K. W. Spikes. viii+247 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 4s. 6d. [Ed. Suppl. p. 185.]

NEW WORLD HISTORY SERIES. Ed. by B. L. Manning. First Book (from the Beginning to 1485.) By Eileen Power. 227 pp. Collins. 2s. 9d. [Ed. Suppl. p. 279.]

OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY FROM 1789 TO 1914. By C. L. Thomson and M. B. Curran. 424 pp. Marshall. 6s. [Ed. Suppl. p. 49.]

A HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. By J. MUNRO. Pt. II., 1603 to 1919. viii+608. Oliver and Boyd. 6s. [Ed. Suppl. p. 73.]

A NEW HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. By R. B. Mowat. Pt. I. xii+299 pp. Oxford Univ. Press. 3s. 6d. [Ed. Suppl., p. 233.]

SOCIAL LIFE IN ENGLAND through the Centuries. By H. R. W. Hall. 200 pp. Blackie. 2s. 9d. [Ed. Suppl., p. 221.]

MODERN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY. By F. R. Worts. Hodder and Stoughton. 4s. 6d. [Ed. Suppl., p. 5.]

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND in the Middle Ages. By A. W. Parry. Tutorial Press, Ltd. 7s. 6d. [Ed. Suppl., p. 247.]

A GUIDE TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION. By J. W. Adamson. 47 pp. S.P.C.K. 8d. [Ed. Suppl. p. 221.]
C. S. P.

CORRECTION IN THE APRIL NUMBER.

Professor Tout's *Advanced History of Great Britain* is issued both in one volume at 10s. 6d. and in three parts at 4s. each: I., to 1485; II., 1485-1714; III., 1714-1918. The criticism of its size requires correction accordingly. The copy sent for review was in one volume, and the reviewer much regrets that she did not notice the fly-leaf showing that it could actually be obtained in the more convenient form she advocated.

HISTORY

OCTOBER, 1920

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON ROMAN HISTORY

A Short History of Rome. By Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagallo. I. *The Monarchy and the Republic.* 1918. II. *The Empire* 44 B.C.—476 A.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 10s. net each vol. $8 \times 5\frac{3}{8}$. Pp. vii+510, v+516.

Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the last Half-Century of the Roman Republic. A Dissertation . . . by Richard Orlando Jolliffe. George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin. 1919. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$. Pp. xi+109.

The History of the Title Emperor under the Roman Empire. By Donald McFayden. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. 1920. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. ix+67.

Christian Inscriptions. By H. P. V. Nunn. = *Texts for Students* No. 11. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1920. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 48. 1s. net.

Seneca. By Francis Holland. Longmans, Green and Co., London. 1920. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. vii+205+Appendix. 10s. net.

The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus. By Maurice Platnauer. Oxford University Press. 1918. $9\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. vi+221. 12s. 6d. net.

The Emperor Julian. An Essay on his Relations with the Christian Religion. By Edward J. Martin. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1919. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{8}$. Pp. 128 (in the series *Studies in Church History*). 3s. 6d. net.

MOST teachers have at one time or another said hard things of the text-books which other teachers have written; nevertheless each new text-book, as it appears, awakes our interested curiosity, for

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there is always the possibility that it may approximate more nearly than any of its predecessors to that ideal text-book which—some day—we ourselves intend to write. The only recent English text-book on Roman history is that of Ferrero and Barbagallo, translated by George Chrystal. The aim of the authors has been to bring out clearly the connection of the larger events of Roman history, for “history must convey the sense not only of succession but of evolution.” In the first volume on the Monarchy and the Republic their effort has been in large measure successful: their sketch has proved, as I can testify from practical experience, of real interest to students. The second volume I have not yet used in class. The work is in the main conservative in tendency, somewhat surprisingly so, considering Ferrero’s previously published books. The historicity of the Licinio-Sextian legislation is, for instance, vigorously maintained, though, in view of the popular character of the text-book, it is remarkable that the only modern work cited in defence of the traditional account of the Licinio-Sextian agrarian law is that of Sinaisky: the *Zapiski* of the University of Dorpat are not generally accessible to English students, and mention should rather have been made of the studies of Cardinali, Schwarze, and Soltau.¹ In one point, however, Ferrero’s views are revolutionary: for him Rome under the early monarchy is a great commercial power, trading with the Adriatic countries, with Carthage and Sicily, with Corsica and Sardinia, with Magna Graecia and even with the Oriental Greeks. Surely all the evidence which we possess would seem to disprove this. The primitive history of Rome is that of a state of peasant farmers, and not of merchants with widespread commercial relations.² In the account of the last century of the Republic

¹ Cf. B. I. Sinaisky: *Očerki iz istorii zemlevladieniia i prava v drevnem Rimye*. (= *Studien zur römischen Agrar- und Rechtsgeschichte. I. Heredium und Feldgemeinschaft.*) *Ucheniuiia Zapiski imperatorskago Yur’ievskago Universiteta*. God 16 (1908), Nos. 6, 7, 8; God 17 (1909), Nos. 1, 2, pp. i–xviii + 210. G. Cardinali: *Studi Graccani*. Roma, Loescher. 1912. Kurt Schwarze: *Beiträge zur Geschichte altrömischer Agrarprobleme (bis 367 v. Chr.)*. Halle, Niemeyer. 1912. W. Soltau: in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* vol. 25 (1910), pp. 709–734.

² This point is fundamental for the understanding of early Roman history: cf. *History*, N.S. II. No. 8 (Jan. 1918), pp. 238–241. Note (i) the excavations at Ostia have disclosed no trace of the existence of a primitive port. The *argumentum a silentio* is generally of doubtful validity, but considering the systematic character of the excavations it is in this case of exceptional cogency. Cf. Ludovico Paschetto: *Ostia. Colonia Romana. Storia e Documenti*, in *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Serie II., Tomo X., Parte II. Roma, 1912, pp. xxvii + 593; Dante Vaglieri: *Ostia. Cenni Storici e Guida*. Roma, Loescher. 1914. Tenney Frank would place the Roman colonisation of Ostia between 358 and 349 B.C.: this colonisation was perhaps commemorated by the ship’s prow on Roman coins. (Cf. Tenney

Ferrero follows closely the views expressed in his *Greatness and Decline of Rome*: even the substance of the much-criticised chapters on Julius Caesar remains unchanged. Thus one cannot help feeling that though this first volume may prove very stimulating for a student if working under a teacher who can call attention to the problematic character of some of the author's conclusions, it could hardly be recommended for use by a student who had no such expert guidance.

The second volume opens with some excellent character studies of the early emperors, and will be of special interest to students reading Tacitus, even though the bold reconstruction of the relations between Messalina and Claudius³ and the rehabilitation of Agrippina, the mother of Nero, may well arouse some doubts. The importance of the Senate under the Empire is surely exaggerated; Ferrero's views on this subject are indeed not shared by his collaborator. But Ferrero's insistence on the part played by Vespasian in the reconstitution of the Senate on a wider basis deserves careful consideration.⁴ The main criticism, however, which is suggested by his treatment of the history of the Empire

Frank: *Rome's first Coinage*. *Classical Philology*, xiv. Oct. 1919, pp. 314-318. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.) J. Carcopino in *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Fasc. CXVI. Paris, Fontemoing, 1919) would place the foundation of the colony about 335 B.C. (p. 33); Carcopino considers that the earlier Ostia lay inland and not on the coast; it was of importance only as a primitive religious centre. (ii) In the early religion of Rome, essentially practical as it was and thus reflecting the interests, of Roman worshippers, the sea plays no part; the sea-god only comes in later with Greek influence: even Portunus is not, it seems, as the name might suggest, a god of harbours, but a door god. Cf. Wissowa: *Kultus und Religion der Römer*, 2te Auflage, München, 1912, pp. 27, 112; Warde Fowler: *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, pp. 99, 118; and L. Deubner: *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der altrömischen Religion*. *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, vol. 27 (1911), pp. 329-330. (iii) The archaeological evidence from Rome itself (cf. the latest summary by Rosenberg s.v. *Rom.*, Pauly-Wissowa: *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswiss.* 2te Reihe I. 1914), e.g., the presence of proto-Corinthian vases, can be explained by land-borne Etruscan influence. It may even be doubted whether the third century Lex Claudia, restricting the tonnage of ships owned by senators, will sustain the far-reaching conclusions of Ferrero. An act or law may be the result of a single notorious instance of abuse of powers. Suppose that the testamentary dispositions of a certain eccentric Swiss millionaire were to be buried in oblivion, what terrible deductions as to domestic feuds in the English family life of the early nineteenth century might not be drawn by a future historian from a study of the provisions of the Thellusson Act!

³ In his hypothesis that Claudius formally divorced Messalina before her marriage with Silius Ferrero is following Silvagni: *L'Impero e le donne dei Cesari*, 2nda ed., Torino, 1909, pp. 338 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Suet., *Vesp.* 9. Aurel. Victor, *Caesares*, c. 9, and on the whole subject cf. G. Lully: *De Senatorum Romanorum patria sive de Romani cultus in provinciis incremento*, Romae, Maglione e Strini, 1918, pp. xii. 271.

during the first century is that it is on the one hand too exclusively political, and on the other too "Tacitean"—the whole centre of interest is the court and the capital, there is far too little of Greater Rome and the Romanisation of the provinces. A history of the Empire which devotes only two lines to S. Paul and a similar space to Stoicism is surely remarkably lacking in its sense of proportion. The provinces when introduced appear in an account of Hadrian's travels; they do not seem to possess that outstanding significance which has been given them by the work of Mommsen, Ramsay, Cagnat, Jullian,⁵ Haverfield, Chapot,⁶ Cumont,⁷ and others. We are bound to ask: What did the Empire mean to the provinces?—and to answer that question we need some reference to that literary and epigraphic material which Hahn⁸ has used with such effect in the second and third chapters of his valuable sketch. In Ferrero's work we are told many times that the provinces were Romanised: we miss any account of the way in which that wonderful result was achieved; the provincial worship of the emperor is referred to only in passing, and I cannot recall a single mention of the provincial councils. In a word, what Ferrero has given us is essentially a series of biographies of Roman emperors—as such, his book is full of suggestion, but as Mommsen saw, and as Domaszewski proved in his *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser*,⁹ the history of the Roman Empire can never be adequately written in the form of imperial biographies; a book so written may gain in unity of plan, but such unity is dearly bought at the price of limitation of outlook.¹⁰

With one further criticism not every reader might agree; it is a question of proportion. Half the book is devoted to the history of the Empire prior to Vespasian's accession; from the election of Diocletian to the fall of the Western Empire in 476 A.D. the narrative occupies precisely 108 pp. out of 492. Does this really represent the relative importance of the Christian empire? Further, the fact that the book closes with the traditional date 476 A.D. faithfully reflects the incurably western outlook of most modern

⁵ Cf. now especially *Histoire de la Gaule. V. La Civilisation gallo-romaine. État matériel. VI. État moral.* Hachette, Paris, 1920, pp. 381, 358.

⁶ E.g. *La Province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie.* Paris, Bouillon. 1904.

⁷ Cf. *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée.* Extrait des *Annales de la Société royale de Bruxelles.* Tome xxviii. 1914. Bruxelles, Vromant, pp. 121.

⁸ Ludwig Hahn: *Das Kaisertum* (in the series *Das Erbe der Alten*). Leipzig Weicher. 1913.

⁹ Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer. 1909. 2 vols.

¹⁰ At present, it will probably be agreed, for much of the history of the early Empire we must go to Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, although he does not profess to write that history save as an introduction to the story of the Empire's fall.

writers. I believe that future historians of Rome will carry their chronicle down to the seventh century, when with the overthrow of the Sassanid power and the coming of Slav and Arab a new story begins for the Empire.¹¹ But perhaps this criticism only signifies that Ferrero has not tried to produce the ideal text-book as conceived by one reviewer!¹²

From a dissertation it is, as a rule, unfair to expect any great originality, but a collection of evidence may well have its own value. In Mr. R. O. Jolliffe's *Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the last Half-Century of the Roman Republic* there is little which is not already familiar to students of Cicero, yet this study of graft in (i) the army, (ii) the navy, (iii) the administration of client kingdoms, and (iv) the use and abuse of embassies serves to give a new force to generalisations upon the venality of senatorial government. Mr. Jolliffe has been anticipated as regards the navy by F. H. Cowles's *Gaius Verres*,¹³ for (iii) his material lay to his hand in the essay of P. C. Sands,¹⁴ and for (iv) he himself confesses that there is little to add to Thurm's Leipzig dissertation,¹⁵ but from his reconsideration of the evidence we realise afresh that the senatorial régime was ripe for supersession; the question was: who should be the Senate's heir? The fall of the Republic was only delayed because there were so many generals to dispute the inheritance.

A great historian may often inspire younger students with enthusiasm, but at times the sheer weight of his influence gives

¹¹ This is the division adopted by Ernst Kornemann in his history of the Roman Empire in Geroke-Norden: *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, 2te Auflage, III., Teubner, 1914, and by W. Strehl in his Roman history (in Strehl and Soltau's *Grundriss der alten Geschichte und Quellenkunde*, 2te Auflage, II., Breslau, Marcus, 1914.) It is better to make a break here than to carry on the history to the middle of the eighth century, as does L. M. Hartmann in Hartmann and Kromayer's *Römische Geschichte* (= Bd. III. of *Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung* herausgegeben von Ludo Moritz Hartmann, Gotha, Perthes, 1919). Cf. *Cambridge Medieval History* II., p. 263, and K. J. Neumann: *Perioden römischer Kaisergeschichte. Historische Zeitschrift* III Folge, XXI., pp. 377-386.

¹² The proof-reading is poor: 'ager privatis' I. 263 and 'county' for 'country' I. 279 should cause no difficulty, but in a text-book it is more serious when such mistakes occur as 'Vipsandus Agrippa' II. p. 86, 'Redriaco' for 'Bedriacum' II. 242, 'Petovio' for 'Poetovio' II. 241, 'Antipatria' for 'Antipatris' II. 218, the three last being repeated in the Index. The 'Jazyges'—a provocative name—appear as the 'Jazigi' II. 317; 'Marmaresi' should be 'Manaresi' II. 279, while Cocchia's work is not entitled 'Studi filologici,' as at I. 81, but 'Saggi filologici.'

¹³ *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, XX. (1917), pp. iii. + 207.

¹⁴ P. C. Sands: *The Client Princes of the Roman Empire.* (= *Cambridge Historical Essays* XVI.). Cambridge, University Press, 1908.

¹⁵ A. A. Thurm: *De Romanorum legatis reipublicae temporibus ad exterarum nationes missis.* Leipzig. 1883

to his views canonical authority : to question established dogma is to incur the odium of heterodoxy—research is stifled. Thus Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* tended for many years to repel students from attempting fresh work on Roman constitutional history. But to-day the dead hand is relaxing its grasp ; scholars are once more subjecting to criticism the orthodox conclusions. In 1912 Matthias Gelzer published his book on the nobility of the Roman Republic¹⁶ : this was followed in 1914 by Leifer's reconsideration of the conception of *imperium*¹⁷ : in 1916 Schulz¹⁸ sought to prove that in the early Empire there was only one constitutional authority—the Senate—which could legitimate the choice of an Emperor, as against Mommsen's view of a double authority vested in Senate and army : in 1918 Eduard Meyer¹⁹ contended that Pompey and not Caesar was the true founder of the Principate—once more in avowed opposition to the views of Mommsen ; and now from an American scholar, Mr. Donald McFayden, we have a study of the use of the term Imperator under the Empire which directly challenges Mommsen's conclusions. Mr. McFayden's pamphlet is written with scholarship, insight, and historical imagination : the imperial titles become something more than formulae, they reflect the struggle of the emperor to maintain the Augustan ideal of the government of the "first citizen," the *princeps*—that struggle in which the capital was worsted by the provinces, where from the first men had seen in the Emperor the absolute ruler whom alone they could understand. "Augustus willed the impossible" : all students of the early Empire should read this illuminating commentary upon Hirschfeld's dictum. It is impossible here to summarise Mr. McFayden's conclusions in

¹⁶ Matthias Gelzer : *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*, Teubner, 1912 : a subsequent study in *Hermes* on the nobility under the Empire has provoked a lively discussion (1916–1917) in that journal.

¹⁷ Franz Leifer : *Die Einheit des Gewaltgedankens im römischen Staatsrecht*, Leipzig, Duncker u. Humblot. 1914. pp. 326.

¹⁸ Otto Th. Schulz : *Das Wesen des römischen Kaisertums der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte*, (= *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, VIII. 2), Paderborn, Schöningh. 1916 ; followed by his *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat* (= *ibid.* IX. 4–5) 1919 (and cf. *Historische Zeitschrift* III Folge, XXII. (1917), pp. 276–285).

¹⁹ Eduard Meyer : *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius* [first edition, 1918]. 2te Auflage. Stuttgart u. Berlin, Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, pp. 632. 1919. Cf. Emilio Betti : *Sulla Fondazione del Principato in Roma. Rendiconti. Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Serie II. vol. XLVIII. Fasc. X.*, pp. 464–478 ; the first part of Arthur Stein's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter röm. Herrschaft*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1915 ; and R. Reitzenstein : *Die Idee des Prinzipats bei Cicero und Augustus. Nachrichten von d. Kön. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen : phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1917, pp. 399–436, 480–498.

detail; I prefer to quote one suggestive paragraph illustrating Augustus' conception of the Principate :—

Augustus' titular is not to be regarded as an analysis of his legal prerogatives. There are whole reaches of his powers which are not represented by it. . . . The aim of Augustus' titular was not to indicate his legal position, but to appeal to men's imaginations. In other words, it was the creation, not of a lawyer, but of a politician. In its complete form, it is represented by *C.I.L.* XI. 367: IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUGUSTUS, PONTIF. MAXIM., COS. XIII, IMP. XX, TRIBUNIC. POTESTAT. XXXVII, P. P. We may paraphrase it as follows: "Caesar, the divinely endowed (DIVI F. AUGUSTUS) guardian of religion (PONTIF. MAXIM.), protector of the people²⁰ (TRIBUNIC. POTESTAT.), defender of the Empire (Praenomen Imperatoris) and Father of his country (P. P.), who thirteen times has been elected consul and whose prowess has been displayed on twenty stricken fields (IMP. XX)." ²¹

That seems to me a good piece of exegesis.

Teachers and taught alike have every reason to be grateful to the S.P.C.K. for their enterprising series of *Texts for Students*; in this series they have recently issued a collection of *Christian Inscriptions* (text and translation). It is well that we should be reminded of the interest and importance of this class of inscriptions, but their study is beset with difficulties, and surely some help might have been given to the reader even in a small pamphlet such as this: the editor has here lost an opportunity. Compare this selection with Ernst Diehl's little book in Hans Lietzmann's series,²² and the usefulness of his brief notes will be immediately manifest. Further the wisdom of the choice of the inscriptions included in Mr. Nunn's collection may be doubted: far too much space is occupied with the "display-inscriptions" of Pope Damasus; the simpler inscriptions are more valuable and also more characteristic; and in future issues more care should, I think, be taken with the bibliography: Kaufmann's *Handbuch* is not mentioned, while important studies upon individual inscriptions should be cited. For example, the famous "Abercius" inscription is included in the collection, but no hint is given of the controversy which it has excited: reference might at least have been made to Dieterich's *Die Grabschrift d. Aberkios* (1896), to W. Lüdtkke and Th. Nissen's *Die Grabschrift d. Aberkios* (1910), and to Nissen's Teubner edition of the inscription (1912). The series is so welcome that every effort should be made to render it as serviceable to students as possible.

²⁰ Cf. Tacitus' words: ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentus. *Ann.* I. 2. 1.

²¹ P. 47.

²² Ernst Diehl: *Lateinische altchristliche Inschriften*. 2te Auflage. Bonn, Marcus und Weber. 1913 (= *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann, 26-28).

To turn to biography. It might seem that after the publication of R. Waltz's valuable book, *La Vie politique de Sénèque* (Paris, Perrin, 1909), Mr. Francis Holland's essay on *Seneca* was unnecessary. But this would be a hasty conclusion. We must recognise that in the near future there will be a large new public who know neither Latin nor Greek, but who will be more than willing to study Ancient History provided that the subject is presented to them in an intelligible form; thus such a biographical sketch as this, which lays no claim to novelty of view or to exhaustive treatment, may yet be of great service. While amongst scholars a revival of interest in Seneca and his works is an undeniable fact,²³ the Loeb Library is making his plays and letters widely accessible. Mr. Holland's book is written in a pleasant style, though it might be objected that we are given too many quotations from Tacitus, and too few from Seneca himself. Too little attention is paid to the *Ludus de Morte Claudii*, which, though it may not be the "Apokolokyntosis" to which Dio refers,²⁴ is yet generally admitted to be the work of Seneca, and is surely of greater political importance than Ball and Waltz are inclined to admit²⁵; only passing reference is made to those *Quaestiones Naturales* (now accessible in the translation of John Clarke with Sir Archibald Geikie's notes) which illustrate so admirably the outlook of a Roman moralist on the world of nature,²⁶ and it is a pity that Mr. Holland inclines to the older and now discredited view that the tragedies attributed to Seneca are not the work of the philosopher.²⁷ The problem of the tragedies is rather the true understanding of Seneca's aim in their composition: we need to realise more fully that the philosopher, the man of the world, the statesman and the dramatist in Seneca were all aspects of a single personality. It is precisely this many-sidedness of Seneca which constitutes the difficulty of the biographer's task.²⁸ Perhaps in a second edition Mr. Holland

²³ For a bibliography of some of the recent work on Seneca cf. Charles Favez: *L. Annaei Senecae Dialogorum Liber XII.* (with an important introduction on the "Consolatio" in classical literature). Payot, Lausanne. 1918.

²⁴ See J. J. Hartman: *De Ludo de Morte Claudii.* *Mnemosyne.* 44 (1916), pp. 295-314.

²⁵ Cf. Ball: *The Satire of Seneca on the Apotheosis of Claudius*, New York and London, 1902, p. 41. Waltz: *op. cit.* pp. 198-9.

²⁶ John Clarke: *Physical Science in the Time of Nero*, Macmillan, 1910, especially the introduction, pp. xxxviii. sqq.

²⁷ Cf. W. S. Teuffel's *Geschichte d. röm. Literatur*, 6te Auflage Bd. II., pp. 230 sqq., Teubner, 1910.

²⁸ On this aspect of the Seneca problem cf. Theodor Birt's essay in *Preussische Jahrbücher* CXLIV. (1911), pp. 282 sqq., and his study *Was hat Seneca mit seinen Tragödien gewollt?* *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 27 (1911), pp. 336-364.

may be able to enlarge the scope of his essay; but however that may be, the teacher of ancient history can only welcome such a study as this. We want scholars who will do for England what Eduard Schwartz in his *Charakterköpfe aus der antiken Literatur* has done for Germany, and meanwhile Schwartz's two brilliant little books might well be translated.²⁹ A Roman volume on the same plan as Mr. L. W. Hopkinson's *Greek Leaders* (London, Constable, n.d. ? 1919) would be of much service.

A biography of a very different character is Mr. Platnauer's learned essay on the Emperor Septimius Severus. There was room for such a work, for De Ceuleneer's study of the reign has long been out of print, and only with great difficulty can a second-hand copy be procured. The merits of Mr. Platnauer's book have been generally recognised. Since it will be constantly employed as a work of reference, it is unfortunate that the index is totally inadequate. An even more serious blemish is the bibliography: in its present form it is almost useless: Mr. Platnauer, as a rule, gives neither the place nor the date of publication, not to speak of the name of the publisher. No distinction is made between books and dissertations, and it is impossible to trace the latter unless the university and date of publication are given. It is common knowledge that German dissertations are not generally quoted in the *Halbjahrskatalog* of Hinrichs. The *Jahresverzeichnisse* of German university publications only go back to 1887, while even in a library such as that of the British Museum German dissertations are not catalogued. This point is of fundamental importance in the compilation of a bibliography. In a second edition it is to be hoped that the bibliography will be recast and enlarged.³⁰ Mr. Platnauer's chapter on Philosophy and

²⁹ It may be noted that at the end of his book Mr. Holland has reprinted a short paper from the *Dublin Review* on Caius Maecenas, "to fill the page," as he says.

³⁰ It may not be out of place to suggest a few additions for such an enlarged bibliography: for the family of the emperor, Ed. Gellens-Wilford: *La Famille et le Cursus Honorum de l'Empereur Septime Sévère* in the *Bibliothèque des antiquités africaines publiée sous la direction de M. Julien Poinssot*, Paris, Picard, 1884; on (*inter alia*) the acquittal of Severus on a charge of adultery, Hirschfeld: *Bemerkungen zu der Biographie des Septimius Severus*, *Wiener Studien* VI. (1884), pp. 121-127; on the improbability of the view that Severus held a vague *maius imperium* over both Pannonias, Ritterling; *Archæologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich* XX. 1897, p. 32 (Wien): for von Domaszewski's suggestion that the rebellion of Severus was probably planned even before the accession of Pertinax cf. *Der Staatsstreich des Septimius Severus*, *Rheinisches Museum* 53 (1898), pp. 638 sq. (cf. *Hermes* 32 (1897), pp. 482 sqq.); on the buildings of Severus, especially the Septizonium, see the elaborate treatment in Ernst Maas: *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1902; on the sources for the reign cf. Kreutzer: *Zu den Quellen der Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* in *Historische Untersuchungen* Arnold

Religion is inadequate: if Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* is to be included amongst the authorities for the reign of Septimius Severus, though the justification for its inclusion is not obvious, it is far too important a work to be dismissed in a couple of pages (pp. 145 *sqq.*).³¹ It may, however, be doubted whether the religious outlook of the age can be treated successfully if that treatment is confined to the reign of Septimius Severus: must it not be widened in scope so as to cover the succeeding reigns?³² Has the reign of Septimius Severus any really distinctive religious features of its own, save, perhaps, the Emperor's attitude to the Christians? From the nature of our sources it is perhaps impossible for us to recover with any certainty a conception of the Emperor's personal character, but it would have been interesting to know Mr. Platnauer's views: was Septimius Severus such a coward that he only retained the loyalty of the army by bribery and boundless extravagance?³³ There are many questions raised by this study of the ruler whom Bacon called "the ablest Emperour almost of all the liste," but this is no place to discuss them; it is enough to say that this biography may claim to stand by the side of Homo's works on Aurelian, Gallienus, and Claudius Gothicus.

One cannot but sympathise with Mr. Edward J. Martin, who in the preface to *The Emperor Julian* writes "there may be some who will read an essay when they would shirk a book," but he who would introduce students to any subject should at least be master of that subject himself, and be able to direct them to the best modern literature thereon. Unfortunately, one cannot feel that Mr. Martin fulfils these conditions. There has been a surprising amount of work produced in recent years on Julian and the world of his day: thus Asmus, who still continues to produce

Schaefer . . . gewidmet, Bonn, Strauss, 1882, pp. 218-238, and A. Perino: *De Pontibus Vitarum Hadriani et Septimii Severi imperatorum* etc., Diss. Freiburg i. B. 1880, pp. 25-44; on the economics of the period cf. Vittorio Macchiore: *L'impero romano nell' età dei Severi* in *Rivista di Storia antica* (Padova), N.S. Anno X. Fasc. II. (1906), pp. 203-235, Anno XI. Fasc. II. (1907), pp. 285-291, *ibid.* Fasc. III.-IV., pp. 341-377 (were these articles ever completed?), and his study *Contributi alla Storia dell' Enfiteusi*. *Archivio giuridico* "Filippo Serafini," 3^a Serie, Vol. IV. Fasc. I. (1905, Pisa), pp. 148-164. The second Programm (Holzminden 1891) of Gustav Hassebrauk on the reign contains a useful account of the administration.

³¹ Cf. J. S. Phillimore's Introduction to his translation of the work in the series of Oxford translations; Seeck: *Geschichte des Untergangs d. antiken Welt*, Bd. III. (Berlin, Siemenroth, 1909), pp. 159 *sqq.*, and see now Ed. Meyer in *Hermes* 52 (1917), pp. 371-424.

³² Cf. Karl Bihlmeyer: *Die "syrischen" Kaiser zu Rom und das Christentum*. Rottenburg, Bader. 1916.

³³ So von Domaszewski in *Rheinisches Museum* 53 (1898), pp. 638-9.

his learned papers on the sources of Julian's writings, has published a translation of the Emperor's philosophical works with a useful commentary; Mau has studied his religious philosophy, Seeck, Geffcken, and Von Borries have all written elaborate accounts of the reign, while Barbagallo and Bidez have produced slighter sketches; Geffcken has also considered the Christian attacks upon the apostate, while Bidez has sought to trace in detail the evolution of his religious policy. The Neoplatonism of the Empire has been illuminated by Bidez's book on Porphyry, while Misson has written an able work on the paganism of Libanius. The list could easily be extended, but not one of these essential works is mentioned by Mr. Martin in his bibliography.³⁴ Mr. Martin has honestly endeavoured to write of the Emperor's character and policy with impartiality, and that in itself is a rare virtue, but his essay shows signs of haste and inadequate preparation. One or two illustrations of this must suffice. In discussing Sallust's pamphlet *On the Gods and the World* he states that "there is no reason to suppose with Gibbon that there is more than one Sallustius" (p. 26): he has surely forgotten Mommsen's famous paper on *Sallustius-Salutius und das Signum* in *Hermes* 37 (1902), pp. 443 *sqq.*, and the careful differentiation of the biographies of the two men in Seeck's *Die Briefe des Libanius* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906), pp. 263 *sqq.* In his chronology of Julian's life he has ignored the work of Koch, Neumann, and Seeck; in a note on the authorities for the reign Mr.

³⁴ Rudolf Asmus: *Kaiser Julians philosophische Werke*, Leipzig, Dürr, 1908 (= *Philosophische Bibliothek*. Bd. 116); Georg Mau: *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians etc.*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1908; O. Seeck: *Geschichte des Untergangs etc.*, Bd. IV., Siemenroth, Berlin, 1911; J. Geffcken: *Kaiser Julianus* in the series *Das Erbe der Alten*, Leipzig, Weicher, 1914; E. von Borries: s.v. *Julianus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* X. 1 (1917); C. Barbagallo: *Giuliano l'Apostata* (= *Profili* no. 18), Genova, Formiggini, 1912; J. Bidez: *Julien l'Apostat*, *Revue de l'Instruction publique en Belgique*, Tome LVII. (1914), Bruxelles, pp. 97-125; J. Geffcken: *Kaiser Julianus und die Streitschriften seiner Gegner* in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* XXI. (1908), pp. 161-195; J. Bidez: *L'Évolution de la Politique de l'Empereur Julien en matière religieuse*, *Bulletin de l'Acad. royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres* etc. No. 7 (1914), pp. 406-461; J. Bidez: *Vie de Porphyre*. *Université de Gand. Recueil de Travaux publié par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres*. 43me. Fasc., Gand, Goethem, 1913, and cf. now his important study *La Liturgie des Mystères chez les Néo-Platoniciens*, *Acad. royale de Belgique, Bulletin, etc.*, 1919, pp. 415-430; J. Misson: *Recherches sur le Paganisme de Libanius*. *Université de Louvain. Recueil des Travaux publiés par les Membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie*, Louvain, Bureaux du Recueil, 1914. I have not yet seen Theodor Birt's study of Julian in his *Charakterbilder Spätroms und die Entstehung des modernen Europa*, Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1920; and cf. now Augusto Rostagni: *Giuliano l'Apostata. Saggio critico con le operette politiche e satiriche tradotte e commentate*, Torino, Bocca, 1920 (= *Il Pensiero greco*, vol. XII.).

Martin says of the Church historians: "Their relation to each other and their comparative value is a subject that has not been worked out thoroughly": but is this any longer the truth? Some reference might at least have been made to the elaborate studies of Gùldenpenning, Jeep, Geppert and Schoo, to Parmen-tier's Prolegomena to his edition of Theodoret, and to the Prole-gomena of Bidez prefixed to his edition of Philostorgius.⁸⁵ An arduous apprenticeship must be served before attempting a new book upon the apostate emperor!

As a teacher I would close this review by an appeal to scholars: there are several books upon the history of Rome which ought to be written, and only scholars can write them. We teachers need a study in English, of the Hellenistic civilisation of which Rome was heir. Many of our younger students cannot read German: for them Baumgarten, Poland and Wagner's *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* is a book sealed with seven seals, and even for those who can read German Wendland's *Hellen-istisch-römische Kultur* is too difficult. Then we need a small book on the public administration and social life of the provinces under the Empire; Mommsen's work on the provinces is too large for our purpose, and contains too much historical detail. Further we want a text-book on Christianity and the Roman state, some-thing after the style of Allard's *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, but based upon a wider scholarship. Then for more advanced students we badly need a manual on the history of the Church down to the Iconoclast Controversy: we do not possess anything on this subject, save popular works or histories on a large scale such as those of Gwatkin or Duchesne which rarely give references to modern literature. Why should not we have something like Preuschen and Krüger's *Handbuch* or like the *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter* of which Hans von Schubert has recently (Mohr, Tübingen, 1917) issued the first part? And finally—though the list could be much extended—who will give us a book on the administrative system of the Christian Empire after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine? The learning of Godefroy's folios must be com-pressed into the narrow compass of an octavo.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

⁸⁵ Mr. Martin highly praises Allard's biography of Julian, and suggests that it should be translated into English. It is to be hoped that this suggestion will not be followed. Allard's book is already in large measure superseded.

THE EVOLUTION OF SEA-POWER UNDER THE FIRST TWO TUDORS¹

IN the story of Samson, as unfolded for us in the Book of Judges, we learn how of old a nation was not merely lifted from earth, but exalted to the stars by the efforts of one whom Nature had endowed with exceptional gifts; and the benefits conferred by him on Israel remained constant so long as Samson honoured with due observance the source from which his strength was derived. But first came moral perversity, then physical blindness, and the gifts of Nature became the badge of servitude and the seal of submission to triumphant enemies.

This allegory is generally given a literal translation. I prefer to interpret it this afternoon in a national sense and to apply it to ourselves.

England is dowered with a might and majesty of her own; but she does not derive them from the same source as the great empires of antiquity, or as the monarchies that have menaced the modern world. What Spain in the sixteenth century, what Germany in the nineteenth century endeavoured to achieve with tremendous armies, England has achieved without possessing such force. Indeed, the period of her greatest and most rapid expansion has synchronised with a period when her military strength has been reduced to a figure which it would be flattery to call exiguous. What, then, are the gifts with which England has been endowed by Nature, and by which the strength of this realm has been nurtured? I should like to attempt to do them justice; but time forbids anything but the merest summary.

In the first place, our country enjoys all the benefits of insularity, without the drawbacks of isolation. Geologists tell us that these islands are built upon the continental shelf; that time was when Kent and Picardy shared the same hill-range, and when the Thames was a modest tributary of the Rhine. Certain it is that to this day we are part and parcel of Europe; and, if we are compelled to share the sorrows of its warfare, we at least profit by its contiguity in the arts of peace. Yet,

¹ A Lecture delivered at King's College, London, Wednesday, Oct. 15, 1919.

although we are part and parcel of Europe, we are mercifully separated from it by a ditch which Napoleon could not cross, a ditch that would present a similar obstacle even if a greater military genius than Napoleon was forthcoming. Secondly, England stands at the very hub, the very centre, the very navel of the land hemisphere. That means to say that all the great highroads of commerce lead directly to her doors. She occupies, with relation to the world's trade, the same position as the brain occupies in the nervous system or the heart in the circulation of the blood. Thirdly, her coasts are so fretted and indented with fiords, bays, gulfs, harbours, and river-mouths that in the whole tract of country—120,000 square miles—there is no place further than seventy miles from the sea. That means to say that from time immemorable all her shores have been thronged with seamen, and all her harbours with ships. Vessels that float and mariners to handle them are in England products as inevitable as sledges in North Russia or mountaineers in Switzerland.

These gifts constitute the heritage upon which the mighty fabric of our nation's grandeur has been erected. But if the fabric is to endure, if its glory is to be preserved, it is necessary that Government and People alike should take to heart the lesson of Samson and his shame. They must honour with due observance the source of their strength. They must steadily refuse to be blinded by the majesty of the edifice, and ever have in remembrance the foundations on which it rests. For what use to us are our water-frontiers without battleships to patrol them? What value attaches to a position where all the avenues of commerce converge, unless our merchandise covers the sea? And how is our fleet to be manned, and our merchandise to be carried, unless the ships and seamen that these islands breed are encouraged in the manner they deserve?

Unhappily, as a nation we have a suicidal habit of complacently contemplating our greatness, and overlooking altogether the causes from which it has sprung. Especially has this been the case at the conclusion of a great and world-wide war. Nothing would be easier than to multiply instances. But time presses; and I must content myself with one.

England had accepted the challenge of one of Europe's greatest war-lords. On the Flanders front the battle had swayed this way and that, but no decision had been reached. Talk of an immediate march upon Paris had, in fact, been put aside. To the whole world, which stood spectators, it appeared more and more manifest that the end of the struggle would be decided by

a test of endurance. The last penny, it was said, would win. Still the armies on both sides faced each other unflinchingly. Still, from time to time, pacific propaganda were put forward, discussed, and put aside again. It was not until the last penny had been thrown into the balance, it was not until the last silver bullet had been moulded, that the belligerent Powers assembled under the same roof to affix their signatures to a treaty of peace. England in her island fastness emerged from the ordeal unscathed by invasion, unscathed by rapine, loot, and murder. And was any credit given to the Navy for saving the State, for enabling the Government unmolested to improvise an implement with which to break in pieces the militarist rod? Not at all. The war produced three great admirals. One was lost with the best part of his squadron for want of a few precautions which ordinary foresight might have suggested; a second was pushed into retirement amidst universal applause because he had conducted a great fleet action in a rather different manner from that in which the man in the street would have conducted it; and a third, though he was offered an earldom and given the highest post of administration under the Board of Admiralty, did not receive that much higher compliment of having his campaigns studied in the way they deserved and with the close attention given to those of land generals of inferior merit. As for the people themselves, instead of being modest after what had happened, instead of reckoning life cheap and his own value small, every man thought himself entitled to get rich quick, and plunged into what can only be described as an orgy of profiteering. Even the Premier himself has by some been accused of thinking more of the profits than the law, and of substituting for the Ten Commandments a tariff of human souls.

Is it necessary for me to be more specific as to the period to which I refer? I refer, of course, to the opening years of the eighteenth century, to the last round of the struggle with Louis XIV., to the war of the Spanish Succession, and the Walpolean epoch of peace that followed it. The Navy was then reduced below the danger limit, and it is a cause for marvel that the greatness of England did not depart with that epoch's close. Happily, there were prophets in the land in those days, and two came forward to save their country. John Wesley, schooled in the wilderness of abstention and the desert places of self-denial, addressed his fifty thousand sermons to the erring human heart; and a minor prophet—perhaps the least of the minor prophets—James Thomson, addressed one homily which went home, one

sermon which it was the privilege of his own generation to understand and of succeeding generations to misquote :—

Rule, Britannia! Rule the waves!

* * * * *

The nations not so blest as thee
Shall in their turn to tyrants fall,
While thou shalt flourish great and free
The dread and envy of them all. . . .

on one condition, and on one condition only,

Rule, Britannia! Rule the waves!

Lapses, such as that which occurred under Sir Robert Walpole, are so frequent in our history that, to be truthful, we must call them “periodic” rather than “occasional.” And it is for this reason that we turn, as for an invigorating tonic, to the Tudor period; for then the rulers of this country consciously endeavoured to build upon the only foundation that can be trusted to sustain the weight of an island empire.

The founder of his line, King Henry VII., accomplished so much for our maritime welfare that it would be impossible in one afternoon to do full justice to his work. I shall therefore select four points haphazard from his general policy.

First of all, on coming to the throne, he endeavoured to improve the “Royal” Navy. That sounds a very simple remark; but its very simplicity has been a pitfall of deception. With his crown Henry VII. obtained the entire “Royal” Navy of his predecessor; and the “Royal” Navy of his predecessor amounted, in all, to four sea-going vessels. I have seen it stated somewhere that if Richard III. allowed his fleet to sink to a level of four ships, he deserved nothing less than to lose his crown. Such a comment almost staggers one by the ludicrous ignorance which lurks behind it. Four ships in a “Royal” Navy was a very average figure. Indeed, we may ask for what purpose a king required to number among his possessions a squadron of ships at all. Well, he wanted it primarily to carry him about from one place to another. The four ships that Henry VII. received with the crown corresponded with what to-day we call the Royal yachts. The word “yacht” was taken from our adversaries at the beginning of the Dutch wars in the seventeenth century. It was not known in the time of Henry VII.; otherwise, he might have called his navy “The Royal Yachts.” Four crown ships were found, as a rule, sufficient. But Henry from the first resolved to add to the number. He certainly went as far as twelve; some authorities

say thirteen. What, then, was his reason for this augmentation? I do not answer the question immediately, because, in improving his private fleet, Henry, it is evident, paid much more attention to quality than to quantity. Indeed, it is arguable that the ships, which he acquired by purchase or other means, were not treasured for their own sake, but simply broken up to aid in new construction. There is even some reason for believing that during his reign Henry aimed at no more than replacing four vessels that were old and obsolete by four that were original and up to date. This much, at any rate, is evident: that the new vessels actually built by him numbered four; and it is to these four ships that we must direct our attention. They were all remarkable and noteworthy craft; but the biggest and best was the *Regent*.

It is always very difficult in untechnical language to describe ships, but the *Regent* must not be pushed aside without some attempt to appreciate her build. I will therefore compare her with a ship belonging to the navy of Warwick the Kingmaker. You will not at this point be surprised to hear that Warwick possessed a navy of his own. In fact, there was nothing to prevent anyone from having a navy except the expense of keeping it up. The largest navy in the country was the navy belonging to the City of London, though the navy of Bristol ran it very close from time to time. I speak of the Kingmaker's vessels in preference to those of the City of London, because we have beautifully drawn pictures of them, still happily surviving, and reliable ship pictures of that date are rare. When we look at one of the Kingmaker's ships we find a large vessel with a very large mast stepped amidships. In addition to this she had what can best be described as ambitious flag-staffs, one well forward, the other aft. These may have been used at times for a practical purpose. Upon them, that is to say, may have been set scraps of canvas to help the steering or handling of the ship. But their primary use was to spread abroad monstrous banners with all the vaunting arrogance of feudal blazonry. Of big sails the ship had only one.

When, however, we turn to Henry VII.'s *Regent* we find a very different ship. Instead of one mast she has four: foremast, main, mizzen, and bonaventure. And all these masts are big masts, carrying big sails. Not only that, but above the lower masts come topmasts also, and above the main topmast soars a top-gallant. It was obviously the design of Henry and his shipwrights to make their vessel as fast as possible; and so marked was

the advance they made over all that had been done before, that it would be more natural to compare the *Regent* with Nelson's ships than with any afloat at the time when Henry won Bosworth Field. Here then we have an extraordinary plunge forward, and we shall see presently why it was made. But speed was not everything. It was no use making a speedy ship without giving her the means of taking care of herself, and therefore Henry armed the *Regent* with as many guns as she could take on board. How many guns the Kingmaker's ships mounted we do not know. Guns were first introduced into the Royal Navy about 1410. The *Christopher of the Tower* in that year mounted three; and it was probably a question whether these rudimentary weapons would not inflict more damage on those who laid them than on those at whom they were fired. In the next half-century, however, these little pieces of ordnance seem to have improved; and, though the whole question is wrapped in darkness, we may hazard the guess that Warwick's ships mounted thirty or forty of them. Fifty would, I think, be an outside estimate. But in the *Regent* there were no less than 225: and such an armament, I need hardly add, in *number* exceeds that of any vessel that went before and of any vessel that has been constructed since. Henry's masterpiece, in short, was a tremendous ship, an epoch-making ship, a ship that demands comparison with the *Dreadnought* and Noah's Ark. And yet how vain it would be to look in the ordinary history-book for even so much as the mention of her name!

The *Regent* is memorable not only for her own sake, but memorable also for far-reaching changes which followed in her train. In the first place she caused a terrible upset and commotion in the royal dockyard. Note that in 1485 there was not more than one such centre. But one there was; for even four ships of old-fashioned build must have a base for their accommodation. Now the one royal dockyard that Henry VII. inherited takes us back to the time when the metropolis of England was not London, but Winchester. In those days Southampton Water formed a great avenue leading up to the King's capital city; and conveniently near to the port of embarkation the royal ships were berthed. The actual base was the River Hamble (famous for its strawberries), which empties into Southampton Water just opposite to the modern flying station at Calshot. Beside the Hamble, at Bursledon, stood the royal dockyard, if the word dockyard can be properly applied to what was merely a collection of roomy sheds for housing the masts, and cables,

and anchors, and ropes, and other gear. That was all that the King had; and to say truth, that was all that he needed.

The *Regent*, however, stubbornly refused to go over the bar of the Hamble. She could not be pushed over; she could not be pulled. They waited for high water, but to no avail. Even a spring tide would not carry her in. Henry was not the man to take undue risks. He decided, therefore, in the interests of the *Regent* that the royal dockyard must be shifted elsewhere, and he looked about for a suitable place. Eventually he selected an adjacent harbour called Portsmouth. The name takes one back a long way, and shows that the place had an identity of its own in times remote, like Falmouth, Dartmouth, and Teignmouth. Hitherto, however, it had enjoyed a merely local importance: henceforward, as headquarters of a yearly increasing Royal Navy, it began to assume that pre-eminence which it has kept almost ever since.

When Portsmouth was reached, and while the *Regent* lay at anchor, Henry inaugurated another reform, which, if anything, was more important than the shifting of his base from the mud-choked Hamble. It was the custom in those days when a ship wanted cleaning or repairing below the water-line to take all her heavy weights out of her and drag her at high tide up some river creek and dump her down on the mud. She was then kept in position by shoring poles, and a dock was built around her. The word "dock" means a hedge or stockade, a wall or barrier of upright poles plastered inside with mud, through which the last of the water percolated. In this primitive fashion big vessels were berthed, and during the winter months repairs were executed on their underwater timbers. But Henry refused to submit his *Regent* to treatment so undignified. She was too precious, too wonderful, too queenly altogether. He therefore invented an improved method, which has been employed by the world ever since. I mean the tidal basin or dry dock. It was an appropriately well-timed invention, and like the spinning-jenny, the water-frame, the mule, and the power-loom, attuned itself to the essentially practical genius of the Englishman. It would perhaps be too much to say that it emerged from the actual brain-case of the king himself: but in default of all evidence as to the name of a craftsman or engineer, the credit for the discovery must be given to the king.

And now leaving the *Regent* snugly berthed at Portsmouth, we may well ask ourselves why it was that Henry was so interested in the Royal Navy and so determined to improve it.

His reason will strike us as strange until we remind ourselves that Henry lived in an age of transition, and straddled the boundary-line that divided mediæval from modern times. His four splendid ships, *Regent*, *Sovereign*, *Sweepstake*, and *Mary Fortune*, were not designed as royal yachts. Devout as he was in his love for all beautiful things, Henry was not the man to squander money on sumptuous sea-vehicles or luxurious travel-craft. He fitted his ships in the manner described, made them faster than anything else afloat, and better able to take care of themselves, solely in order that they might compete successfully for the blue ribbon of commerce. Do not run away with the idea that he was going to conduct great commercial enterprises himself. He was quite prepared to do so if time allowed. But his root scheme was more national and comprehensive. What he did was to hire out his ships. After her completion, there was hardly a year in which the *Regent* was not chartered by the merchants of Bristol or the merchants of smaller cities. Bristol was then the second city in the kingdom, but there were plenty of others that could afford the prices that Henry asked. Some secret adviser may have said to him, "If you hire out your ship, they will learn all her secrets"; and to such an insinuation there is no doubt that Henry would have replied, "I desire them to do so." The very reason why the *Regent* was let out on loan was that all who were interested might learn at first hand what the ideal merchantman might become. And no doubt, before the conclusion of the reign, all who could afford to do so were building *Regents* as fast as they could, instead of the smaller vessels that had satisfied them before they made the *Regent's* acquaintance.

I pass, by a rather violent transition, to another point in Henry's policy, which will probably strike you as even more paradoxical.

Supposing that war should break out! Henry VII., as all the world knows, would have done anything to prevent a recurrence of hostilities. But his throne, at least in the earlier part of his reign, was none too secure, and foreign Powers might be tempted to interfere. What then? To be armed point-device in the day of battle, Henry did all he could to encourage the Mercantile Marine. Obviously, with a Royal Navy of four sail, he could not go to war with his own ships; and, that being the case, all his hopes were based upon the fleets of England as a whole. From time immemorial the Crown had exercised the right to requisition all the merchantmen of the realm. Push

your researches back as far as you can, you will find this true, wherever there is evidence available : and in your own day you have seen the old procedure justified by its revival in the war now happily at an end.

In the Middle Age, you see, there was no English naval warfare in the modern sense, no deliberate attempt of one organised fleet to defeat another organised fleet by burning, sinking, or destroying the units of which it was composed. There was a great deal of cross-Channel campaigning, which meant to say that soldiers were put into transports and taken from France to England, or from England to France—the kind of campaigning which in the recent war found some exemplification in the work of the Dover Patrol. There were exciting moments from time to time : but as a rule there was an incessant round of dull, monotonous work which roused no interest in the general public. An endless succession of transports went backwards and forwards : and for transports no better reliance could be placed than on the vessels of the Mercantile Marine. The king, as already stated, based his hopes on them ; in time of war he put his whole dependence on them. This is well illustrated by the conduct of Edward III., who, though generally regarded as a veritable organiser of victory, was in reality no better than a traitor to the vital (that is to say, the maritime) interests of his realm. Edward III. presumed upon the royal prerogative. No sooner was a good ship built than he requisitioned her for his endless wars, and in so doing he sapped the strength of the Mercantile Marine and drained the country of its life blood. Had he reigned much longer, the damage done might have been for centuries irreparable ; for the shipowners, sooner than build big ships for the Crown to requisition, stopped building altogether ; and the merchant shipping of this country declined more quickly and more dangerously than it has ever done before or since.

Henry adopted exactly the reverse process. He desired to encourage the Mercantile Marine, and out of his fertile brain he devised exactly the right kind of stimulus. He evolved what we may call in the language of our own day a *Standard ship* : and he then offered a bonus or money reward for all vessels that exceeded his model in size. The matter perhaps deserves to be put into more concrete terms : and Henry's own figures may at this point be adduced, if we preface them with the remark that our own values and measurements differ too widely from his to make the statistics etymologically instructive.

He found by calculation that the vessel best suited to his needs for the transportation of troops was a vessel of something rather more than a burthen of one hundred *tons*. He therefore offered a money reward of five *shillings* per ton for every ton of a new merchantman's measurement over and above one hundred tons. If we knew the exact connotation of the Tudor word "ton" and the modern value of the Tudor "shilling," these sordid details might speak to us more eloquently. But it will not perhaps be very far wrong to say that Henry encouraged the building of big merchant ships by offering about five pounds sterling of modern money for every unit of cubic capacity after one hundred units had been exceeded. That leaves us free to examine the word "ton," as Henry employed it, in connection with a third page of his maritime programme.

It will surprise you to learn, if you have not already acquired the fact for yourselves, that, though there were at Henry's accession innumerable English merchantmen, these ships were not concerned or engaged in the import or export trade. There were good markets for English-made goods abroad : and England, then as now, was largely dependent on materials which she could not herself produce. But the carriage of these commodities was not controlled by English merchants or English shippers. The vessels which this country constructed for purposes other than the fisheries were occupied primarily with the coastwise traffic. This was very considerable, for roads were few and exceedingly bad ; and the risks of land transport were not confined to robbery and pillage. Still, the volume of coastwise traffic hardly made amends for the absence of ocean commerce or for the fact that the import and export trade were almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners. To this sad state of things there was only one exception worthy of record. English-built vessels managed to compete to some extent in the carriage of wine from south-west France. Guienne had once been an English province, and ships from this country that cared to visit Bordeaux were still welcomed as old friends.

Setting to work on this slender foundation, Henry began to build a protective wall for what he deemed should be England's foremost industry. By the first and earliest "Navigation Act" he forbade the introduction into England of a single barrel of Bordeaux wine in any but an English bottom. And it is from this direction that light is thrown on the Tudor method of measuring ships. A barrel of Bordeaux wine was called a "ton," and along the first all-English ocean trade route ships

came to be described as capable of carrying so many barrels of Bordeaux wine. A vessel's capacity, in short, was henceforth known as "tonnage." The name has survived until to-day, though it no longer means what it meant four centuries ago. We must be careful, therefore, not to institute rash or ill-judged comparisons. When we learn that Henry's standard ship was able to stow in some unspecified part of her hull an easily ascertainable cargo from Guienne, we earn, thereby, no excuse for supposing that our *Queen Elizabeth* would accommodate, among other things, 27,500 barrels of Bordeaux wine. And equally ridiculous would it be to conclude that one of our Transatlantic liners to-day is five hundred times as large as the *Regent*. The figures, in short, that survive from Henry's reign do not help us now to form a right conception of the bulk or scale of his ships.

I now come to the last item that I have selected from Henry's maritime policy. It is the biggest and most important of the series; but, to appreciate it at its proper value, we need to bring our imagination very strongly into play.

When the first of the Tudors won his crown on the battlefield of Bosworth, England was regarded as the outermost fringe of the mysterious West, an island half hidden in Cimmerian gloom, the *Ultima Thule*. Beyond her furthest rim of cliffs, steep chasms, and sobbing crags, there was supposed to roll the boundless, illimitable ocean-river that circled all the earth. Seven years after Bosworth, as everybody knows, Columbus flung himself into the infinity of this dimensionless gulf, proved to an incredulous world that it could really be crossed, and in doing so opened the gate into a region which men recognised as Marco Polo's Cathay, and which for thirty years to come they implicitly believed to be Australasia.

When the earlier Columbian voyages provided little beyond a demand for further pioneers, the first kinetic impulse of the Castilian Government spent itself. But Henry of England with both hands welcomed the invitation held out by Transatlantic possibilities. For the very backbone of his whole policy was to turn his face to the sea and his back on the cockpit of Europe: and nowhere could he find better scope for his ambition than in pointing and guiding the people he ruled to wider horizons in the West.

In the year 1497 the first English expedition of discovery set out under John Cabot. The results were encouraging, and a second expedition in the following year was entrusted to the same navigator. Sebastian Cabot followed John: and from the

hour of the first venture to the hour of Henry's death we can trace the evidence of a never-ceasing series of English voyages. The only reason—we speak it with shame—why we know less of later voyages than the earlier ones was that they were conducted by Englishmen instead of by Venetians. The more closely the subject is pursued, the more diligently research is pushed home, the more numerous are the English expeditions which are found to have been conducted under the patient encouragement of Henry VII. No land of pearl and gold was found, such as corrupted the Spaniards and beguiled the Portuguese. Even Henry, it is obvious, grew rather down-hearted when India persistently refused to declare itself. And yet how transcendent was the gain to this country! In wrestling with the task of navigating the Atlantic his vessels received new strength, and in the storms of that ocean his seamen were tried.

With these brief and inadequate remarks I must take leave of Henry VII., making bold to remind you, ere we bid him adieu, that this is the man who, with his nervously twitching hands and furtive glance, struggles somewhat apologetically into the history-books wearing about his neck the millstone of dulness fastened there by Bishop Stubbs.

If I were to sum up the work of Henry VII. in a single word, I should say that he was his own "Admiral." But that will not convey very much to those who recognise the word in its modern meaning only. The mediæval Admiral, or "Lord High Admiral" (as in Stuart times he came to be called), was one of the great officers of State. We find mention of him by name as early as the reign of Edward I.; and it is probable that he existed much earlier, even though no record of his personality has yet been found. To put the matter in another way, we may confidently assert that, as early as the reign of Edward I., the King of England had already handed his trident to a deputy, and in so doing decentralised his marine administration.

The offices of the Admiral were twofold. He was, as it were, a "First Lord," without, of course, the modern Minister's responsibility to a popularly elected House of Parliament; and he was also a functionary resembling the Master of the Rolls. It was his main duty to do right and justice to the most turbulent of the king's lieges, that is to say, the seafaring population; and his perquisites as a great judge made him one of the wealthiest individuals in the realm. It was also his duty, when occasion called, to prepare a sea-borne expedition, or to put the country in a posture of defence against the fleets of a would-be invader.

The most familiar figure in the roll of Admirals is Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, first Earl of Nottingham of the Howard creation. And I rather suspect that he is remembered in chief for the very thing which makes him an exception among the holders of his office. For, as all the world knows—he went to sea! An ingenious pleader might make out a good case for putting the Board of Admiralty afloat. Or, again, it might be urged that the days of Howard of Effingham are with us again, now that wireless telegraphy can put “my lords” in hourly touch with a Commander-in-Chief’s quarter-deck. But all that does not alter the fact that Howard of Effingham, when he went in person to fight the Armada, was leaving his own province. The Admiral’s duties, when they were not juridical, were purely administrative; and it is as an administrator of the Lord Admiral type that King Henry VII. makes to-day his strongest claim on our regard.

The point is worth insisting upon, because Henry, by creating a new rôle for the Lord Admiral and stimulating the Lord Admiral’s department, had endowed his own pet schemes with a certain measure of permanence. The Admiral, of course, had nothing to do with the Royal Navy; nothing whatsoever. But under the second of the Tudor kings he still extended Henry VII.’s bonus to merchant shipping; he still carried out the Navigation Act, confining the import of Bordeaux wine to English bottoms; and he still granted licences to shipowners to send ships across the Atlantic. In this last branch of his activity we may trace, perhaps, a reflex action of the maritime world upon the Viceroy who ruled it. For the Admiral himself could not, independently of the Crown, inaugurate fresh voyages of discovery; and those who asked his permission to make a passage to the West were those who desired a quick and definite return on their outlay, men who had already filled their barques with cod off the banks of Newfoundland. It was the commercial value of the fish rather than the initiative of the Lord Admiral that caused the Transatlantic voyages to continue.

It was well, however, that the Admiral was there to answer the call of his seafaring subjects; for the sceptre of England unhappily fell from the enlightened hands of Henry VII. into the reactionary hands of Wolsey. The pendulum was set swinging in the opposite direction; and the quest of the Indies ended abruptly. England once more plunged into the vortex of continental politics, and forgot the newer destiny that awaited her beyond the ocean paths. Indeed, it is not too much to say

that the work of Henry VII. and the admirals who inherited his teaching might have come to an eventual full stop, if behind the insatiable egotism of Wolsey there had not lurked the bulky figure of *Meus Rex*.

Henry VIII., like many thousands of Englishmen since, was brought up by his father to adore ships. Nothing pleased him better than to dress as a boatswain, substituting for the ordinary material cloth-of-gold and velvet, but hanging round his neck a boatswain's whistle, and (to quote a Londoner who from the Royal mouth probably heard the strident music of the pipe for the first time) "blowing upon it as lustily as upon a trumpet."

As heir of the ages Henry wasted on H.M.S. *Regent* about as much admiration as a modern aspirant to a Rolls-Royce would devote to a well-preserved velocipede. The *Regent* was well enough in her way, a source of amazement when she was built, but to those who kept abreast of the times—incontestably obsolescent. Henry from the very hour of his accession desired to replace her by something more remarkable; and the progress of invention threw an unexampled chance in his way.

In 1509 the development of heavy ordnance had reached a point beyond which it was not destined to advance until the engineering renaissance of the nineteenth century. The guns that were being cast in the Low Countries, especially in the town of Mechlin, were as good as anything England possessed when she fought against Russia in the Crimean War. Now there was in heavy artillery something that appealed irresistibly to Henry VIII.; something demoniacally destructive that proclaimed the two akin. The Hammer of the Monks asked for no better sport than to watch great gunnery experiments. In the region of Houndsditch he would have enormous targets erected, and crow with delight when he saw them demolished by the discharge of his monstrous weapons. We must think of him, then, on his ordnance-ground being struck one day by a happy thought. What a splendid thing to put some of these ghastly engines of destruction inside the royal ships! What a power which no other ship would have, if some of these tremendous pieces of artillery were mounted inside his own! The shipwrights were called to his council; and one and all, when they heard the king's project, advanced emphatic protests. The scheme, whatever its merits might be, was manifestly impracticable.

If you will call to mind any picture of a mediæval ship that you have seen, you will easily understand the shipwrights' con-

tention. You will remember that the mediæval ship had at either end a rather curious edifice with battlemented tops, a forecastle in the bows, an aftcastle in the stern. These edifices did not share the strength of the hull, above which they were raised. The name "castle," if not actually given in derision, was probably bestowed out of compliment to their wooden battlements. The towers themselves were made of so many scaffold-ing-poles and so much planking, the erection being not unlike the cagework that supports the masons and builders of to-day. But though unsubstantial compared with a vessel's hull, the "castles" were powerful enough to sustain the weight of any mediæval weapon, even the multitudinous pieces of artillery, with which Henry VII. loaded the *Regent*. The *Regent's* guns, however, did not belong to the category of heavy ordnance. And heavy ordnance, so the shipwrights argued, could not by any possibility be mounted in such a ship as the *Regent*, for the simple reason that the discharge of a single piece would effectually flatten the castle which contained it.

Henry VIII. was not the least impressed by this consensus of expert opinion. He made short work of his shipwrights, threatening them with the direst penalties if they raised any further objections. Was it likely that he, when he had once made up his royal mind, would change it because there were difficulties with which to contend? He had called them together not to assist him to a decision, but to remove the difficulties which blocked the path of progress.

The problem confronting the agitated constructors was finally solved by one who well deserves to be had in remembrance by his countrymen—James Baker, Master Shipwright to the King. He received, it is true, no outward token of the royal gratitude; but it is clear that he established a solid claim to recognition: for, though he was found to be tainted by the Lutheran heresy, his sin was actually overlooked and his misdemeanour condoned. Baker saw from the first that the big guns would have to be mounted in a vessel's hull; and that the embrasures through which they were pointed would have to be closed (when required) in order to keep out the water. Anyone could cut a hole in a ship: the task was to block the aperture when opened. Baker adapted for his purpose a French invention, which some have credited to Descharges of Brest. This was a patent door, called by its inventor a *porte*, which could be fastened securely inside the ship, and could be trusted to withstand the inrush of the sea. The door was of purely mercantile origin, and had been found

useful hitherto for lading and unlading cargo. It may possibly have been in use for years before Descharges improved it; and, if (as seems probable) it was always cut on the larboard quarter, may supply an explanation of the enigmatical appellation for the left side of a ship.

James Baker boldly annexed the "Port"; but, instead of contenting himself with a single specimen, cut as many doors as he dared for gun-embrasures in the very bellies of the King's ships. No doubt he improved the mechanism of these patent shutters: for they had to be opened and closed, not once per voyage like the cargo-hole of a merchantman, but again and again whenever the guns were laid. Details are lacking: but we know enough to say that with the evolution of the Broadside ship, that is, of a vessel mounting inside her hull as many big guns as she could conveniently carry, Henry VIII. revolutionised the science of shipbuilding and endowed his realm with a weapon of war which was to win all battles at sea for three hundred years to come, a weapon of war compared with which the Zeppelin is but as dust in the balance, and the Tank but a very little thing. For it must not be thought that Henry's guns were in any sense inferior to those used at Trafalgar. The heaviest weapons that Nelson possessed threw a solid iron shot weighing thirty-two pounds. Henry's guns threw heavy iron balls of fifty, ninety, and two hundred and sixty pounds' weight. The tendency in subsequent years was to reduce the size of the pieces used, in order to admit of greater ease of handling and greater rapidity of fire-drill.

There is a popular impression that Henry christened his earliest broadside man-of-war *Great Harry* or *Henri Grace à Dieu*. But this is a mistake. He constructed at least two other ships to carry heavy ordnance—the *Peter Pomegranate* and *Mary Rose*—before the *Great Harry* was built. For some reason, however, not now easy to determine, the *Great Harry* seized the imagination of the people of that day, and has held a place in men's memories ever since. Not that the name for its own sake matters very much. The point to remember is that, in the security that such sea-mammoths afforded, Henry could not only break the bonds of Rome, not only hack in pieces the fabric of mediæval monasticism, but do so with complete impunity.

You may think that, in the development of England's maritime power, Henry was unlikely to achieve anything of greater magnitude. But I will name immediately another change that caused even greater consternation in the breast of the Venetian

Ambassador, who at this time was warning the Doge and Council of Ten that their naval supremacy was likely to be challenged. Not content with one or two "super-*Regents*" or even with a round dozen, Henry went on multiplying the crown navy until the total figure numbered eighty-five. That was an aggregation of naval strength in the hands of a single monarch that put anything similar that had ever been heard of into a remote and hazy background. Henry VIII. possessed among his personal belongings a floating force infinitely greater and stronger than any nation on earth could bring against him. You may have wondered why it is that Britons flatter their fleet with a regal prefix which they deny to their army. Henry VIII.'s naval administration supplies the answer: for his privately-owned force was competent (without the customary requisition) to fulfil all national needs.

These twin revolutions—the production and the multiplication of the heavily-armed ship—brought other important changes in their wake. In the first place they broke down the dockyard system altogether. Portsmouth was insufficient. Three new dockyards were added. Woolwich and Deptford were chosen, so that the King, living at his beautiful Palace at Greenwich, might have one on either side of him. He was never happier than when looking out of the Palace windows and gazing at the brave pageantry that the river afforded. He planned also the great dockyard at Chatham, though it was not completed when he died. But infinitely more important than the breakdown of the dockyard system was the breakdown of the administration. In mediæval days the King's Navy was cared for by a custodian called the "Clerk of the King's Ships." We find mention of this worthy as early as the reign of King John, but he probably had an existence long before he is specifically named. His headquarters in mediæval days were at Bursledon on the Hamble; and, when Henry VII. abandoned that place, he shifted his quarters to Portsmouth. But what could the wretched man do with eighty-five "super-*Regents*"? He could not possibly manage all the work they entailed. Nor could he very well be expected to live in four places at once. Yet Portsmouth, Woolwich, Deptford and Chatham, all alike demanded a resident Commissioner. At first Henry appointed four "Clerks of the Ships"; but the experiment was costly and gave no satisfaction. Then at the last, quite late in his reign, he evolved (apparently from his inner consciousness) a committee known as the "Navy Board." This body adopted the principle of the division of labour, and numbered

among its members the Treasurer of the Navy, the Surveyor, the Controller, the Master of the Ordnance, and the Clerk of the Ships. The Board was unlike anything that had as yet been created in Western Europe, and came at least a century before its time. It was ready at a moment's notice not only to equip and send to sea the King's fleet of eighty-five fighting-ships, but to prepare and arm more than double that number supplied by the Mercantile Marine. Such being the state of his maritime defence, you can imagine the contemptuous indifference with which Henry VIII. snapped his fingers at the whole world.

It was not given to him, any more than to his father, to see his maritime work tested by the stern reality of war. And that, perhaps, is why such far-reaching reforms have been so generally overlooked. Drake, as the champion of England against Spain, has rightly been given the premier place in the naval story of the sixteenth century. And yet Drake would have been helpless if he had not found ready to his hand the weapon forged by the Early Tudors.

The mention of Drake brings our argument back to the point from which it started: for the glory of the Elizabethan age vanished as soon as the great queen's sceptre descended to the monarch who made privateering illegal, who slew the surviving apostle of sea-power, and discovered in the mirror of his self-conceit the image of Heaven's deputy.

And here lies the moral for those who will read it. Once more, as in 1603 and 1714, we stand at the parting of the ways. Our country has been saved from nameless horrors by its unshaken hold on sea-supremacy. And already the remembrance of the horrors is fading and with it the knowledge of the things that belong to our peace. Whither, then, are we to steer the ship of state? Shall we drift with closed eyes, like James I. and Walpole, towards the quicksands of naval neglect? Or shall we safeguard our children and our children's children by a maritime policy not unworthy of those who launched the *Regent* and the *Henri Grace à Dieu*?

GEOFFREY CALLENDER.

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE SCHELDT HISTORY

. . . lawful power is still superior found,
When long driven back, at length it stands the ground.

ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL.

THE Belgian annexationists have failed to learn a lesson from the terrible wrongs and cruel sufferings brought into their country by Germany and Austria in 1914. The heroic and stubborn defence of the Yser region—powerfully supported by British and French armies—seems to have warped their judgment with respect to their demands for a revision of the Treaty of April 19th, 1839.

These demands, based on the grounds of history and of international jurisprudence, are often unfounded and mostly unjustified; indeed, they try to secure exactions from Holland as criminal and unjust as those imposed on Belgium by the Emperors William II. and Francis Joseph in July and August, 1914. The Belgian difference with Holland regarding the annexation of Limburg and Dutch Flanders, duly ended in the favour of the Dutch by the Council of Versailles, was a mere picked quarrel. Their outcry about the control of the Scheldt is another proof of wrong-headedness. In the endeavour to obtain the annexation of Limburg—indisputable Dutch territory—and the control of the Western Scheldt, a vast scenery was prepared, with many actors, elaborate stage preparations, and overwhelming advertisement in Paris, Germany, Switzerland,¹ Japan and elsewhere, in order to gain the support of public opinion for illegitimate demands. America was left out, being probably too difficult to tackle. By creating *a priori* opinion in favour of Belgium, the claimants tried to rob Holland of a considerable stretch of territory, thus repaying their benefactors for help and kindness offered whole-heartedly and with warm sympathy during the terrible years of the war. By trying to force the inhabitants of Limburg and Dutch Flanders to give up a part of their provinces against their own will, they wanted to bleed their sympathising neighbours in order to heal their own wounds.

¹ Mr. Jan I. Brants, London Editor of the *Amsterdam Handelsblad*, January 28th, 1920 (Dutch edition).

It is a strange fact that amongst these perverse enemies of their own country there are even some votaries of science at Belgian universities. Since 1919 Professor Blockhuis, of Liège, has been contributing articles on the "Claims of Belgium" to the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (published in Tokio), associating the views of his colleague, Professor Van der Linden, with his own. And now there appears Professor Ch. Terlinden, of Louvain University, with his "History of the Scheldt" in this Journal.

Mr. Robert Young, the able English editor of the Japanese paper, has refuted the Belgian contributor on documentary grounds. But, encouraged by their *succès d'estime* in the superficial French Press, the Belgian annexationists seem to have made up their minds to "work" Great Britain in the same way. With patient insistence, sophisms, and erroneous historical statements, they prepared the way, biding a favourable opportunity to submit the Scheldt question to a new revision.

Before examining Professor Terlinden's historical interpretation, we wish to meet his first geographical point: "There is no river in the world," etc.¹—this point being based on the sophism that the Western Scheldt, a name which first appears in the seventeenth century, is called a river. The Western Scheldt is, like the other broad waters of Zealand, an inlet of the North Sea, and purely Dutch. A few hundred years ago the course of the Scheldt ran considerably more to the north than the Eastern Scheldt does at present. This course has gradually been altered because of the widening out of the estuaries and the crumbling away of the banks. What is known at present as the Western Scheldt was in Roman days only a small coastal river, later on known as "de Hont." This little river was of no importance until it became connected with the Scheldt. Then it developed into a valuable waterway, the estuary of which was continually widened by the action of the tides, as well as by the crumbling away of the shores. Owing to the insufficient resistance of the brittle banks, the tide swept the waters far inland, carrying away large portions at a time. Thus the water was continually broadened at the expense of the surrounding country, many inhabited places disappearing for ever; and the banks of what is now called the Western Scheldt have undergone incessant

¹ *History*, January, 1920, Vol. IV., No. 16, p. 185. Dr. A. A. Beekman, Holland's foremost geographical authority, whose description of the Western Scheldt, based on old maps as well as on historical and hydrographical grounds, is absolutely incontestable, has permitted us to use his knowledge in answering Professor Ch. Terlinden.

alteration. In 1625 Breskens was situated 2,000 metres from the coast, the present distance being hardly 400 metres. During the terrible tides of 1530 and 1532 the outer sea-dyke near Reimers-waal collapsed; thousands of inhabitants were drowned with their cattle and many villages swept away. What remains of those shores is now used for oyster-farming.

The width of the Western Scheldt varies from 5,000 metres in the estuary to a few hundred metres farther inland, near Bath, where the depth of the water is over 8 metres, in some places even 30 to 40. These depths lie between shallow sands, running dry at low water. There are not swamps in Zealand, as Professor Terlinden states (p. 186). The Western Scheldt has depths of 60 metres even when the tide is out. On Belgian territory, near the polder of Krankenloon between Antwerp and the fortress of St. Marie, there is a well-known depth of 8 metres, broken by shallow sands. By taking advantage of the 4.40 metres tidal difference, ships with large displacement can yet reach Antwerp. The Dutch part of the Scheldt is at all times navigable for ships with such displacement. This is not the case in the Belgian part, where efforts for deepening out the bottom have not been successful.

All this proves that the nature of the Western Scheldt is different from that of an ordinary river, and that therefore it cannot be treated as such. A sea-inlet is continually subject to alteration; the depths are indicated by buoys, whilst towers and wind-mills mark the shores.

The Western Scheldt has always been part of the territory of Zealand; the frontier always has run along the coast of Dutch Flanders and not through the middle of the Scheldt, as is generally the case when a river constitutes the border-line. This was settled in 1504 at Mechlin, during a lawsuit in the High Courts, in which the "Hont" was indicated as belonging to Dutch territory.¹

As to the history of the independent kingdom of Belgium, dating back ninety years, Professor Terlinden's following assertion sounds rather fantastic. "During the first sixteen centuries of her history Belgium was mistress of the Western Scheldt down to the sea" (p. 185). A not-yet-centenarian State mistress of a waterway, which did not exist as such! And a little later he speaks of "in primitive times" (p. 186). By insisting on his hypothesis of the existence of Belgium as a State since hoary

¹ "Sententie gepronunchieert in den Hoigen Raidt tot Mechelen in 't jaer 1504 roerende den tholl van Zeelant en den Honte."

antiquity, the Louvain professor proclaims the Celtic Belgians the outposts of Graeco-Latin civilisation, as distinguished from the Dutch as an outpost of the barbaric Germans.¹ By doing so, he opens a new vista of the early history of the northern and southern Netherlands. Instead of the Rhine and the Meuse as natural waterways to England, navigated by the Batavians and the Frisians, he imagines, as the natural communication between the British Isles and Central Europe, a waterway from Valenciennes to the spot where in later days Flushing arose as a nightmare for Antwerp, and likewise a land-road, Boulogne—Cambray—Maastricht. His assertions concerning the origin of the southern Netherlands, and his "history" of the Scheldt are liable to a similar criticism with regard to dates, places, and events.

The land, which for barely ninety years has borne the name of Belgium, never had an independent corporate existence previous to November 15th, 1831. Its provinces, originally separate feudal countries, each with its own ruler, its own laws, and its own rights, first attained a semblance of unity by coming under the rule of Philip the Good, Count of Holland and Zealand (1428-1467). After the death of his granddaughter Mary, the Belgian part of the House of Burgundy's possessions came to the Austrian House of Habsburg in 1482. During the reign of the Emperor Charles V.—a Fleming by birth and education—the Seventeen Provinces were the richest lands in Europe. Their prosperity was waning during the reign of Charles's son Philip II. At the Peace Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis in April, 1559, terminating the war between France and Spain, secret vows were exchanged between Henry II. and Philip II. to uphold the Roman Catholic faith and to root out the Reformation, which was making great strides in the Netherlands and in France. These secret vows were discovered by Prince William of Orange, who took possession in those days of the principality of Orange, and was a hostage for the peace to Henry II. He resolved to do all he could to frustrate the plot. At the command of Philip, his sister Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, then introduced the Spanish Inquisition.

The primary success of Philip's tyrannical methods—a Spanish army advancing, under the Duke of Alba, to quell the religious movement in the Low Countries—made the Prince of Orange decide to leave Brussels for his German estates. Mindful of the secret vows of Câteau-Cambrésis he wished to raise an

¹ Mr. I. I. Brants, *Amsterdam Handelsblad*, January 28th, 1920.

army, in order to maintain freedom of the faith in the Seventeen Provinces. Unfortunately the Prince's first attempts to deliver the Netherlands in 1568 failed. The immediate result was a new increase in Alba's persecution and judicial murders.

The capture of Brill (April 1st, 1572) by the "Watergeuzen" (freebooters) gave the signal for the revolt, which spread within a few weeks over the greater part of the provinces. The enemy behaved with the utmost cruelty when capturing towns in Holland. The revolt of the unpaid Spanish soldiers against the Duke of Alba's successor, Requesens, culminating after his death in the famous Spanish fury at Maastricht and especially at Antwerp, proved to be the most powerful means of creating within a short space of time the unity of the Seventeen Provinces. A few days after the massacre at Antwerp by the Spanish mutineers the southern Provinces united themselves at Ghent with Holland and Zeeland, in order to turn the dissolute Spaniards out of the country, to promote freedom of faith, and to appoint Prince William of Orange as Admiral and Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland. This is known as the "Pacification of Ghent" (November 8th, 1576). But the concord of the northern and southern Provinces was most severely threatened by religious differences and Roman Catholic intrigues. Influenced by Spanish promises, and strongly pressed by the clergy, many nobles in the southern Provinces united themselves in February, 1577, by the "Eternal Edict"; and, two years later, in spite of conciliatory efforts by the Prince of Orange, they joined the Walloon provinces in the "Union of Arras" (January 5th, 1579), to uphold the Spanish royal power and above all to maintain the Roman Catholic religion, which had been abjured in almost the whole of Holland and Zeeland. Henceforth co-operation between the Seventeen Provinces was no longer possible. Before the month of January was over the northern Provinces, as also Ghent, Ypres, Bruges, and Antwerp, had united themselves at Utrecht (the "Union of Utrecht," January 23rd, 1579) to uphold the Protestant faith with freedom of religion for all, maintenance of the rights and privileges of every province individually, and united opposition to foreign tyranny.

By stating (p. 191) that "she"—the southern Netherlands—"had spared no effort to throw off the foreign yoke," Professor Terlinden cleverly omits to mention either the name or the fact of the "Union of Arras," thus slighting historical truth. This union was the direct cause of the separation of the southern and northern Netherlands. The Union of Utrecht laid the founda-

tion for the establishment of the Republic of the northern Netherlands as an independent Power, which continued to exist for over two centuries. The Treaty of Arras sealed the subjugation of the southern Netherlands to non-resident Spanish and Austrian despots until the year 1794. Obviously an historian is guilty if he invents facts or forges documents.¹ This is equally the case when he omits to mention important facts.

On July 10th, 1584, Prince William of Orange was treacherously murdered. By his death the existence of the Republic seemed doomed. William the Silent had, however, made a pact with God. His last words were an appeal to the invincible Ally, a new appeal for mercy on his poor people. A British author says of this Prince "... in plain, heroic magnitude of mind he has surely few equals and certainly no superior." "Marjorie Bowen," the best historical novelist of our time, in her masterpieces *Prince and Heretic* and *Dei Gratia*² has erected a statue of him for the whole world, a statue with true and noble features.

Professor Terlinden accuses "the Dutch" of having left the southern Netherlands in the lurch, deprived them of important territory, ruining the trade of their kinsmen and intriguing against them with other Powers. But he does not mention the most strenuous efforts of the States of Holland nor the heroism of Admiral Justinus of Nassau, to save Brussels, Mechlin, and Antwerp. The fall of Antwerp on August 17, 1585, completed the subjugation of the southern Netherlands. The Duke of Parma, successor of Don John of Austria who had followed Requesens, proceeded steadily with his plans of closing the Scheldt in order to ruin Antwerp. The reformed faith having been expelled from the southern Provinces, the prosperity of Antwerp's trade was thereby diverted to the northern. The rich merchants fled, by preference to Amsterdam. The later greatness of this town proceeded from religious and political freedom, and not, as erroneously stated, from the ruining of Antwerp's trade.

According to the Louvain historian (p. 192), the villainy of the northern Netherlands culminated in the Peace of Westphalia, whereby the northern Netherlands were to keep their conquests in Brabant, Limburg, and Flanders (Dutch Flanders). Professor Terlinden writes about "the famous Treaty of Munster" (Peace of Westphalia), that the United Provinces closed Antwerp to other nations, taking care to keep for themselves the last remains of her ancient splendour (pp. 192-3). This puts these stipulations

¹ Professor A. F. Pollard, *History*, No. 17, Vol. V., p. 28.

² Translated into Dutch by Madame M. F. de Bas.

in a false light; for they were entirely justified, and intended to sacrifice the interest and trade, not of the southern Netherlands, but of Spain. Has the author never read the touching praise of John Lothrop Motley, regarding the titanic struggle between the Netherlands and Spain in his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*?

As to the Belgian historian's statement concerning "any combination of the European Chancelleries" (p. 193), this is the result of the submission of the southern Roman Catholic Netherlands to a foreign foe in consequence of the Union of Arras. Far from leaving the southern Netherlands when they became the cock-pit for the wars between France and Spain, the Republic armed herself in 1668 by reason of the Triple Alliance against the bold plans of young Louis XIV. When *le Roi Soleil*, in 1672, took his way through the Spanish Netherlands, failing in his attempt to conquer the United Republic (1672 and 1673), Prince William III. of Orange fought the Prince of Condé near Senef in 1674, and in 1678 the Duke of Luxemburg at St. Denis. When the French Marshal d'Humières attacked Flanders (1683) the States sent 8,000 troops to support their southern compatriots. During the Nine Years' war between the European coalition and France (1688-1697) William of Orange commanded the Allied armies as King of Great Britain against the Duke of Luxemburg at Fleurus, Steenkerke, Neerwinde, and retook Namur. In the wars of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and Prince John William Friso of Orange gained undying fame at Ramillies, Audenarde, and Malplaquet, with the result that by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) the Spanish Netherlands passed to Austria under the Emperor Charles VI. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), which terminated the Austrian Succession war, the stipulations of the Peace of Westphalia regarding the Scheldt were strictly maintained.

Lack of space prevents us from discussing the author's judgment on the subject of the Barrier Treaty, the shameless foreign policy of Joseph II., and the "patriot" troubles in The Hague. Professor Terlinden misleads the reader who has not made a special study of this period, and he seems again rather shaky as to facts and dates. The Dutch troops were not under the command of a Prussian general. He advances the termination of the negotiations of Fontainebleau (November 8th, 1785) by eight months, and the crisis of internal differences in the northern Republic by three years. The sovereignty of the Scheldt remained to the Dutch Republic.

Professor Terlinden is continually deceiving himself, and in this case others, because of the erroneous assumption of a "Belgium" existing since the Roman period. Passing from the Spanish and Habsburg dominion to the French "terreur," he rejoices and complains rather oddly in one breath, that, as a result of the Treaty of May 16th, 1795, "though the Scheldt became free, Belgium, incorporated with the French Republic, had ceased to be so."¹ Walloons and Flemish had only to acknowledge a new master. The witty London editor of the *Amsterdam Handelsblad* (April 30th, 1920) says, very much to the point, that it must have been more pleasing for the Belgians to be treated as "frères-citoyens" by Paris than as valets by Vienna.

By the Treaties of London (May 19th), and of Vienna (May 31st and June 9th), 1815, the northern and southern Netherlands were united into one kingdom. This union, intended by the Powers to be "l'amalgame le plus parfait entre les deux pays," is explained by the professor as "the annexation of Belgium to Holland (p. 2); he even speaks of "the Dutch régime" (p. 2), and, as regards Antwerp in 1839, of "the Dutch domination" (p. 6). But when, after the insurrection of 1830, the rupture took place a year later, the author bewails an eventual loss of her (Belgium's) former provinces of Limburg and Luxemburg (p. 4). Again he is mistaken, being probably ignorant of the division of the Nassau heritage in 1255, the Nassau family treaties of 1763, 1783, and 1785, and the ancient history of Limburg with regard to Germany.

The blame thrown by the professor on General Chassé and on King William I. (pp. 3, 4) is not only totally undeserved but akin to slander. By faithlessness to their pledged word the revolutionists in Antwerp forced Chassé to bombard them. It was not, as the professor puts it, "his design to destroy the rival of Amsterdam and Rotterdam" (p. 3). Records prove King William's strict adherence to his promise of December 10th, 1830, to the Powers that in case of a resumption of hostilities ten days' warning would be given.

When, after the appointment of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as King of the Belgians, it was rumoured at The Hague that, contrary to the stipulations, the London Conference was willing to consider Belgian claims on Luxemburg, King William, on May 21st, 1831—73 days before August 2nd—sent a message to London that he would either be agreeable to measures taken by the Powers in this respect or act on his own account if Belgium

¹ *History*, April, 1920, Vol. V., p. 1.

discarded the Protocol No. 12 as stipulated by the Conference on January 18th with respect to the conditions of separation, which the Powers had declared "fondamentaux et irrévocables."¹

On June 22nd—41 days before the resumption of hostilities—King William notified the Conference, according to its agreement with respect to the act of separation, that he would consider as an enemy whosoever accepted the sovereignty of Belgium without having previously signed that act. In case the Conference failed to secure the maintenance of the stipulations, "il ne resterait au roi d'autre alternative, que celle de recourir à ses propres moyens."² Heedless of the declaration that hostilities would be resumed, the Conference supplanted the stipulations of Protocol No. 12 by those of No. 26 (June 27th, 1831), viz. : the scheme of the Eighteen Articles, disadvantageous to the Netherlands because of their disposition of Luxemburg and Maastricht and of a different division of the debt.³ When the Congress of Brussels accepted the Eighteen Articles on July 9th, King William sent a new Note to the Powers (July 12th), concluding : ". . . . Sa Majesté, dans le cas où un prince, appelé à la souveraineté de la Belgique l'acceptât et en prit possession sans avoir préalablement accepté les dits arrangements (12e protocole), ne pourrait considérer ce prince, que comme placé par cela seul dans une attitude hostile envers elle et comme son ennemi "⁴—in fact, an ultimatum, 21 days previous to the resumption of hostilities.

On August 2nd, 1831, the Dutch army marched south. Professor Terlinden and other partial Belgian authors will find a strong refutation of their accusations concerning the resumption of hostilities and the Ten Days' campaign in the work of an able compatriot, Charles Victor de Bavay's *Histoire de la révolution Belge de 1830*. The professor's ten lines about the Ten Days' campaign contain almost as many errors. Jean Baptiste Nothomb, one of the best-informed and most reliable Belgian authorities on this period, gives absolutely different grounds for the catastrophe which befel the Belgians in August, 1831.

Giving well-deserved praise to the able Belgian statesman, Baron Lambermont, for having purchased the Scheldt-toll on July 16th, 1863 (equally to the satisfaction of the Netherlands), the professor rejoices once more that "the trade of Antwerp here-

¹ *Recueil de pièces diplomatiques relatives aux affaires de la Hollande et de la Belgique en 1830 et '31*, tome I., p. 191.

² *Ib.*, p. 210.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 211-217.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 263.

after knew no fetters, and the way to distant seas was opened to the Belgians"—complaining, almost simultaneously, "this freedom (of the Scheldt) was only relative, and still suffered damage from the exercise of unlimited sovereignty by Holland on the mouths of a *river* which is essentially Belgian." Though the Louvain historian fails to enlighten his readers as to the nature of this "damage," we presume it is the building of a dam in the Eastern Scheldt between North Brabant and South Beveland, because of the connecting of Flushing to the European system. In order to adhere to Paragraph 8 of Article IX. of the Treaty of April 19th, 1839, and to give a substitute for the interrupted communication between Eastern and Western Scheldt, the Dutch Government had constructed in 1866-67, especially for Belgian navigation, notwithstanding a violent resistance from Brussels, the canal from Hansweert to Wemeldinge—a waterway far superior to the Eastern Scheldt—for the communication of Antwerp and Ghent with the Rhine. This canal has developed into one of the busiest of European waterways.

As for Limburg and the Scheldt, even the recent cruel war has proved the strategic wisdom of the territorial arrangements, made by the London Conference of 1830-31, '38, and '39. By being added to the Netherlands, Limburg has proved to be the best protection for North-East Belgium against Germany. Had Limburg been Belgian territory, the Belgian army would in all probability have been surrounded in August, 1914.

Though containing a few errors, which can easily be altered, the Treaty of April 19th, 1839, gives by no means cause for serious grievances. Since the separation in 1839 the Netherlands have honestly and thoroughly fulfilled their obligations as to the Western Scheldt, the canal of Terneuzen-Ghent and other issuing waterways. Most convincing proof of this is given by records of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce, which show a pre-war increase of navigation on the Scheldt, vessels of ever-increasing displacement reaching Antwerp. The only complaints are about the Belgian Scheldt and the port of Antwerp. The present, and judicially unfounded, grievances were never heard of in the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce previous to 1914, though ameliorations were planned and discussed.¹ This likewise refers to the canal of Terneuzen, the latter continuation of the canal of Ghent to Sas van Ghent. By treaties between Belgium and the Netherlands in 1845, 1879, 1895, and 1902, this waterway was greatly improved for navigation by mutual efforts.

¹ *Conferences about the Scheldt, etc.*, by Dr. A. A. Beekman. Note, p. 2.

The so-called grievances, as expressed by Belgian annexationists concerning Limburg, Antwerp, Ghent, Dutch Flanders, and the Scheldt still remain to be refuted as they put ill-feeling between two small States, the strength and prosperity of which can only be improved by mutual aid and concord. By stirring up intentional prejudices against the Netherlands they sin against all principles of religion and justice as well as against those of a "League of Nations."

In the Scheldt question two points are prominent: sovereignty and economic control. The former mainly concerns the "Wielingen," the southern and principal mouth of the Scheldt. This part of the fairway first flows along Dutch territory in Dutch Flanders and continues in Belgian territory, within the so-called three sea miles limit of the Belgian coast. The Netherlands claim the sovereignty over the entire length of this part of the Scheldt, principally on historical grounds. The Treaty of April 19th, 1839, has not separated this waterway from the northern Netherlands. Belgium considers herself entitled to apply the principles of the "territorial sea," whereby a stretch of water, three sea miles wide along the Belgian coast from the point where the land frontier touches the sea, will have to be considered as Belgian water-territory. This principle of the three miles limit can, however, only be applied in cases concerning the open and undisputed sea, but not in cases where water-territory has already been subjected to the sovereignty of another nation. The chief importance of this question lies for the Netherlands in the fact that a Belgian "Wielingen" may result in the impossibility for vessels of any considerable displacement reaching the southern Dutch naval base. For Belgium the importance of this question lies in an eventual menace to the Belgian naval base at Zeebrugge under reversed conditions in the water dominion.

This question, also moved by the Treaties of March 31st, 1866, and February, 1881, has not been solved.

As regards the economic management, the Article IX of the Treaty of 1839 stipulates the pilotage, buoyage, and general upkeep of the fairways below Antwerp to be subjected to joint control of Holland and Belgium. Both Governments appointed committees for this purpose. Dutch as well as Belgian pilots being available, captains of vessels were left a free choice. Regulations were made for submitting special cases to joint-national control. This co-operation has not proved satisfactory, the keen competition between Dutch and Belgian pilots having even resulted in serious damage and peril of life.

In consequence of a recently projected status, the entire Scheldt, from Antwerp to the open sea, will be brought under the control of a joint Belgian-Dutch Committee, as regards matters of navigation. The main duty of this committee will be an adjustment of the waterway to the growing needs of shipping. Decisions taken by this committee will be subjected to the approval of both Governments. In case agreement should prove impossible, an arbitrator is to be appointed.

In order to avoid the evils of competition in pilotage this has only been allowed to continue in the case of outward-bound vessels. The navigation on the "Oostgat," along the coast of Walcheren and on the "Duerloo" has been entirely reserved for Dutch pilots for vessels inward-bound. The navigation inward on the principal fairway, the "Wielingen," will be reserved for Belgian pilots, with the sole restriction that vessels bound for Dutch ports will have to take a Dutch pilot.

Though agreements of a sort have been reached, the results are neither satisfactory nor in accordance with the important international traffic on the Scheldt. In the managing committee only the two disputing States are represented, in cases of difference an arbitrator being appointed. It would, however, be more in accordance with the principles of international interest if other seafaring nations were represented on this committee, as, for instance, in the present Rhine Committee. A truly international committee might take over the management of the entire navigable Scheldt, comprising the engineering part as well as the pilot service, which would solve the thorny question of sovereignty of the "Wielingen" and provide for war conditions.

F. DE BAS.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE School of Historical Research, to which we have called attention as a project in our last two numbers, and to which many of our members have subscribed, is now, thanks mainly to the munificence of an anonymous donor, well on the way towards realisation. For its permanent establishment on a satisfactory basis it still has to depend upon further support and upon its justification of itself by its works during the period of probation that is now assured to it. But the first step which costs and counts has been taken; architectural plans have been prepared, and adequate, albeit temporary, premises are expected to be ready for occupation in close proximity to the British Museum, the Royal Historical Society, and the Historical Association's headquarters during the coming session. Apart from financial support, the School has already assurance of a library of historical sources based mainly upon the official publications of our own and other Governments, learned societies, and other corporate bodies; and considerable interest in the scheme is being manifested in America, which sends so many students to work in London archives. Further information is obtainable from the joint secretaries, Sir E. Cooper Perry and Miss E. Jeffries Davis, the University of London, South Kensington, S.W. 7.

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IN connection with the School of Historical Research may be noticed the formation of the British branch of the Institute of International Affairs, which was inaugurated on July 5th at a meeting addressed by Lord Grey, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Clynes, and Lord Robert Cecil. A prominent feature of the Institute is the emphasis it lays on the historical aspect of foreign affairs; and there is reason to believe that its promoters and those of the School of Historical Research alike are alive to the advantages and importance of co-operation.

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WHILE the centre of historical research can hardly be elsewhere than at the centre of our national and imperial archives, its benefits will assuredly not be limited to such researchers as live in London, and every effort will be made to associate with the School all contributors to the sum of historical knowledge. The School will be no more the exclusive perquisite of the capital than is the British Museum, the Public Record Office, or the archives of Government departments. Nor are even these the only materials for historical investigation. Every centre of population has its own collections of documents, more or less available for training students to decipher and use original sources and add to our knowledge of economic, social, industrial, and ecclesiastical history; and there are more active ways in which branch members of the Association can gratify their historical instincts than by listening to one another's eloquence or essays.

Two of these are under immediate and practical consideration. The Historical Manuscripts Commission, well known for its invaluable services to historical scholarship, represents, so to speak, the extension movement, not of a University, but of the Public Record Office and British Museum MSS. Department, and depends for its usefulness mainly on the existence of archives outside London. One or two county Archæological, Records, or Historical societies have approached it with a view to co-operation in surveying and publishing accounts or calendars of these unpublished local records. The financial resources of the Commission are exiguous, but it can publish something every year, and the extent of its publications obviously depends upon the amount of voluntary assistance it can derive from local interest and enthusiasm. A mere catalogue of these historical materials, compiled shire by shire, would be of inestimable value. Branches of the Historical Association could do nothing better for their own repute and for the service of history than by helping to further and co-ordinate the efforts which have already begun; and we need hardly say that we should be happy to publish any information about them which reaches us.

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THE other movement relates to the domestic history of the war, and can be best explained in the words of a circular letter addressed by the British Academy to the Historical Association and other societies:—

An important Economic and Social History of the War and Survey of the War Period is in preparation, which proposes in a large number of monographs to deal with the non-military aspects of national activities in this and other countries. The work has been initiated by the Carnegie Endowment; and, as far as it treats of the United Kingdom, it is controlled by a British Editorial Board of Economists and Historians, who are able to speak with authority on these questions and several of whom have been in close relation with the work of Government Departments during the war. It is proposed to undertake the preparation of a Bibliography of local material bearing on these aspects of the war-period (excluding all purely military activities).

The British Editorial Board has requested the British Academy to interest itself in this important enterprise, more especially in the question of local historical materials; and the Academy is of opinion that the most fruitful means of co-operating will be to convene a Conference of representatives of societies to forward the undertaking. The various learned societies, which are either local societies or which have country branches, are peculiarly fitted to decide as to what existing material should be preserved, and to provide a record of such material as may be of value. It is of special importance that this (whether printed or in manuscript) should be preserved so as to be available and readily identified for future investigators of county and other local histories.

Work of this kind suggests the co-operation of societies devoting themselves to different subjects, and it is felt that further co-operation between learned societies falling within the humanistic group may be possible. It is therefore proposed to take the opportunity of this Conference to discuss also the desirability of holding an annual Conference of such societies for the discussion of matters of common interest and, if necessary, for the taking of joint action on suitable occasions.

It is proposed to hold the Conference in London on September 30th, 1920.

The methods of operation will no doubt be discussed at this conference; but we earnestly commend the scheme to the members of branches, with the reflection that the only history one really knows is the history one helps to write or make oneself.

In our last number our congratulations on rewards for historical distinction were limited to women. Now we have to congratulate Mr. Ernest Barker, a member of the Council of the Historical Association, on his appointment to succeed the late Dr. Burrows as Principal of King's College, London. The post is an arduous one, especially at the present crisis in the development of that College and the University of London; but Mr. Barker comes with a great reputation as a teacher of history, a wide knowledge of other Universities, and considerable practical experience as a member of the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford.

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At a Council meeting held on June 26th it was decided to accept the invitation of the Cambridge branch to hold the next annual meeting of the Association at Cambridge on January 6th to 10th, 1921. Mr. J. A. White was nominated as treasurer to succeed Miss Baylay, whose resignation, due to the pressure of other work, was regretfully accepted, a unanimous vote of thanks being passed for her services.

HISTORICAL REVISIONS.

XVI.—THE DANES IN ENGLAND.¹

THE Danish invasions of the ninth century mark the turning point of early English history. All its later phases are profoundly influenced by the establishment of alien settlers in the northern and

¹ The essential authority for the early society of the Danelaw is the Domesday Survey. The portions relating to East Anglia, and to the counties of Leicester, Rutland, Nottingham, Derby, and York, are published in translation, with introductions, in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor and English Society in the Eleventh Century*, should be consulted for a view of the relation of the Danelaw to general English conditions. In 1912 Mr. W. H. Stevenson published certain pre-Conquest Yorkshire surveys which give the earliest detailed information about the great estates characteristic of the Danelaw (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxvii. 1-25). In *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw* (Oxford Studies in Social and Economic History) I have attempted to trace the connexion between the Domesday Survey of this region and the few Saxon land books which relate to it. Most of the highly important evidence which twelfth century charters supply about social conditions is still unprinted. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, is publishing nearly all the known twelfth century texts which relate to this great county. In *Danelaw Charters* (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History), I have printed, with an introduction, a collection of original twelfth century charters relating to the region between the Yorkshire border and the Welland. Very little East Anglian material referring to this period is at present accessible in print. There is no adequate account of English History before the Conquest, but good narratives of important episodes are given in *Alfred the Truth Teller* by Miss B. M. Lees and *Canute the Great* by Professor Larson (Putnam: Heroes of the Nations Series). Three communications by Mr. M. L. R. Beaven to the *English Historical Review* in 1917 and 1918 are of great value for the chronology of the period 866-946. Professor Mawer in *The Vikings* (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature) has given an excellent brief survey of the general activities of the Danes in Europe.

eastern shires which formed the Danelaw of the twelfth century. The importance of this settlement is recognised by all modern writers and teachers, but one may be permitted to doubt whether its true significance is quite so generally apprehended. The prevailing opinion appears to be that the Danish invasions compelled the men of all the regions not settled by the Danes to accept the supremacy of the king of Wessex, and thus contributed materially towards the creation of a united kingdom of England. As the Danish settlers became assimilated to the English they ceased in themselves to present any serious obstacle to the achievement of this unity. The traces of alien settlement still written in local names upon the map of England are interesting to the student of the ninth and tenth centuries, but do not prove any persistence of racial separateness. The Danish settlement, in fact, is a highly important episode, which has added to the complexity of English life, but helped rather than hindered the establishment of a single effective monarchy in England.

It may in the first place be suggested that this view does less than justice to the work of the powerful kings of the eighth century, Æthelbald, Offa, and Cenwulf of the Mercians. The men of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex, who submitted to Ecgbert of Wessex in 825, had long been subject to the effective overlordship of successive Mercian kings. The East Angles, whose submission followed later in the same year, sought Ecgbert's protection against the Mercians, not the Danes. Already in the year 774 the conception of a kingdom of all England could be expressed in a regnal style. Offa of Mercia describes himself in that year as *rex totius Anglorum patriæ*. The permanence of the West Saxon supremacy was essentially due to the extinction or insignificance of all the other families of royal descent which had once reigned in England. Even in 797 Alcuin, in a letter which ought to be famous, laments that scarcely anyone is found in England of the stock of the old kings, and thus explains the ineffectiveness of contemporary rulers in resisting the Scandinavian raiders of his day.

But if the results of the Danish settlement are often exaggerated in one direction they are generally underestimated in another. As late as the reign of Henry I. the men of the region affected by this settlement still preserved an individuality of legal custom which distinguished them from the men of Wessex and western Mercia. In the northern part of the Danelaw, the shires of Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Lincoln, and York, the nature of the division, nomenclature, and tenure of the land reinforces the legal evidence. The distribution of land in this region was based on a scheme radically different from that in operation in the south and west of England. The ploughland of eight oxgangs which replaces the southern hide of four yardlands may safely be referred to a Danish origin. The difference is not merely one of words. In the twelfth century the oxgang was the normal peasant tenement. It was a small tenement, of 20 acres upon the average in Lincolnshire, the most populous of the Danelaw shires. Later records all testify to the smallness of peasant holdings in the Danelaw: countless free tenants in this region must have held less land than an ordinary southern villein. The aspect of great tracts of the Danelaw to-day suggests that it has been a hard-worked country in the past.

There is little doubt that many of the place names of Scandinavian origin in the Danelaw go back to the settlement of the ninth

century. Their number is very considerable, and they do not merely prove the reality of the settlement, but also illustrate its general character. Taken as a whole, these names suggest the grouping of the settlers in villages around the houses of men of higher rank. It is permissible to infer that the men of the original Bransby admitted the superiority of the Brand who gave his name to their village, though it would be very rash to assume that they were bound to him by any severe routine of labour service. Evidence of this sort has a real value, though it is easily overstrained. And it is important to remember that the field names of the Danelaw bear the same predominately northern character as the village names which arrest more general attention. The whole terminology of the land was coloured by words introduced by Danish settlers. It was a Scandinavian people who first in England used *car* to denote a marsh, *holm* to denote a waterside meadow, *wong* for field, *wro* for an odd corner of land, *stong* for an acre, *ing* for a meadow. Few of these words ever became established permanently in the south. In the Danelaw they recur throughout the Middle Ages in documents relating to the land, some of them are still used there to-day. The persistent use of this Scandinavian vocabulary of the fields is one of the features which most clearly point the contrast between the rural economy of the north and the south.

A more significant contrast is presented by the facts of land tenure and manorial organisation. To the end of the Middle Ages the estates characteristic of the northern Danelaw never acquired the compact outlines characteristic of the normal southern manor. The word *manerium* itself, which recurs with monotonous iteration in the folios of the Danelaw Domesday, is very rare in the private documents of the next century. Even in Domesday *manerium* will hardly admit of any more definite translation than "house," though no doubt the houses to which the word is applied were inhabited by men of local importance. Innumerable manors in the early Norman age consisted of tenements scattered over a wide area, whose holders were annexed by the payment of customary dues and probably by suit of court to the lord's house which gave its name to the whole estate. There is no opportunity for the exaction of heavy labour from even the unfree tenants upon such estates as these, and the personal freedom of a great part, in some districts more than 60 per cent., of the peasantry is a remarkable feature of the economy of the Danelaw as described in Domesday. The general character of this economy is a natural sequel to the settlement of the ninth century. The masses of free peasants, the sokemen of Domesday, are best understood as representing settlers from the Danish army grouped in varying degrees of dependence around men of higher station, but rarely subject to services derogatory to a free man. The class of unfree peasantry in this region may well be of complex origin. The English who remained under Danish rule would naturally fall to an inferior position, and the descendants of free Danes might lose their independence in many ways in the course of two centuries. Even so, there is no mistaking the persistence of a tradition of personal independence among the Danelaw peasantry of the eleventh century.

This tradition was strong enough to survive the establishment of an alien aristocracy after the Norman Conquest. In some ways the social order of the twelfth century is more obscure than that of

the eleventh. The twelfth century is distinguished by no single record like Domesday describing the greater part of England according to a uniform plan. There are few surveys which illustrate the organisation of estates in the Danelaw during this period. But the evidence derived from other sources shows the general persistence of the economy of an earlier age. The free peasant is revealed in many different ways. He frequently appears among the witnesses to charters executed in the Danelaw in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; an act of attestation permits one to infer the personal independence of the attestor. Grants of land made by peasants in their own names are more significant than their attestations to other men's charters, and many hundreds of such grants relating to the Danelaw still await publication. Countless men of Anglo-Scandinavian ancestry and modest station could alienate their land by charter. They could promise to warrant their grants, and as time went on more and more of them came to possess seals with which to authenticate the instruments they executed, though at the close of the twelfth century it was still possible for a peasant to seal his own charter with his wife's key. Men of this sort, as might be expected, are most numerous in the regions where the existence of a free peasantry is proved by Domesday. The east of Lincolnshire, in particular, was distinguished by villages where serfdom remained almost negligible throughout the Middle Ages, and most of those villages were full of sokemen in 1086. Evidence of this kind is rarely to be found in the south and west of England. It is difficult to find southern parallels to the groups of witnesses of native ancestry whose attestations frequently conclude Lincolnshire charters of Henry II.'s day. The southern peasants who could grant land by charter will generally be found either on the ancient demesne of the crown or in the numerous small towns which had developed out of earlier market centres in the Norman age. And the contrast in this respect between the Danelaw and the rest of England becomes only the clearer the larger is the collection of documents on which a comparison is founded.

A still sharper contrast is revealed when the personal names current in the twelfth century are collected and analysed. Everywhere in England the personal names of the time before the Norman Conquest were replaced, with few exceptions, by names of foreign, in particular of French, origin. But the replacement proceeded at very different rates in different parts of the country. The men of the Danelaw adhered far more closely to their traditional nomenclature than the men of the south. This nomenclature was singularly varied. Common names of purely English origin like Godwine, Godric, Edric, Leofwine, Leofric, Wulfmær, survived in the Danelaw until the whole body of native names had passed out of employment. But it is the Scandinavian personal names of the Danelaw which stand out most distinctly as the documents are read. Upon the lowest possible estimate, between 50 and 60 per cent. of the native personal names of this region are either purely Scandinavian or compounds which include Scandinavian elements. Their variety is even more remarkable than their number, and it cannot be adequately shown by a mere selection of examples. The significant fact is that these names are only represented by rare and isolated examples in the south.

Every test, indeed, that one can apply reveals the same funda-

mental difference between the Danelaw and the rest of England. The facts which have been quoted are not merely of superficial interest, they affect very intimately the life of the ordinary man. And when the history of the century before the Norman Conquest is read in the light of the conditions prevailing under the early Angevins, the attitude of the men of the Danelaw towards the last kings of the house of Wessex becomes intelligible. A prosperous people, tenacious of inherited custom, could well afford to admit the overlordship of a king the sources of whose power lay in a distant part of the land. If Æthelred II. on one occasion legislates for the Danelaw his code is nothing more than a re-definition of existing custom. Less than a dozen royal charters are known to have been made for Danelaw magnates in all the century before the Confessor's death. It was not until the reign of Cnut that a system of assessment to national taxation, to the Danegeld in particular, was extended to the region north of Welland. Everything suggests that William I. and his successors were the first kings to exercise a permanent and effective authority over this region. Meanwhile the men of northern race whose ancestors had colonised the Danelaw two hundred years before had time to develop the distinctive features of their rural economy and social structure. And these features persisted until the time when the king's writ was to meet with equal obedience in every part of the land, and the real unity of England was at last achieved.

F. M. STENTON.

REVIEWS

The Baronial Opposition to Edward II., its Character and Policy: A Study in Administrative History. By JAMES CONWAY DAVIES. Cambridge University Press. 1918. 21s.

If, as has been remarked, our economists are in danger of becoming men of letters, our historians are in danger of losing their literary character. We have nothing but admiration for the patient research and meticulous labour which Mr. Davies has bestowed upon this elaborate study of the baronial opposition to Edward II. Nor can we fail to recognise our indebtedness to the Cambridge University Press for the unstinted pains taken to make this book attractive in form and readable in appearance. But we are bound also to point out that other characteristics are calculated to reduce its readers to a narrow circle of determined specialists, and thus to limit the usefulness of the effort expended on the production of the book. There must be art in history as well as in other things; and the learning of the scholar no more renders him independent of, and should not make him more indifferent to, his methods of expression than the vision of an artist should make him careless of technique. It is not merely that a sense of proportion is needed, though six hundred closely printed pages on one among many aspects of a reign of twenty years constitute some evidence of myopia. It is that the book betrays a singular lack of discrimination and power of selection. All is grist to the author's mill, and his book is largely a mere rearrangement of his documents, however trivial the details they record. He is not content with references, but generally gives their contents. To prove, for instance, that records were deposited in the Wardrobe, he retails the substance of what the records contain, and the reader's attention is constantly switched off from the relevant argument about the method of keeping a record to the irrelevant detail which it records, while the author is overmastered by his material, and often enslaved by its phraseology.

The title itself betrays this lack of grasp and coherence. A "baronial opposition" is a strange vehicle for a "study in administrative history," and throughout the reader is unnecessarily puzzled by the author's indiscriminating terminology. His minute study of records induces an impossible literalness in his interpretation of language, and at times he discovers a different function of government in each different verb used by clerks to describe its action. On the other hand, "ordinances" are on p. 257 identified with "orders." Making ordinances is called "administration," and on p. 258 the fact that two persons were "ordained" to be wardens is used to prove that the Council "made ordinances." It is, no doubt, irrational to import into the early fourteenth century modern discrimination between legislation and administration, but all discussion of constitutional problems becomes bewildering without a nice

sense of the difference between the medieval and modern meanings of words. Thus Mr. Davies alludes (p. 15) to "the important principle . . . that the king was under the law." But ambiguity about "the law" was at the root of all constitutional disputes for centuries, and Mr. Davies ignores Marsiglio's vital distinction, *positiva lex est infra principantem sicut lex naturalis est supra*. So, again, he describes an alteration of the currency as an "exchange of money" (p. 373), and on the same page writes of the Ordinances of 1311: "This was more than a straightforward attempt to exercise restraint upon the King. It was coercive in its effect, and it deprived the King of all means of resisting coercion." On p. 381 we have: "It was only by the exercise of coercion that he had granted the ordainers their commission and accepted the results of their labour," when what is meant is that "it was only by the exercise of coercion that he had *been forced to grant . . . and to accept. . .*" More strangely still, we read on p. 372: "The completeness of the demands of these articles and the restraint with which they could have been exercised had it been possible to give them full effect it is difficult to realise fully." There is not a comma in the sentence, but what is apparently meant is: "The completeness of the . . . articles, and of the restraint which they would have imposed, etc." Two sentences about the Earl of Pembroke on pp. 440-1 illustrate this confusion of thought and expression: "Though Pembroke probably took a greater part in administration than any other single member of the middle party, except, of course, those who obtained offices in the administration, the share that he took may be fairly said to be a characteristic instance of the policy of that party," and "he had the ability of the moderate." What has ability to do with opinions?

It may seem ungracious in reviewing the product of so much skilled research and solid labour to emphasize these defects in its literary presentation. But it is the merits of the book that make the criticism worth while and necessary, and illustrate most effectively the need of the warning that research students, if they want to write English history, must first learn to write English. If readers will take the trouble to make their own abstract of this volume in language which they can readily understand, neglecting a mass of meticulous detail, they will possess a residuum of real value for the understanding of that complex struggle between Edward II. and his baronage for the control of government, during which, as the barons carried the outworks of the administrative system, the bureaucracy secretly and silently constructed interior defences which resisted the baronial attack, and in time became the foundations of a new monarchy and of our modern state. X.

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New.

2 vols. By PROFESSOR R. B. MERRIMAN. 1918. New York: The Macmillan Co. 40s.

A History of Spain. By CHARLES E. CHAPMAN. 1918. New York: The Macmillan Co. 14s.

THESE two books are both American, but there the resemblance may be said to cease. Mr. Merriman's first two volumes come to a halt with Ferdinand and Isabella, while Mr. Chapman comprises the whole of Spanish history in a single volume, which is no small

feat. The distinction, however, is much greater than that of space. Mr. Chapman, living in California, and having made *The Founding of Spanish California* his first study, is mainly interested in Spanish influence upon America, and thus the præ-Columbian portion of his book forms a small proportion of the whole. His volume is professedly based upon the admirable work of Professor Rafael Altamira, which, however, ceases with the year 1808. The Spanish author's history deals with law and institutions rather than with politics, and this colours the work of his successor, who confesses to using political history merely as a peg upon which to hang his constitutional and economic, social and religious, literary and artistic chapters. The peg, indeed, may seem to some a little slender to bear such substantial weight. In taking this course, however, he is quite logical. The politics of Spain, being mainly European, affected America only at moments, whereas the influence of institutions and culture was continuous, and has made Spanish America what she is. The exception proves the rule, for, in the reign of Charles III., Mr. Chapman breaks away from Altamira's lead, just because Spain's European relations did directly affect the fortunes of Spanish America and the future United States. A valuable chapter is the result of this special personal study. The same argument might, indeed, apply to the War of Jenkins's Ear, which is more slightly treated. Poor Captain Jenkins, by the way, did really lose his ear, though the precise ear which he displayed in alcoholic pickle can scarcely be guaranteed. The revolt of the Spanish colonies was foreseen as a possible result of the North American War of Independence even before Charles III. was dead. The carelessness with which the mother country treated the incipient movement is attributed to her internal political conflicts and to the pressure of European complications. In his treatment of the Anglo-Spanish quarrels Mr. Chapman is disposed to be anti-English. It is fair to remember that the Spanish-Americans wanted the goods which the English contrabandists supplied, and which the economic errors of Spain denied. At any rate post-Independence Englishmen may urge that, if their smuggling forefathers were bad, the New England præ-Independence skippers were the worst offenders.

Hailing from Harvard, not to mention Balliol, Mr. Merriman is more attracted than Mr. Chapman by the European aspects of Spanish history. America, indeed, only enters the radius of his present volumes with its discovery, and by the close of Ferdinand's reign this had no great practical results. His theme is primarily political history, the spirit of adventure which founded the Spanish as bequeathed by the Catholic kings to Charles V. This being the work of monarchy and marriage, personalities play a larger part than in Mr. Chapman's book, while constitutional history serves mainly to emphasise the distinction between the states from which United Spain was formed. He brings out excellently the opportunities for adventure offered by the peninsular coast-line facing towards all four points of the compass, yet he does not forget that each opportunity from being an asset might become a liability, and bring a country with a small population and, except for its fringes, a somewhat unproductive soil to bankruptcy. But no one thought of this in the all-conquering, inspiring reign of the Catholic kings, who had welded a Spanish nation out of all the jarring states of the peninsula, save only Portugal.

E. ARMSTRONG.

The Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham, M.P., First Translator of Homer into English. By H. G. WRIGHT. 1919. Manchester University Press. 10s. 6d.

THIS biography is a most careful piece of research. Elizabethan sources, general and local, have been ransacked to find out everything possible about Arthur Hall. There is an elaborate body of footnotes, and the appendices include several hitherto unpublished letters of Hall. It may be questioned whether Hall, as a literary man, was worth resurrecting, and the biographer had his own doubts, but comforted himself that "as a specimen of sixteenth century human nature," he was "well worth study."

The book does serve as a footnote to Parliamentary history and as a comment on Elizabethan life. Twice Hall figured in Parliamentary cases that set custom. His servant Smalley had to pay damages as the upshot of a quarrel. Hall, who had been involved in the quarrel, claimed immunity for him as the servant of a member. The Commons released Smalley, but ordered Hall to pay the debt. Hall spoke intemperately of the affair, and angered the Commons, who then sent Smalley to the Tower and at length obtained Hall's submission and promise to pay. Thus the Commons had asserted their right to protect the servant of a member and also to punish him. Hall had been deeply humiliated by the episode and took out his spite in a letter to F. A., in which he spoke slightly of members of the Commons and attempted to show that the authority of the Lower House was of later origin than that of the King or of the Lords. His inference that the Sovereign and the Upper House should assert themselves was, of course, distasteful to the Commons, who in their next session expelled him, and so established a precedent of their right to expel.

As to what happened in the Commons the biographer has added nothing to D'Ewes—who has been able to add to that old compilation?—but he has filled in useful details as to the backgrounds of the case. Hall's quarrel with the Countess of Sussex, whom he courted not wisely but too persistently, led him to vent his spite against her in a pamphlet. She was lady in waiting to the Queen, and Hall spent many months in prison, indited various appeals to his long-suffering patron, Cecil, and got out only with an apology and the permanent disfavour of the Queen. Hall had other quarrels. On one occasion his strife with a neighbour led the retainers of both parties to take arms and ride out seeking vengeance; the quarrel became a county affair, and the Privy Council stepped in. No doubt the Privy Council was often a kindly but stern parent to the county families. Certainly in Lincolnshire its paternalism was justified. In the Appendix is included a long letter from Hall to James I., a letter that is suggestive as to the elections of the time.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Bolivar y otros ensayos. By ANDRES F. PONTE, member of the National Academy of History. Caracas. 1919.

THIS volume opens with a brief chapter on History regarded both as a science and an art. There follow essays on "The loss of Trinidad," "Bolivar, the greatest orator of Spanish America," "The doctrines of Bolivar," and an exhaustive statement of his ancestry.

The essay on the loss of Trinidad sketches the history of the island down to its capture by Abercromby, and is largely based on documents in the Venezuelan archives. The capture of the island is recorded with great detail, more in fact than it deserves, since the British forces were so overwhelming that resistance was impossible. The melancholy story of the disaster is clearly told, though Señor Ponte is in error in supposing that it has not been dealt with by foreign historians, as, for example, in Fraser's *History of Trinidad* (1891). It is perhaps worth noting that he appears to cherish the hope of the reunion of Trinidad with Venezuela as a result of the principle of "self-determination." In the essay on Bolivar as an orator Señor Ponte makes good his claim on behalf of his national hero. The passages quoted from the speeches of the Libertador are instinct with eloquence of the first order, notably the concluding excerpt from his farewell to the Columbians. The essay on the doctrines of Bolivar deals in the main with his advocacy of Pan-americanism, and the author laments the failure of the states of S. America to realise its importance and to work together for the common good. The book is somewhat marred by misprints, while Señor Ponte has clearly been handicapped by the difficulty of obtaining access to European works on some of the topics with which he deals. But it is a healthy sign that such a work should be produced despite the obstacles that have manifestly confronted its author.

H. E. BUTLER.

History of the Great War. Naval Operations. Vol. I. To the Battle of the Falklands, December, 1914. By SIR JULIAN S. CORBETT. Longmans, Green and Co. 1920. 17s. 6d.

THE title-page of this first instalment of Sir Julian Corbett's great work gives an inadequate impression of the extent of the material herein offered to the public at a price which seems absurdly low and is at any rate but a fraction of the cost. For in addition to the volume of text there is a uniform case containing eighteen large and beautifully executed maps without which the narrative would not have been intelligible. Obviously there must have been a considerable subsidy for the publication, and readers who fail to procure this history will be voluntarily depriving themselves of part of the products for which they have provided by their contribution to the national exchequer. They will also be forgoing a part of the education which is essential to the understanding, not merely of a war that is over, but of the conditions which determine the distribution of world-power and the maintenance of the British empire and of peace. The book is in effect the narrative of a practical demonstration of the theories and principles of sea-power, which had long underlain British naval strategy but were first enunciated by Mahan. There has been no more triumphant vindication of a theory based on historical experience than the justification which the war afforded of the contention of the Blue-Water School that invasion across an uncommanded sea is an utter impossibility. So, too, the judgment of those who asserted in 1914 that the changes since Trafalgar, such as the introduction of steam and oil-fuel, of wireless and other telegraphy, had increased rather than diminished the difficulties of invasion, was upheld by experience; and the greatest disaster to British arms in the war, namely the German offensive in March,

1918, owed its success to the failure of the Government to realise this truth and to their consequent retention in England of hundreds of thousands of troops on the plea that they were required to do the navy's work, instead of sending them to reinforce the Fifth Army and frustrate an attack which was foreseen and foretold. The fact that they were sent, after the damage had been done, without provoking a German invasion, shows that they could have been sent before, and the British people spared no small loss of life and no light portion of the financial burden they still have to bear.

The responsibility cannot, however, be laid entirely at the door of the Government; and Sir Julian Corbett's first volume shows how seriously at the beginning of the war the Admiralty was hampered by popular ignorance and inability to grasp the nature of the problems which confronted us. Localism, the old enemy of education and understanding, was the fundamental difficulty. People thought in the isolated compartments of their own particular bit of coast, their own trade interests, their own particular service, their own country or Dominion. Incompatible claims to special attention were ever being made upon our naval resources: coast defence at home, protection of trade in the seven seas, the blockade of German ports, the security of the Channel passage, the convoy of troops from every part of the empire, the transport of others to every scene of operations, the discursive hunting of submarines and the concentration of overwhelming force to face the German High Seas Fleet—such were the conflicting demands urged upon the Admiralty, not only by divers sections of public opinion at home, but by various Dominions and Allies, and even by different Ministers in the Cabinet; and all the while it was impossible for the Admiralty to explain its difficulties or to give any public reasons for the line it took on any particular occasion.

Sir Julian Corbett's book is the first exposition of these conditions, some of them novel in the history of war; and he has a very varied field of operations to survey during these opening months. Later on the narrative will become simpler as the seas were gradually cleared of German cruisers, and communications, whether for trade or transports, were rendered safe from all attacks save those of submarines. In this volume we are taken to every quarter of the globe and presented with every kind of naval problem. No one will contend that every one was properly handled, and future historians may be less restrained than Sir Julian in their criticism of some of the Admiralty's orders. But it was well first of all to have a clear presentation of the difficulties without which all criticism would be ill-directed; and Sir Julian himself is by no means a mere apologist, though he thinks that errors of detail by individual officers and ministers were more than counterbalanced by the successful solution of all the great problems which the war presented to the Admiralty.

There are a few small points which might be reconsidered in a second edition: on p. 27 Sir Julian writes "on or about July 27" the German High Seas Fleet was hurriedly recalled from Norway; the French minister at Christiania reported on the 26th that it had already been ordered to return to Germany.¹ Was not U15 rammed by H.M.S. *Birmingham* on August 6th (p. 77)? On p. 118

¹ French Yellow Book, 2nd ed., No. 58.

we have "Adriadne" for "Ariadne," on p. 118 "Tannenberg" for "Tannenberg," on p. 286 "Mecklenberg" for "Mecklenburg"; and is not "shallow draft" (p. 214) an unusual spelling? It would be an assistance on pp. 386-7 to have the armament of the *Swiftsure*. The fact that we have no more serious criticism to make is some testimony to Sir Julian's carefulness and accuracy. H.

The Manchester Grammar School, 1515—1915; A Regional Study of the Advancement of Learning in Manchester since the Reformation. By ALFRED A. MUMFORD, M.D. Pp. xi+563. Longmans, Green and Co. £1 1s.

THIS book is not merely a history of Manchester Grammar School; it attempts to show the place of the Grammar School in the educational story of Manchester. It is obvious, therefore, that the author has set himself a task of extraordinary difficulty. The Historical Association has not yet adopted the attitude towards the writing of history that the British Medical Association has adopted towards the practice of medicine, and the author's frank admission of inadequate training in historical research disarms any purely professional critic. At the same time it is permissible to join issue with him by asserting that in historical writing the point of view of the historian is preferable to that of the naturalist.

The school had some connection with the chantries of the Manchester Collegiate Church, and was founded as an independent institution by Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, friend and follower of Colet of St. Paul's. It was threatened by, but survived, the dissolution of the chantries, languished under Elizabeth, and revived under Puritan influence in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century it got out of touch with the life of the town, and approximated to the modern type of public boarding school. De Quincey came, and ran away. The school was divided into Classical School and English School, and was threatened with being turned into a commercial academy. Then, in 1859, came Walker; and Manchester Grammar School, *pace* some second-rate modern novelists, became one of the great schools of the country. Walker went to the sister foundation of St. Paul's in 1877; but since his day Manchester Grammar School has never really looked back. With all his weaknesses, Walker was one of the giants.

In 1903 the school "came under the Board." The author, who has shown it constantly altering its character throughout four hundred years, at all times uncertain of its place in national education, does not quite realise the effect of bringing an institution into a national system. Many of his strictures in his last chapter seem to be due to insufficient knowledge of the system inaugurated by the Act of 1902, and developed by that of 1918. A careful study of the 1918 Act would have shown him that most of his suggestions have been forestalled.

W. S. DANN

SHORT NOTICES

Ireland, the Outpost, by PROFESSOR GRENVILLE COLE (Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.) is a model short monograph of 78 pages. It shows how natural features determine lines of invasion and expansion, and also how "The Irish have had to settle their differences with one power only, whose territory, like a huge breakwater, divides them from the continental turmoil on the east."

J. E. M.

THE Volume on *Leeds* in The Story of the English Towns series. (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.) is well printed and illustrated, though the plans have been so much reduced in size that it is hard to read the names on them. Any book by Mr. J. S. Fletcher is sure to be well written, and with his great knowledge of Yorkshire and Yorkshire history he has managed to make an interesting story out of scanty and unpromising materials. That the chapters dealing with Old Leeds are somewhat sketchy is due to the subject rather than the author. Leeds, lying off the main road to the north, had not much to do with the great events of English history, and about its internal affairs little is recorded. Its main development has been in later times, and to this the larger portion of the book has been wisely devoted. When a new edition is called for it might be well to point out more clearly the reasons of the growth of Leeds as compared with that of neighbouring towns, *e.g.*, Pontefract, and is it not rather misleading to say (p. 14) that "Villeins were what we should now call day-labourers"? Is it correct to state (p. 31) that the common fields lay all round the town? Surely it was not so much in "practising his religion" (p. 36) as in the festivities connected therewith that the medieval working man found his chief recreation. Present opinion tends to connect the Grammar School with the establishment of the Clarell Charity, and to assign to William Sheffield (p. 42) not the foundation of the school, but its continuance after the dissolution of the charity. It may be noted too, with regard to the remarks on pp. 109-110, that the school (though its function, of course, was always "secondary education") was entirely free till 1855, and sent many poor boys (*e.g.*, Isaac Milner) to the universities, and through its scholarships and exhibitions has done the same work since. On p. 54 there seems to be a misprint in the Latin quotation, and at the foot of p. 111 we should read 1887 for 1837, and "seventeen" for "seven." S. Michael's Headingley might be added to the list of churches on p. 115, and the names of Col. G. F. R. Henderson and Field-Marshal Lord Nicholson to the worthies of Leeds. The index scarcely does justice to the book.

A. C. P.

A LINK of no small importance in the chain of evidence concerning the inter-relation of the early Franciscan documents is provided by Mr. A. G. Little in his brochure *Un Nouveau Manuscrit Franciscain, ancien Phillipps, 12290* [Opuscles de Crit. Histor. Paris: Fischbacher] which, though written in 1913, has only recently been

published. Mr. Little was certainly fortunate in securing for his own library so interesting a manuscript as the one he has now described. Among several features of greater or less importance attention is deservedly called to the presence in that MS. of the six chapters which form the Latin original of six chapters of the *Fioretti*, and for which M. Paul Sabatier, when editing the *Actus beati Francisci* in 1902 was unable to find manuscript authority. By this discovery Mr. Little has made a further contribution to the knowledge of that intricate problem—the evolution of the “Little Flowers.” Equally interesting is it to find that Mr. Little’s MS. contains three out of the Four Chapters of the *Actus* [viz., 45, 46 and 47, but not 44] the authority of which has been occasionally questioned. The view may be maintained that these four chapters are not only authentic, but indeed very primitive. It is satisfactory to get good and early MS. authority for them. Those Franciscan students who think that Brother Leo has not yet come into his own, will heartily agree with Mr. Little’s main deduction—expressed with laudable caution and restraint—that this new material seems to bear marks of the workmanship of Brother Leo, and that we may find later on that Brother Leo had more than is yet admitted to do with the construction of the most primitive Franciscan documents.

W. W. S.

ALMOST all the matter of historical interest in the brief fragmentary memoir of *Henry VI.* by the Carthusian John Blacman, now sumptuously edited by Dr. M. R. James (Cambridge University Press) is embodied in Professor Tout’s article in the Dictionary of National Biography. But the text, even in Hearne’s edition, was exceedingly scarce; and Dr. James has added to it a translation, notices and appendices, including a list of Blacman’s books, from the Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 154, and transcripts of prayers, English and Latin, to “sweyt kyng Henre.” One characteristic anecdote, not given in the Dictionary, indicates a reason for his failure as a king. He used to spend much time in reading, especially the Scriptures and chronicles (it is recorded as remarkable that he would rather the teachers in his two Colleges were weak in music than in knowledge of the Scriptures). Once while he was thus employed “a certain very powerful duke” knocked at the door. “They do so interrupt me,” he said, “that by day or night I can hardly snatch a moment to be refreshed by reading of any holy teaching.”

E. J. D.

MR. IFANO JONES’ *Sir Matthew Cradock and Some of His Contemporaries*, reprinted from the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for July, 1919, is a learned but somewhat disjointed collection of jottings for Welsh biography during the early Tudor period. Sir Matthew is known to history as the third husband of Lady Catherine Gordon, whose first was Perkin Warbeck; but Mr. Jones shows that he was also a “pirate,” took part in the naval war against France in 1513, and had various Welsh poems addressed to him by poets to whom Mr. Jones also pays some attention. He likewise distinguishes the various Morgans of Kidwelly, who have been confused with Sir Morgan Kidwelly, about whom he will find one or two additional

details in the *Calendar of Inquisitions, Henry VII.*, Vol. I. It would be well, however, not to cite the *Letters and Papers . . . of Henry VIII.* as a *Calendar of State Papers*.

HISTORICAL students will be glad to be reminded that the "Proceedings of the British Academy" are often issued in parts, and that Prof. Firth's essay on *Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World* can be procured from Mr. Humphrey Milford for two shillings. It is of value as a contribution alike to Raleigh's biography, and to our knowledge of his and other people's conceptions of history. "I venerate that villainous adventurer for his views on universal history," wrote Lord Acton; and Professor Firth holds that Raleigh preached the same historical doctrine as the stern moralist who termed him a villainous adventurer.

SIR FRANCIS PIGGOTT's *Freedom of the Seas Historically Considered*, published by the Oxford University Press (3s. 6d.) for the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, is a learned exposition of the growth of that ambiguous phrase, and particularly of the doctrine that "free ships make free goods," with especial reference to the Armed Neutrality of 1780 and other important episodes of the eighteenth century. The popular phrase is really a matter of exasperating technicality, which will continue to deter most people from attempting to understand the subject before they talk or even fight about it. Nevertheless, Sir Francis Piggott has done good service by illustrating the truth that international law, like D.O.R.A. and other laws, can only be understood in the light of their historical development.

APART from its interest as a footnote to—or perhaps rather a chapter in—national history, Mr. F. A. Bruton's *Story of Peterloo* (Longmans, 1s., reprinted from the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library") is a model contribution to the writing of local history. There are excellent plans and photographs, a careful examination and account of the original authorities, and a due setting of the *dramatis personæ* in perspective. Possibly local patriotism is a little too obvious in the claim that "the streets of Manchester . . . are thronged with the memories of nearly two thousand years." But Peterloo ranks with the Bristol Reform riots as a *locus classicus* of the conflict between militarist repression and popular claims to freedom of action; and Mr. Bruton's narrative and examination of conflicting evidence of what took place at Peterloo on August 16, 1819, are no slight help towards understanding and judging a similar disturbance which took place a hundred years later on a distant Indian scene.

SIR CHARLES WADE's *Australia* (Clarendon Press, 4s.) is an authoritative, judicial, critical and yet hopeful survey of the problems and prospects of the Commonwealth by a former Premier and subsequent Agent-General for New South Wales. It is based on a short course of lectures given at University College, and deals with the climate and resources, industrial and social problems, State undertakings and finance, the Constitution, land settlement, Imperial migration, and the future. The essential condition of "closer union" is, as Sir Charles points out, that "we must first learn to

know each other''; and his little volume is an admirable aid to our knowledge of Australia.

MR. J. TRAVIS MILLS' *Great Britain and the United States* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2s. 6d.) is a brief, sound, and lucid sketch of the history of the relations between the two countries which can be confidently recommended to teachers seeking to instruct their classes in this most necessary branch of political knowledge.

MR. J. M. KEYNES' *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (Macmillans, 1920, 8s. 6d.) is rather a mixture of economics and politics than a historical work, and it has had a greater political effect than ever fell to the lot of a history, with the possible exception of Thiers' contribution to the growth of the Napoleonic legend and Treitschke's to the making of an exploded Germany. A closer comparison would be with Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*, but that again was something more—and less—than a history. Seldom, indeed, has a treatise on history or economics attained a sale of over 25,000 copies within six months of its publication and a circulation in every civilised country of the world; and Mr. Keynes is to be congratulated on the commercial success of a courage which has since become commonplace and of an initiative in criticising the Conference and Treaty of Peace which in the natural course of reaction acquired a popular vogue. The Big Four have few friends to-day, and three of them have been deposed from the seats of the mighty in which they sat while Mr. Keynes delineated their hidden failings. We suspect that the popularity of his book is due less to his sombre picture of the economic condition of Europe in 1919 or serious discussion of remedial measures than to the agreeably acid and pointedly intimate portraits he has etched of the "old Presbyterian," so successfully bamboozled by the Welsh wizard that he could not be "de-bamboozled" even when his mesmerist wished to deceive him; of Clémenceau, who alone of the four understood both the languages used at the Conference and alone had a clear perception of what he wanted and how to attain his undesirable ends; of Orlando, whom Mr. Keynes with severe self-restraint refrains from comparing with Ariosto's hero; and of Mr. Lloyd George, whose "essential weakness" is that he "draws his chief inspiration not from his own true impulses, but from the grosser effluxions of the atmosphere which momentarily surrounds him." Mr. Keynes is, however, no mere caricaturist. He has the *sæva indignatio* of a prophet who went to Versailles as an official economist in the hope of restoring peace and sowing the seeds of prosperity, and then was forced to shake off the dust of his feet and depart from a house that would not hear him. These are the makings of anything but a historian; but Mr. Keynes' book represents materials which the historian will have to take into account. If he is not a judge, he is an indispensable witness; and while Europe has not fulfilled his gloomy vaticination, it is already clear that the actual extortion from Germany will be nearer the figure Mr. Keynes recommended than that which the disease of victory demanded. His book is eminently readable, but our economists are in some danger of becoming men of letters.

A. F. P.

THE *Annual Register* for 1919 (Longmans, 30s.) provides, as it has done annually for a century and a half, the best and most com-

venient summary of the political history of the year. The first part comprises a detailed survey of domestic politics, and then a more general account of foreign and colonial history. Part II. contains a "chronicle of events," a "retrospect of literature, science, and art," "finance and commerce," a collection of public documents, and "an obituary of eminent persons." Primarily the *Register* is political, and there is little fault to be found with its execution in this respect. The "chronicle," too, is useful, and might even be expanded; but "diary" would be a better name, for "chronicle" applies better to the narratives in Part I. The surveys of science, art, finance, and commerce are signed articles by recognised authorities, but the article on literature is anonymous, and is too miscellaneous in its character to be altogether satisfactory. It contains, for instance, a criticism of *Modern Science and Materialism*, a work by Mr. Hugh Elliot, who a few pages later reviews the science of the year, and every kind of book is included under "literature" simply because it is a book. But the whole field is surveyed in 22 pages; the selection, therefore, is arbitrary, and the reviews a little out of keeping. There seems no reason why an *Annual Register* should include such disputable irrelevancies as a reviewer's opinion that "the true origin of the [French] Revolution is a medico-psychological problem," and historical students will not derive much instruction from a section which, apart from war-books, only notices Mrs. Webster's *French Revolution* and the third volume of Sir A. W. Ward's *Germany*. A bibliography would be more useful; or, if such matters are better left to other agencies, space might be found by the omission of this section for the expansion of others which give the *Register* its real value, and have made it one of the indispensable sources for a library of modern history.

The League of Nations Official Journal, Nos. 3 and 4 (Harrison and Sons, ls.), contain the *procès-verbal* of the fourth and fifth sessions of the Council of the League at Paris and Rome, a report of a conference on international health, an unsuccessful proposal to send a commission of investigation to Russia, and the first and second reports of the Saar Basin governing commission. These last are the most interesting as illustrating the actual and successful administration of a district by an organ of the League of Nations, which had not merely to deal with the German population, but to assert its independence of particular national governments. The future of the League depends mainly upon its success in such practical experiments, and its friends can do nothing better than interest themselves in the progress recorded in this official journal. A special supplement, issued in August, deals with the Aaland Islands question.

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HISTORY

JANUARY, 1921

GUIZOT AND THE *ENTENTE CORDIALE*

It is but a few months since, in April, 1920, the *Quarterly Review* published an article to which I gave the title "Metternich and the *Entente Cordiale*." I shall therefore refrain from recapitulating, even in the fewest words, my account of the state of relations between the various Courts, and particularly those of the Tuileries, St. James's, and Vienna, in the spring of 1844; and shall confine myself to the remark that, since the publication of my article I have had to admit that, to my great regret, I was then only able to make an incomplete contribution to the history of these important negotiations.

I am now, however, thanks to the kindness of Madame de Witt-Schlumberger, in a position to fill up this gap; and, refraining from all comment, I am happy to offer the readers of HISTORY the capital document, in my opinion, of this correspondence; for it provoked this interesting exchange of views between the two great statesmen who then controlled the policy of France and of Austria. It is this hitherto unpublished letter from Guizot to the Comte de Flahaut which Madame de Witt-Schlumberger has had the great goodness to extract for me from the copious archives of the Val Richer.

COMMANDANT WEIL.

I.

GUIZOT AU COMTE DE FLAHAUT, AMBASSADEUR À VIENNE.

Paris, 16 Mars 1844.

MON CHER COMTE,

Vous avez raison. Je suis bien en retard avec vous. Outre le défaut de loisir, voici un motif spécial et le plus vrai de mon long silence. La situation a été quelque temps un peu incertaine. Il ne me plaisait pas de vous en écrire et, par vous, au Prince de Metternich, tant que je n'avais que des choses douteuses à vous en dire. Avec un homme comme lui, je ne puis souffrir de parler vaguement et incomplètement. J'ai mieux aimé attendre que la question fût résolue. Elle l'est aujourd'hui.

Dès le début de la session, il a été clair que l'opposition se réorganisait et ferait sérieusement la guerre. Que le centre gauche le voulût ou non, la gauche était décidée à entrer en campagne. La coterie américaine, la monnaie de M. de La Fayette, MM. de Tocqueville, Beaumont, Corcelles, etc., ont remis dans les veines de la gauche un peu de sang, non pas nouveau, mais plus jeune, qui ne veut pas de la somnolence, à laquelle peut-être M. Barrot se résignerait. Le centre gauche de son côté, Thiers en tête, impatienté que la conduite réservée, qu'il tenait depuis la loi de Régence¹, ne l'eût pas encore mené au pouvoir, avait envie d'en tenir une autre et de s'éloigner de nouveau du centre pour se reporter vers la gauche. Duvergier de Hauranne, avec l'activité bilieuse que vous lui connaissez, s'est emparé de ces dispositions ; il est allé, venu, retourné de la gauche au centre gauche, du centre gauche à la gauche ; il a mis en mouvement les journaux, les pourparlers, les réunions ; et, sous l'impulsion de sa fatigante et infatigable volonté, toutes les nuances de l'opposition se sont ralliées et ranimées pour attaquer en masse et à fond le Cabinet.

Divers incidents leur ont été favorables :—

1°— La prétention de Dupin à la Présidence. Il n'a pas ouvertement passé à l'opposition, mais il est resté mécontent et cherchant à être malfaisant.

2°— Belgrave Square et le mot *fétrit*.² C'est le grossier esprit d'un homme de gauche qui l'a inventé ; une fois inventé, nous n'avons pas pu ne pas le soutenir, car son abandon eût été pour les légitimistes une victoire ; mais son adoption les a rejetés tous, pour quelque temps, dans l'opposition.

3°— La démission de Salvandy³ et son motif, petit et court embarras dont on a espéré un moment tirer quelque parti.

¹ La loi de Régence avait été présentée à la Chambre à la séance du 9 Avril 1842. Ce fut seulement après le remarquable rapport fait par le duc de Broglie, le 27 Août, que la Chambre des Pairs vota, le 29, le projet qui, après de longs débats assez orageux, avait été sanctionné au Palais Bourbon.

² Le voyage d'Eu (la visite que la reine Victoria vint faire à Louis-Philippe au commencement de Septembre 1843) ne satisfit sans doute que médiocrement le Cabinet britannique. S'il eût obtenu du Ministère français ce qu'il voulait, il n'eût certainement pas toléré la manifestation légitimiste que le duc de Bordeaux provoqua un mois après (Novembre) sous le nom désormais historique de comte de Chambord, en se rendant à Londres où, à grand bruit, les chefs de ses partisans vinrent le saluer roi. Louis-Philippe se montra peut-être plus irrité qu'il ne convenait, du pèlerinage de *Belgrave Square*. L'incorrection diplomatique du Gouvernement anglais lui fut profondément sensible. Il n'était pas homme à y répondre par une rupture violente. Mais tout en continuant à ménager prudemment la Cour de Londres, il sembla, pendant quelque temps, vouloir soutenir ses intérêts vis à vis d'elle avec un peu plus de fermeté que par le passé. (DEBIDOUR, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe*. I, 409.)

"La commission de l'adresse, au Palais Bourbon, eut la main plus lourde que la commission de la Chambre des Pairs. Elle proposa la phrase suivante : *La conscience publique fêtrit de coupables manifestations*. Commencée le 28 Janvier 1844, la délibération ne se termina qu'après une chaude bataille par le rejet, par 220 voix contre 190, d'un amendement proposé par la gauche qui substituait le mot : *réprouve*, au mot : *fétrit*." (THUREAU-DANGIN, *Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet*. Tome V, pp. 234-235.)

³ "Le rôle de M. de Salvandy, alors Vice-Président de la Chambre et Ambassadeur à Turin, avait causé une grande irritation aux Tuileries, quand il y accompagna, en sa qualité de Vice-Président, la députation chargée de porter l'adresse. Le Roi, qui ne savait pas toujours se contenir, ne répondit

4°— Enfin, et par dessus tout, Taïti, tuile aussi grosse qu'inattendue.¹

L'opposition a exploité tout cela avec ardeur, s'en promettant quelques chances. Le parti conservateur en a été quelques semaines un peu inquiet et ébranlé.

Tout cela est passé. La querelle est vidée, de l'aveu de tout le monde. Elle a été vidée contre toutes les nuances de l'opposition réunies sous le drapeau de la gauche. Le parti conservateur est vainqueur et content, plus sûr que jamais de sa force propre et plus attaché que jamais à la politique du Cabinet.

La situation est donc nette et forte. Mais elle sera très militante. L'opposition qui n'a plus d'espoir, est piquée de sa défaite. Elle nous harcèlera incessamment. Nous serons souvent sur le champ de bataille et toujours sur le qui-vive.

Ne vous étonnez donc pas si ma correspondance est encore un peu rare et courte. Le dedans m'absorbe encore beaucoup. J'ai pourtant grande envie que le dehors marche bien et me donne de la force au lieu

pas à son salut et l'entraînant dans un salon voisin, lui exprima vivement son mécontentement. Les éclats de sa voix arrivaient jusqu'aux députés qui, tout interloqués de cette scène, attendaient qu'on leur rendit leur Vice-Président. L'incident fit du bruit dans le monde parlementaire. M. de Salvandy donna sa démission d'Ambassadeur et le Comité directeur de l'Opposition, ne reculant pas devant le scandale d'une mise en cause du Roi, le cherchant au contraire, décida de porter l'incident à la Tribune. M. Thiers offrit de s'en charger lui-même à la grande surprise, mais à la grande joie de ses alliés." (THUREAU-DANGIN, *Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet*. Tome V, pp. 245-246.)

La disgrâce de M. de Salvandy ne fut pas de longue durée. L'année suivante, Louis-Philippe lui confia le portefeuille de l'Instruction Publique.

¹ "Grâce à l'ascendant que Pritchard (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, xlii, 406-7), à la fois missionnaire et consul britannique, avait pris sur la reine Pomaré, il l'avait amenée à méconnaître le Traité qu'elle avait conclu, en Septembre 1842, avec l'amiral Dupetit-Thouars et qui avait établi à Taïti le protectorat français. L'amiral, à son entrée à Taïti, avait en conséquence déposé la reine Pomaré et déclaré possession française tout l'archipel de la Société (Novembre 1843). Le Gouvernement de Juillet, préoccupé d'éviter un conflit avec l'Angleterre, avait, il est vrai, désavoué cette mesure dès le mois de Février 1844. Mais, à Taïti les autorités françaises, ignorant ce désaveu, s'étaient emparées du gouvernement et comme une révolte fomentée par Pritchard avait éclaté parmi les indigènes, le commandant de Papéete s'était décidé à faire arrêter ce personnage qui, ayant renoncé à son titre de consul, n'était plus couvert par l'immunité diplomatique et qui fut expulsé de l'île au commencement de Mars. La nouvelle de ces menus événements arriva en Angleterre vers la fin de Juillet, presque en même temps que Pritchard lui-même. Le patriotisme britannique fut à ce moment chauffé à blanc. Le Révérend fut accueilli comme un martyr et l'exaspération du peuple britannique contre la France et son Gouvernement fut bientôt portée au paroxysme. Sir Robert Peel ne craignit pas de dire en pleine Chambre des Communes que l'Angleterre avait été grossièrement insultée et qu'une réparation lui était due. Il va sans dire qu'en France le public ne restait pas froid devant ces provocations et ces menaces. . . . Bref, vers la fin d'Août, il semblait que l'Entente cordiale fût sur le point d'aboutir à une véritable déclaration de guerre. Louis-Philippe était plus que jamais partisan de la paix. Il n'était pas disposé à la compromettre pour ce qu'il appelait les tristes bêtises de Taïti. On lui a reproché, non sans quelque raison, l'empressement avec lequel il céda en cette circonstance aux injonctions de l'Angleterre." (DEBIDOUR, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe*. I, 413-414.)

de me créer des embarras. C'est dire que j'ai besoin de compter sur l'adhésion et le concours du prince de Metternich. Je me permets d'ajouter que j'y ai droit.

Il ne tiendrait qu'à moi de croire que le prince de Metternich a contre nous de l'humeur à cause :—

1°— De notre intimité avec l'Angleterre.

2°— De la reconnaissance de la reine d'Espagne par le roi de Naples et du mariage qui peut s'en suivre.¹ Cela me revient de bien des côtés. Les ennemis de la politique conservatrice l'espèrent un peu et le disent beaucoup. Je suis bien décidé à n'en rien croire. Le prince de Metternich a l'esprit trop ferme et trop profond pour s'arrêter à une vue si superficielle des choses.

Bien que le rétablissement de la bonne intelligence, de l'*entente cordiale*, de l'intimité, si l'on veut, entre Paris et Londres ne puisse lui causer aucun déplaisir, je dis, et je dis sans hésiter, qu'il doit s'en applaudir et la maintenir de tout son pouvoir.

Il n'y a aujourd'hui entre les grands Etats point de rivalité réelle, point de sérieux conflit d'intérêts, point de vraie lutte d'influences. Aucun de ces Etats ne songe à s'agrandir aux dépens des autres. Aucun ne convoite à aucun autre sa place et son poids dans l'ordre Européen. Toute politique fondée sur la jalousie et la lutte d'influences est petite, vieille et fausse.

Aussi est-ce une satisfaction bien peu intelligible que celle qu'ont laissé entrevoir Apponyi à Paris et Neumann à Londres² à l'occasion de l'affaire de Taïti et des chances de conflit qui pouvaient en résulter entre nous et l'Angleterre.

Il n'y a qu'une affaire en Europe, et la même pour tout le monde, la répression de l'esprit anarchique et le maintien de la paix dans ce dessein.

La paix est bien autre chose que la prospérité des peuples, c'est la sûreté de l'ordre social.

Deux sortes de gouvernements sont maintenant en présence de l'esprit anarchique et aux prises avec lui : la monarchie pure et la monarchie constitutionnelle.

Je ne pèse point le mérite de ces deux formes de gouvernement ; je ne les compare point. Ce sont deux faits, puissants tous deux, qui ont l'un et l'autre de puissantes raisons d'être et qui se doivent mutuellement du respect.

¹ Voir à ce sujet le paragraphe de la réponse de Metternich relatif à l'Espagne dans *Metternich et l'Entente cordiale*.

² "La nomination du baron Neumann comme Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Autriche à Londres n'a point étonné, puisque cet ancien diplomate est frère du Prince de Metternich et en est spécialement protégé. Mais cela démontre de plus en plus l'inconvénient du manque de Souverain et de ce que le Ministre décide en dernier ressort et sans appel. Comme le père putatif du baron Neumann était valet du Prince de Metternich père, le feu Empereur avait toujours refusé de l'élever au rang de Ministre en disant que jamais il ne se ferait représenter par le fils d'un valet de chambre. A présent que personne ne peut plus s'y opposer, le Prince Chancelier a fait ce qu'il a voulu. . . ." (*Comte Mario degli Alberti. Carteggio Sambuy. Confidentielle. LXXVII. Vienne, 2 Avril 1842.*) Neumann n'était pas un inconnu pour Guizot. Il l'avait déjà rencontré à Londres en 1840. Le baron de Neumann, lit-on dans ses *Mémoires* V. p. 57, était "un serviteur confidentiel du prince de Metternich, intelligent, prudent, discret avec solennité, évitant surtout de compromettre sa Cour et lui-même et portant, je crois, autant de goût à mon cuisinier qu'à ma conversation."

Tous deux ont le même besoin de la défaite de l'esprit anarchique et du triomphe de l'esprit conservateur. Tous deux, sous des formes et avec des armes différentes, combattent au fond pour la même cause.

Je ne croirai donc jamais qu'un esprit comme celui de M. de Metternich se prête un moment à l'idée de la séparation des grands Etats européens en deux camps, celui des monarchies pures et celui des monarchies constitutionnelles ; il n'y a que les révolutionnaires qui désirent cette séparation ; dans les monarchies pures, il n'y a que les fanatiques et les sots.

Je ne suis donc point de ceux qui disent en ce moment : " La Russie, l'Autriche et la Prusse resserrent leurs liens, parce que la France et l'Angleterre ont resserré les leurs. On veut opposer *entente cordiale* à *entente cordiale*. C'est là le dessous du voyage du comte Orloff à Vienne¹ et du voyage annoncé de l'Empereur Nicolas. Tœplitz ou Vienne sera une seconde édition de Münchengrätz." ²

Je suis convaincu que le prince de Metternich n'entrera jamais réelle-

¹ Orloff (Alexis, comte) (1781-1861), commença sa carrière dans l'armée russe. Après avoir pris part à toutes les campagnes contre Napoléon et contribué à réprimer l'insurrection militaire de 1825, il entra, en 1828, dans la diplomatie, conclut, en 1833, le Traité d'Unkiar-Skélessi qui assurait à la Russie seule le libre passage des Dardanelles. Ambassadeur à Constantinople après la signature de la paix, ami et confident de Nicolas I qui le combla d'honneurs et de distinctions et qu'il accompagna dans tous ses voyages, il représenta la Russie en 1856 au Congrès de Paris.

" L'arrivée imprévue du comte Orloff," mandait, le 20 Février 1844, le comte Sambuy au comte Solaro della Margarita (*Comte Mario degli Alberti. Carteggio Sambuy. No. 1777. T. III, 310-312*) " est naturellement le sujet de toutes les conversations politiques. . . C'est un trop grand personnage en Russie, il est trop avant dans la confiance de l'Empereur Nicolas et trop haut placé pour être chargé d'une mission qui ne soit pas des plus importantes. On assure en outre qu'il ne s'expose pas à entamer une négociation dont le résultat puisse être douteux et que son intervention doit nécessairement annoncer l'issue favorable de l'affaire qu'il est chargé de conclure. . . Les pensées se portent donc sur un projet de mariage entre l'Archiduc Etienne et la Grande Duchesse Olga comme but principal de la venue du comte Orloff ; cela fait rechercher toutes les circonstances qui peuvent se rattacher à ce projet."

Dans toutes les dépêches que Sambuy adresse à sa Cour à ce moment (et pendant quelque temps elles sont presque quotidiennes) le Ministre de Sardaigne s'étend longuement sur la présence du comte Orloff à Vienne, sur l'impopularité que rencontre dans toutes les classes ce projet de mariage. Aussi Sambuy cherche-t-il à découvrir le véritable but du voyage du comte Orloff et en vient-il, le 23 Février (*ibid.*, p. 314), à la conclusion suivante : " Un seul motif présente quelques caractères de vraisemblance. C'est que l'Empereur Nicolas, blessé de la manière dont la reine d'Angleterre s'est exprimée dans son discours d'ouverture du Parlement, en montrant une préférence marquée pour l'alliance de la France, voudrait conserver la sienne avec l'Autriche pour faire contre-poids à celle des deux grandes Puissances constitutionnelles occidentales et que ce serait l'un des sujets des négociations de son aide de camp. . . ."

Le 25 Mars, le comte Orloff reprenait le chemin de Saint-Petersbourg sans avoir pu vaincre la résistance de la Cour de Vienne à ce projet de mariage.

² Ce ne fut pas à Vienne mais à Londres que Nicolas se rendit. Le 31 Mai, il arrivait à Londres. Blessé dans son amour-propre par l'insuccès de ses tentatives de mariage et de rapprochement avec l'Autriche, en venant rendre visite à la reine Victoria, en affectant d'oublier le mécontentement que lui avait causé son Message au Parlement, il cherchait maintenant, ne pouvant plus compter sur l'Autriche, à jeter les bases d'une entente entre Londres et Pétersbourg pour le règlement de la question d'Orient.

ment dans une si pauvre et si fausse politique. Mais je le prie de considérer deux choses :—

L'une, que tous les chefs d'Etat n'ont pas le jugement aussi libre, aussi fixe, aussi serein que lui, et que des esprits passionnés ou légers peuvent, sinon s'engager bien avant dans cette voie, du moins se donner le plaisir de paraître y entrer.

L'autre, qu'en ce genre, les apparences seules sont mauvaises. Une grande partie du public européen s'y trompe et il peut en résulter des troubles dans les relations et de l'embarras dans les affaires.

Je conjure donc le prince de Metternich de ne pas laisser s'établir même les apparences d'une politique qui ne peut pas être la sienne. Je ferai ici un acte de grande fatuité. J'ai trouvé quelquefois que M. de Metternich n'allait pas assez complètement, assez hardiment jusqu'au bout de sa propre raison et de sa propre volonté, qu'il n'avait pas en lui-même, dans sa pensée et dans sa force, une assez entière et active confiance. Sa gloire est d'avoir eu une idée fixe, la répression de l'esprit anarchique, et d'avoir eu cette idée sans aveuglement ni fanatisme, c'est-à-dire d'avoir su reconnaître à quelles conditions, par quels moyens, dans quelle mesure, selon les lieux et le temps, le succès pouvait être obtenu. Je le conjure d'être tout lui-même et d'agir personnellement, selon ce qu'il pense réellement.

Après de l'intérêt supérieur et général qui nous est commun, l'intérêt de la politique conservatrice en Europe, que signifient des diversités de situation et d'opinion qui peuvent exister entre nous sur telle ou telle question spéciale, même grande : l'Espagne, l'Italie, la Grèce ?

En Espagne, M. de Metternich croit le parti carliste plus fort que nous ne le pensons et en fait, plus que nous, le pivot de sa politique : mais il ne veut pas plus fermement que nous la fin de l'état révolutionnaire et le rétablissement d'un pouvoir un peu régulier et monarchique. Et nous pouvons, je crois, plus que personne y contribuer.

En Italie, sur le terrain de Naples, nous avons, lui et nous, différé naguère de vue et d'intérêt. J'ai beaucoup à dire à ce sujet. Je vous en écrirai spécialement un de ces jours. Il est impossible que certaines diversités naturelles de situation et de politique ne se retrouvent pas, sur certains points et de temps en temps, entre les Etats liés par l'entente générale la plus réelle et la plus sincère. Est-ce à dire que l'entente générale en doive être troublée et qu'elle ne comporte pas une certaine mesure de liberté ? M. de Metternich n'est pas plus opposé que nous à toute tentative révolutionnaire en Italie, et les faits le lui prouveront.¹ C'est encore un point sur lequel j'ai des détails à donner. Je regrette de ne pas l'avoir encore fait. Je ne tarderai pas. J'ai fait ici ce qu'il y avait à faire. C'était le plus pressé.

Quant à la Grèce, au fond nous ne différons guère et, à tout prendre, le prince de Metternich nous a secondés plutôt que contrariés à Athènes depuis six mois.² J'ai pourtant sur ces événements là et leur avenir bien des choses à lui dire et à lui demander. J'ai grand besoin de connaître

¹ Voir, dans la dépêche de Metternich à Guizot, les deux paragraphes relatifs à l'Italie dans "Metternich et l'Entente Cordiale."

² La Grèce, qui avait un roi depuis 1833, n'avait pas encore de constitution. Othon de Bavière, qui la gouvernait fort mal, lui refusait la liberté parlementaire qu'elle réclamait à grands cris. La révolution, à la fois populaire et militaire, du 15 Septembre 1843, l'obligea de capituler devant ses sujets. Cet événement, que l'Angleterre avait quelque peu provoqué, que la France n'avait pas souhaité,

à cet égard toute sa pensée. Quel dommage que le château d'Eu ne soit pas aussi près de Vienne que de Brighton !

Voilà une bien longue lettre, mon cher comte, et j'ai à peine commencé ; et je vous quitte l'esprit plein de tout ce que je voudrais encore vous dire ; je vous reviendrai la semaine prochaine. J'ai lundi le débat sur les fonds secrets. On dit que ce ne sera pas grand'chose. Le bout en train de l'opposition, Duvergier de Hauranne, part après ce débat pour aller se promener à Constantinople et à Athènes.

Adieu, mon cher comte, mille amitiés.

II.

It is no less fortunate for us that Madame de Witt-Schlumberger, anxious to contribute as much as possible to the elucidation of this interesting point in the history of the *Entente Cordiale*, has not been content with the communication of the above despatch. Filling up the measure of her kindness and generosity, she has determined that nothing should be lacking in the communication which she has had the goodness to make. Besides placing at my disposal Guizot's letter, she has been at pains to enable me to complete my documentation by adding to her remittance two of Flahaut's despatches which are of real importance. The second is nothing less than the preface and *résumé* of Metternich's despatch which Count Apponyi was told to let Guizot read.¹

que la Russie avait réprouvé, sembla d'abord devoir assurer la prépondérance en Grèce au Gouvernement britannique. De fait, quand la Constitution eut enfin été mise en vigueur (Mars 1844), c'est à un partisan résolu de la Cour de Londres, Mavrocordato, que fut confiée la direction des affaires. Mais ce Ministre fut, dès son avènement, contrecarré, réduit à l'impuissance par le parti français dont le chef, Coletti, qui arrivait de Paris et qui jouissait en Grèce, depuis la guerre de l'Indépendance, d'une immense popularité, était en outre secondé par le représentant de Louis-Philippe, Piscatory, personnage très actif et fort bien vu des Hellènes. Au bout de quelques mois, il fut amené à résigner le pouvoir et son rival fut appelé au Ministère (Août 1844) où, malgré l'hostilité de l'Angleterre, il devait se maintenir jusqu'à sa mort (Septembre 1847). (DEBIDOUR, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe*. I, 410-411.)

¹ L'impression qu'avait produite sur l'esprit de Metternich la lettre de celui qu'il tenait pour "le meilleur ministre que la révolution de Juillet ait amené au timon des affaires" (METTERNICH, *Mémoires*, vii, 27, 29, Metternich au comte Apponyi, Trieste, 29 Aout, 1844) avait été, on ne saurait en douter, des plus vives et des plus profondes. Dès que Flahaut est sorti de chez lui, aussitôt après avoir féri un premier et rapide coup d'œil sur la dépêche dont l'Ambassadeur venait de lui donner communication, il prend la plume et ne peut s'empêcher de marquer à Apponyi bien plus qu'il ne le fera dans sa réponse du 19 Avril, le mécontentement, le dépit, et surtout les craintes que lui inspire cette fâcheuse "Entente Cordiale." "Le Cabinet français," lui mande-t-il le 25 Mars, "marche avec l'Angleterre parce que cela lui convient sous plus d'un rapport. Poussera-t-il cependant la courtoisie jusqu'aux derniers termes lesquels soient marqués par la guerre ou le retrait moral. J'ai de la peine à le croire." Il est si inquiet, si impatient que ne voulant pas attendre la conversation à laquelle donnera lieu la remise de dépêche du 19 Avril, il ajouta ces mots bien caractéristiques de son état d'esprit : "Veuillez vous expliquer envers M. Guizot avec franchise et sous les dehors d'un grand calme" (METTERNICH, *Mémoires*, vii, 25).

COMTE DE FLAHAUT À GUIZOT.

Particulière.

Vienne, le 2 Avril 1844.

MON CHER MONSIEUR,

Je profite de l'occasion qui se présente pour vous faire parvenir la nouvelle arrivée de Constantinople et pour vous remercier de votre lettre particulière du 16 Mars. Elle m'a été extrêmement utile et j'en ai fait un grand usage dans mes conversations avec le prince de Metternich.

Je lui ai même lu des passages qui auraient trop perdu si, en passant par ma bouche, ils avaient subi la moindre altération.

Il en a été extrêmement frappé et il donne son assentiment à tout ce que vous dites de la politique générale des Grandes Puissances et de ce qu'il y aurait de fâcheux et même de dangereux dans la seule apparence d'une "association des Gouvernements absolus en regard de celles des Gouvernements constitutionnels." Aussi dit-il qu'il ne cesse de recommander l'entente, non entre tel et tel Cabinet, mais entre toutes les Grandes Puissances, puisqu'elle seule peut résoudre d'une manière pacifique et favorable toutes les questions en litige.

Du reste, il doit me donner, d'ici à quelques jours, un résumé de ces idées à ce sujet.

Il m'a chargé de vous faire ses remerciements pour le soin et l'activité déployés par le Gouvernement du Roi dans les mesures prises pour prévenir les tentatives des réfugiés italiens.

Ceci m'amène à vous parler de l'opinion que Monsieur de la Rosière¹ m'a dit lui avoir été exprimée en haut lieu, que le prince de Metternich, tout en manifestant des craintes pour la tranquillité de l'Italie, n'aurait pas été fâché qu'elle eût été troublée par des désordres assez grands pour donner à l'Autriche un prétexte d'intervention et un moyen de se venger ainsi de nos succès en Espagne et de la reconnaissance de la reine Isabelle par le roi de Naples.

Je prendrai la liberté de dire ici ce que je pense à ce sujet. D'abord, la vengeance n'est pas un sentiment qui ait prise sur le prince de Metternich et qui surtout entre pour la plus petite part dans les mobiles qui dirigent sa conduite. Son système est le maintien de la paix générale par tous les sacrifices possibles : la bonne intelligence avec tous les Grands Gouvernements et l'alliance intime avec ceux qui protègent plus particulièrement les intérêts conservateurs et sont les défenseurs du principe monarchique et, dans une mesure convenable, du principe de la légitimité. On comprend facilement alors qu'il ait été peiné de voir s'évanouir l'espoir qu'il avait eu un moment de vous faire adopter en Espagne le mariage du fils de D. Carlos avec la reine Isabelle, et encore plus de la combinaison matrimoniale qui donnait un prince Napolitain pour époux à cette Souveraine, combinaison qui à ses yeux avait pour premier effet de faire abandonner la ligue conservatrice par le Souverain le plus puissant de l'Italie pour lui faire reconnaître une Reine Constitutionnelle et (selon ses idées) illégitime.

¹ La Rosière (Thuriot de), 2^e Secrétaire à Berne (14 Juin 1831), mis en disponibilité (16 Mars 1833), envoyé en mission au Brésil (1^{er} Septembre, 1833), 2^e Secrétaire à Rio de Janeiro (15 Juillet 1834), à la Haye (4 Mars 1839), envoyé en mission en Espagne (Janvier-Février 1843), envoyé en mission à la Haye (Mars-Avril, 1843), à Turin (1^{er} Octobre 1843), 1^{er} Secrétaire à Rome (1^{er} Février 1844), Ministre Plénipotentiaire à Rio de Janeiro (1^{er} Juin 1846), à Mexico (1^{er} Novembre 1846), mis à la retraite (23 Octobre 1848).

Il n'est pas douteux que, de ces événements et du compte que le comte Apponyi lui a rendu de sa conversation avec Sa Majesté à son retour d'Eu, le prince de Metternich n'ait conservé un sentiment pénible.

Cela n'est pas douteux, mais qu'à cause de cela, et pour se venger, il désire que des soulèvements révolutionnaires lui donnent le droit d'intervenir en Italie, par la voie des armes, soyez certain qu'il n'en est rien.

Si vous me demandez ce qu'il ferait, dans le cas où une insurrection viendrait à éclater et où le drapeau républicain paraîtrait triompher, je n'hésite pas à vous le dire, il interviendrait : c'est pour lui, en Italie, une question de vie ou de mort et, je n'en doute pas, un parti pris.

Ce n'est pas qu'il me l'ait dit, car je me hâte toujours de déclarer la chose impossible, tant elle serait dangereuse ; mais je vous le répète, j'ai la conviction qu'elle se ferait, et le silence même du Prince à ce sujet en est la preuve. La discussion est inutile, lorsqu'on a pris son parti, mais je puis vous assurer qu'il en aurait le plus vif regret et je n'en veux d'autre preuve que l'extrême satisfaction que lui a causée le succès de vos mesures préventives.

Je vous ai mandé dans mes lettres chiffrées tout ce que j'ai pu apprendre de la mission du comte Orloff. J'ai essayé plusieurs fois dans mes entretiens avec le prince de Metternich de mettre la conversation sur ce sujet pour en tirer davantage, mais toujours inutilement.

Il y a trois ou quatre jours encore, je lui ait dit qu'il était singulier que le but de cette mission n'eût point transpiré. "Car enfin," mon cher Prince, ai-je ajouté, "vous m'avez bien dit ce qu'il n'était pas venu faire, mais je ne puis pas croire qu'au mois de Février, l'Empereur Nicolas l'ait envoyé à Vienne, voir quel temps il faisait. Or, que puis-je dire à M. Guizot ? Que le prince de Metternich m'a donnée l'assurance qu'il n'était pas venu traiter d'un mariage ; que, m'ayant donné cette assurance spontanément, de son plein gré, sans y avoir été provoqué par aucune question indiscreète qui lui aurait donné le droit de me répondre comme bon lui aurait semblé, je devais y ajouter la plus entière confiance ; qu'autrement, j'aurais pu me demander s'il ne se pouvait pas que l'Empereur de Russie eût vu avec déplaisir cette déclaration d'entente, exprimée réciproquement, l'une pour l'autre, par les couronnes de France et d'Angleterre, et eût désiré consulter confidentiellement le prince de Metternich sur un moyen de répondre à cette déclaration par quelque chose d'analogue, qui publierait l'entente existant entre les trois Puissances, sans considérer que cela aurait le fâcheux et dangereux effet de ranger les Gouvernements absolus d'un côté et les Gouvernements constitutionnels de l'autre, danger qui, sans doute, n'aurait pas échappé à un esprit aussi pénétrant et éclairé que celui du prince de Metternich."

Le Prince m'a répondu que j'avais pu voir combien il avait redouté à Constantinople les dangers d'une telle position ; que c'était ce qu'il avait craint le plus dans la démarche des représentants de la France et de l'Angleterre, à laquelle leurs collègues n'avaient pu se réunir ; que rien ne serait plus déplorable que la séparation des Grandes Puissances ; que tant que la bonne intelligence régnait entre elles, il n'y aurait pas d'affaire difficile ; que, du moment qu'elle serait interrompue, le moindre embarras pouvait devenir sérieux ; qu'il admettait, du reste, la possibilité et même la probabilité de mes suppositions ; mais que ce qui était probable n'était pas toujours vrai et que, dans le cas actuel, il en était ainsi ; que le comte Orloff avait senti et averti l'Empereur du retentissement qu'aurait son

arrivée à Vienne et de toutes les spéculations auxquelles elle donnerait lieu ; mais que l'Empereur était peu sensible à de telles considérations et se laissait peu arrêter par elles, lorsqu'il avait une idée en tête.

Là-dessus, il m'a parlé longuement de l'Empereur Nicolas et du comte Orloff, mais sans me dire rien de plus sur l'objet de la mission de ce dernier.

L'opinion générale ici est toujours qu'il s'agissait du mariage et qu'il est loin d'avoir réussi, du moins jusqu'à présent, car les gens qui connaissent bien le terrain ne doutent pas que, si l'Empereur Nicolas se montre courroucé et insiste, il ne réussisse.

En tous cas, je puis dire que jamais mariage n'a été plus attaqué, et par toutes les classes.

La santé de M. le comte de Marne est toujours dans le même état et il paraît, d'après une lettre de Monsieur de Montbel, que la patience avec laquelle il supporte d'affreuses douleurs, est réellement admirable. Le prince de Metternich m'a lu sa réponse à cette lettre ; il y exprime le dégoût que lui inspire l'alliance du *vieil esprit jacobin* avec le *néo-Royalisme* et il ajoute que les partis perdent toute considération, quand ils font alliance avec les principes contraires.

Agréez, mon cher Monsieur, l'expression de mon sincère attachement.

Signé : FLAHAUT.

Particulière.

Vienne, le 18 Avril 1844.

MON CHER MONSIEUR,

Je profite du départ d'un courrier autrichien pour vous écrire quelques mots.

Je vous ai mandé que j'avais lu au prince de Metternich des extraits de votre lettre particulière du 16 Mars, et qu'il en avait été si frappé qu'il m'avait exprimé le désir et l'intention d'y répondre. Il l'a fait, et m'a lu hier cette réponse que le courrier chargé de cette lettre porte au comte Apponyi avec ordre de vous la communiquer. Vous y verrez que le Prince partage entièrement votre manière de voir sur la politique générale de l'Europe et votre opinion qu'il n'y a plus aujourd'hui entre les Grands Etats de rivalité réelle, de sérieux conflits d'intérêts, de vraies luttes d'influence ; qu'il n'y a plus qu'une affaire en Europe et la même pour tout le monde : la répression de l'esprit anarchique et le maintien de la paix dans ce dessein. Il dit n'avoir pas travaillé à autre chose depuis 1814.

Il reconnaît que tous les Gouvernements ont le même besoin du triomphe de l'esprit conservateur et, s'il ne classe pas comme vous, du moins sous les mêmes dénominations, les Monarchies Européennes, s'il cherche à affaiblir les caractères qui les distinguent, vous devez y voir la preuve qu'il est loin d'être disposé à les ranger en camps séparés et opposés l'un à l'autre.

Il est du reste inutile que je m'étende sur le contenu d'une lettre qui vous sera communiquée, mais je crois que vous me saurez gré d'avoir mis, pour ainsi dire, vos deux esprits en communication directe l'un avec l'autre ; il ne peut en résulter que de grands avantages pour les affaires, lorsqu'elles sont dirigées par des hommes véritablement supérieurs. Une entrevue en ferait plus que toutes mes dépêches, mais Paris est trop loin de Vienne.

En attendant, je crois pouvoir vous assurer que vous êtes, sans aucune exception, le Ministre Européen dont les principes, les lumières, le jugement

et le courage inspirent le plus de confiance au prince de Metternich ; il exprime souvent cette opinion et, sous ce rapport, vous n'avez pas de rival en Angleterre.

Quoiqu'on n'en parle pas, je crois le voyage de l'Empereur Nicolas à Tœplitz parmi les choses probables, mais en tous cas il n'aurait lieu que vers le mois d'Aôut.¹

Un paragraphe d'un journal sur la santé de Mademoiselle votre fille m'a causé une vive inquiétude. Que Dieu vous épargne de nouvelles peines.

Adieu, mon cher Monsieur, croyez à ma sincère amitié.

FLAHAUT.

¹ Quelques jours auparavant le comte de Sambuy était revenu à deux reprises sur les bruits des projets matrimoniaux et du voyage de l'Empereur Nicolas. Dans la première de ces dépêches, celle du 7 Avril, il enregistre la singulière nouvelle qu'on rattache à l'arrivée d'un courrier de Saint-Petersbourg : l'Empereur Nicolas songerait, dans le cas où il faudrait renoncer à donner la Grande Duchesse Olga à l'Archiduc Etienne, à se rabattre sur le duc de Bordeaux.

Quarante-huit heures plus tard, il revient en ces termes sur ce sujet : " L'arrivée d'un courrier autrichien de Pétersbourg," écrit-il, " que je vous annonçais dans mon précédent rapport, venu deux jours après un Feldjäger russe, a augmenté la curiosité publique sur les négociations qui pourront avoir lieu en ce moment entre l'Autriche et la Russie, sans qu'on ait pu rien apprendre et on se perd en simples conjectures. On écrit de Pétersbourg qu'on y parlait beaucoup de projets de mariage pour la Grande Duchesse Olga, lorsque le comte Orloff est parti, mais qu'on n'en dit plus un mot depuis son retour. On ajoute que cette Princesse a prié ses parents de ne pas la conduire en Allemagne afin de ne pas avoir l'air de courir à la recherche d'un mari sans être sûre d'en trouver un. Ce qu'on donne comme positif c'est que l'Empereur Nicolas ne doit quitter sa capitale qu'après la mi-juillet. . . ." (*Comte Mario degli Alberti. Carteggio Sambuy. III, 349.*)

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SCHOOLS

I.—BERKHAMSTED.

IN a short paper such as this it is impossible to give any very comprehensive account of the teaching of history at Berkhamsted. The syllabus that is appended will give some indication of the ground we attempt to cover and the books in general use, and this article can only bring out the main lines on which we are working. Except in the lowest forms in the school, the teaching of this subject is in the hands of specialists who have taken honour degrees in history. With two exceptions, no form in the school has less than three periods a week allotted to it.

It will be seen from the syllabus that a good deal of attention is paid to foreign history. For the lower forms it is almost entirely biographical, but in the higher it is treated on much broader lines. The text-book in use in the Preparatory and Junior Schools, *Britain and her Neighbours* (Blackie), proves very useful for this purpose with younger boys. For all forms the atlas is constantly in use, and all boys, except the very youngest, have an historical atlas, the one in general use being Ramsay Muir's.

Throughout the school an attempt is made, by means of a date-strip or time-chart, to teach the boys to appreciate the passage of time and the historical sequence of events; while at the same time these charts are most useful for bringing English and foreign events into relation. Though the text-books in use have very useful printed charts, the boys are encouraged to construct their own.

The normal boy who starts at the age of eight in Preparatory I. will pass on through the other preparatory forms into Junior III., and on leaving the Junior School at thirteen will pass into Senior IV., so that the sequence of his instruction in history is not broken. In Preparatory I. no special period is studied. The text-book is a very simple one, consisting of stories mainly biographical. The composition done is oral, the boys being much interested in re-telling the stories they have read.

By the time boys reach the third form of the Junior School they will have been through the broad outlines of English history

and will have some knowledge of the leading figures of European history. From that point a definite period is allotted to each form, so that as boys pass up the school they will study in more detailed fashion each period. Until they reach the School Certificate stage they are free from the bogey of outside examinations, and this certainly gives the teachers a freer hand. Great care is taken to make them appreciate the essential similarity of human nature in all ages, and realise that each period is filled with people of real living vices and virtues, and that history is not only concerned with telling the story of a few leading figures. Fortunately, at Berkhamsted we are situated in a district that is full of historical associations. Not far away are King's Langley and St. Albans. We can without any fear of historical inaccuracy imagine Piers Gaveston occupying Berkhamsted Castle, and Edward II. in residence at King's Langley, a summer palace he much favoured; and we can see the sporting cavalcade of the idle pair passing over Berkhamsted Common, and picture how the Berkhamsted burgesses looked on and what they said when they dared. Or we can see the pathetic figure of the Black Prince vainly trying to mend his broken constitution in the quiet retirement of Berkhamsted. The only difficulty for those teaching the earlier periods is that there is so much material to use. From the day when William the Conqueror halted here on his way to London after the battle of Hastings (as all good Berkhamstedians must believe despite the conflicting claims of Little Berkhamsted) to receive the deputation of Saxon nobles who came to offer him the crown, Berkhamsted has been closely connected with many stirring events in English history. Thomas à Becket was lord of the manor, and Henry II. constantly kept his court here. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans, had this castle as his chief residence, while Geoffrey Chaucer held the appointment of clerk of the works at Berkhamsted Castle. Here John, King of France, spent part of his captivity, and here too was Henry VI. when the news of the second battle of St. Albans reached him. And so it goes on till we get to the last resident at our castle, Cicely, Duchess of York, mother of Edward IV. and Richard III., who died here.

Thus we have plenty of material for historical composition in the lower and middle forms of the imaginative type on some such lines as these: The setting out of Edmar (a thane of Harold, who held the manor of Berkhamsted) for the battle of Hastings; an account of the siege of Berkhamsted Castle by Louis, Prince of France, in 1216; "My Life as a Monk of St. Albans" (John of Berkhamsted was abbot in 1317); and the

adventures of "Henry of Berkhamstede" at Crécy (he was marshal to the Black Prince). The list could be extended indefinitely, and all are subjects with a local interest.

In the middle forms much keenness and added interest are aroused by getting the boys to do a little searching of authorities for themselves. For example, nothing so impresses upon them the wonderful extent of the travels of the Elizabethan seamen and their manifold adventures as setting each boy in the form to find out all he can about some one name among these sailors. They will consult the Dictionary of National Biography, Hakluyt, and so on. They each in turn will tell the rest of the form what his own particular hero did and where he went. The same idea can be worked in reference to the Great Civil War, or the sailors in the wars of 1793-1815.

In these forms and in the higher forms a good deal of use is made of source books, both Bell's series and Blackie's, for illustrative purposes. In the English scheme, as far as possible, the private reading of the boys is connected with the period of history they are studying, either by giving them good historical novels or some such books as Anson's *Voyage Round the World* or Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

For their history in the highest forms, on both the classical and the science sides, VI.A and VI.B work together, and in alternate years study European history of the nineteenth century and the industrial history of England, together with a course of political economy and political science.

To sum up, the general aim of our syllabus is to ensure that the normal boy completes his study of English history in a four years' course, and that in those four years he gets a general outline of the chief events of both English and European history.

C. M. COX.

C. H. GREENE.

SYLLABUS.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

Preparatory.

Year 1 (8 years old).—Highroads of History, part ii.

Year 2, Prep. II.—Britain and her Neighbours, Books iii. and iv.

Year 3, Prep. III.—Britain and her Neighbours, Books iv. and v.

Junior.

Year 4, III.B & A.—Britain and her Neighbours, Books v. & vi.

Year 5, IV.—Beginning to 1377. (C. L. Thomson, parts i. & ii.)

Senior.

Year 6. IV.A & B.—1307–1603. (Warner & Marten.)

Year 7. V.B Sci. & Cl.—1558–1763. (Warner & Marten.)

Year 8. V.A Sci. & Cl.—Marten : Groundwork of British History, 1714–1901 (Blackie). Edwards : Junior British History Notes, parts iii. and iv. (Rivington). Special Period, 1830–1866. Bell's Source Book.

Modern Side.

VI.B.—Modern History (First Year).

A. A sketch of European and English History to 1713. In English History, with special reference to the Constitution.

B. The Eighteenth Century.

1. The rivalry of England and France for Colonial Empire.

2. The rise of new Powers.

(a) Prussia : Frederick the Great ; Internal Reforms ; War of Austrian Succession ; Seven Years' War.

(b) Russia : Peter the Great ; Reforms ; Catherine.

3. Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria for partition of Poland. Its effects.

C. The French Revolution and its effects. The Congress of Vienna.

VI.A.—Modern History (Second Year).

The Nineteenth Century. Nationality and Democracy.

(i) The struggle for Constitutional Government.

(ii) The idea of Nationality.

(iii) The Eastern Question.

(iv) The ideas of Socialism and Communism. The International.

(v) The development of Science.

A. The Absolutist Reaction ; the Holy Alliance and the Revolutionary Movements.

B. The Second Empire and Napoleon III.

C. Union of Italy.

D. Union of Germany.

The Danish War ; Austrian War ; French War.

E. The Eastern Question. The Break-up of Turkey ; Rise of Egypt under Mehemet Ali and consequent history ; the Emergence of the Balkan States ; Crimean War ; Russo-Turkish War ; Italo-Turkish War ; Russo-Japanese War.

F. The Partition of Africa.

G. The Rise of Japan.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

(To be taken concurrently with English History.)

Year 2.—(a) A short account of Greece and Rome, centring round *short* biographies of Lycurgus, Solon, Darius, Miltiades, Leonidas, Pericles, Socrates, Alexander, Demosthenes, Romulus, Horatius, Regulus, Hannibal, Cato, Pompey, Cæsar, Constantine the Great.

(b) Foreign History where connected with English History. Short biographies of Mohammed, Saladin, Charles the Great, Hildebrand, Innocent III., Joan of Arc.

Year 3.—Short biographies of Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Isabella, Luther, Charles V., Ignatius Loyola, Francis I., Henry IV., Lorenzo de Medici, Michael Angelo, Galileo, William of Orange, Richelieu, Louis XIV., Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick the Great, Peter the Great, Mirabeau, Robespierre, Napoleon I., Catherine I., Napoleon III., Bismarck, Garibaldi, Lincoln.

Years 4 to 8.—Chief points, B.C. 55–A.D. 1815.

B.C. 55–A.D. 1272.

1 The fall of the Roman Empire and the founding of the German Kingdoms. Clovis and the Franks. Theodoric and the Ostrogoths. The Visigoths, Vandals, and Anglo-Saxons.

2. The work of Justinian, his code, his conquest, leading to exhaustion of empire. Hence the success of Lombards and Saracens.
3. The Lombards. The method of conquest leads to growth of Papal power. Gregory I. The break with the Eastern Church.
4. Mohammed and his work. Extent of Saracen conquests—checked by Leo the Isaurian and Charles Martel.
5. The Carolingians. Championship of Papacy. Charles the Great and his Empire. Offa, Egbert.
6. The breaking up of Empire. The Treaty of Verdun. Results.
7. The Danes. Danelagh. Danish pale in Ireland, Normandy, Russia. Hence Feudalism.
8. The Normans in Europe, England, Naples, and Sicily.
9. Empire and Papacy. Hildebrand and the Cluniac Reforms. His ideals. Conflict with the Emperor Henry IV. (Cf. Henry I. and Anselm.) The Hohenstaufen. Guelph and Ghibelline. (Notice connexion with Henry II. and Richard I.) Effects on Germany and Italy. The Lombard League. Innocent III. Innocent IV. and Sicily. The crown of Sicily offered to Edmund Plantagenet. The fall of the Hohenstaufen and the great Interregnum. Richard of Cornwall.
10. The Crusades. Causes. The Turks and the Empires they founded in China, India, Asia Minor. The Kingdom of Jerusalem. The fall of Edessa. Louis VII. and Conrad. Saladin. The battle of Tiberias. The fall of Jerusalem. Richard I. and Philip Augustus. Louis IX. Results of Crusades—political and social. Rise of Venice and the Hanseatic League.
11. The Monastic Orders—Cistercians, Carthusians, Friars.
12. The making of France. The great fiefs. The dominion of Henry II. (Plantagenet). Philip Augustus. Louis IX. Philip IV.

1272–1494.

N.B.—The Map of Europe in 1272, with explanation.

The Making of Strong Monarchies.

1. The Hundred Years' War.
Part i.—Philip IV.; his ambitions. Gascony, Flanders, Courtrai, Cassel. The alliance of France and Scotland. England and Flanders.
N.B.—The Van Artevelde. The succession question in Brittany. The Jacquérie.
Part ii.—Charles VI. and the Factions in France. The Burgundian Alliance. The Congress of Arras.
2. The recovery of France. Charles VII. and Louis XI. The great fiefs. Charles the Bold and his schemes. Granson, Morat, Nancy.
3. The consolidation of Spain. The Kingdoms. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. The conquest of Granada.
4. The rise of Switzerland. Morgarten, Sempach. Charles the Bold.
5. The Hanseatic League.
6. Italy. The City States.
7. Germany. The great Interregnum. (Richard of Cornwall.) Rudolph of Hapsburg and the rise of Austria. Disunion.
N.B.—Strong kingdoms formed in France, Spain, Austria, while Germany and Italy are disunited.

1494–1688.

The Map of Europe in 1494.

1. The coming of the Turks and conquest of Constantinople.
Results—(a) The closing of the trade routes, and hence the geographical discoveries and the fall of Venice;
(b) The Renaissance and the Reformation.
2. The Renaissance in Italy and Germany. Dante, Petrarch, Lorenzo de Medici, Michael Angelo, Gutenberg, Erasmus.
3. The Reformation. The Babylonish captivity. The great Schism. Huss, Luther, Calvin. The religious wars.
4. The rivalry of France and Spain. The Italian Expedition of Charles VIII., 1494. The Empire of Charles V.; how formed.

5. The religious wars in France. Catherine de Medici. The Guises. The massacre of Vassy. Coligny. The massacre of St. Bartholomew. Henry of Navarre. The political power of Huguenots. Richelieu.
6. Philip II. and the Netherlands. Alva. William the Silent. Siege of Leyden. The beggars. The fall of Spain.
7. Germany and the Thirty Years' War. Bohemia and Frederick, the Elector Palatine. Tilly, Christina of Denmark, and Wallenstein. Gustavus Adolphus. Lützen. Richelieu. Mazarin and the peace of Westphalia.
8. Louis XIV. The ascendancy of France. Colbert. The War of Devolution. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Dutch War. Nimwegen. The Reunions. Revocation of Edict of Nantes. The English Revolution.

1688-1815.

The Map of Europe in 1688.

France. Louis XIV. and the League of Augsburg. The Spanish succession. The Peace of Utrecht. Europe in 1713.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

Sen. V.B Cl.—Outlines of Greek History to 146 B.C.

Sen. V.A Cl.—Outlines of Greek History to 146 B.C.

Sen. VI. Cl.—Smaller Cambridge Greek History, 500-323 B.C.

Special Period, 431-404 B.C. Bury's History of Greece.

NOTES AND NEWS

It is not often in these days that an editorial connexion lasts for thirty-five years, and other considerations besides that notable fact dictate some comment on the retirement of Dr. R. L. Poole from the editorship of the *English Historical Review*. That review was the first periodical to be founded in the British Empire to promote historical scholarship, and its services can hardly be over-estimated. Its first number appeared almost simultaneously with the first volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*; it was followed by the *Scottish Historical Review*, the *American Historical Review*, and other periodicals which have owed not a little to its initiative and example. The progress in historical learning—if in these moments of shallow pessimism and short-sighted reaction we are allowed to speak of any progress at all—which has characterised the last generation has been due in no small measure to the *English Historical Review*, and in the making of that *Review* Dr. Poole has played the chief part. Others, indeed, took their share. Creighton was principal editor from 1885 until his election as Bishop of Peterborough in 1891, and S. R. Gardiner from then till his death in 1901. But Dr. Poole was assistant-editor from the beginning, joint-editor with Gardiner from 1895 to 1901, and sole editor from 1901 until last year he secured the assistance of Mr. G. N. Clark, then fellow of All Souls, and now fellow and tutor of Oriel; and upon Dr. Poole fell the main burden of developing that rigorous standard of scholarship which has distinguished the pages of the *English Historical Review*, and spread in a more or less diluted form into other spheres of historical activity. Few scholars can look back upon a more satisfactory monument of labour and learning and service.

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It is an easy descent from appreciating the *English Historical Review* to congratulating ourselves, and there may be something philistine in the announcement of financial success. But it is also of some moment to the cause of historical education that History should apparently have turned the corner of its material difficulties, and converted in 1919-20 a growing deficit in its finances, due to the colossal increase in the cost of paper and printing, into a balance on the right side. There is probably no precedent for a learned publication, started during the war without borrowed capital, and developed to the accompaniment of a rapid increase in the cost of production, achieving the position within five years of being able to make both ends meet, and that, too, without following the example of reducing the bulk of its contents. Members will find the details of that progress in the *Annual Report* of the Association.

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WE were able to announce in our last number that, owing mainly to the generosity of an anonymous donor, there was every prospect

of the School of Historical Research being established this session in the immediate proximity of the British Museum, the Royal Historical Society, and the Historical Association's headquarters. Further progress has been made through the acceptance of the Bloomsbury site by the University of London and the munificent offer of the anonymous donor to provide and present a "temporary" building for the School at a cost of some £15,000. That offer has been accepted by the Senate, the building is to be erected in Malet Street, between Torrington Square and Gower Street, and it is hoped that it will be completed in March and in full working order next autumn. Some very valuable gifts of historical materials and MSS. have already been assured for the School.

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IN pursuance of our remarks last October on local history we are glad to note that a Research Group has been formed at Exeter under the guidance of Professor Harte for the purpose of undertaking the collection of material for a comprehensive history of that city. Besides a chronological narrative there are to be monographs on the topography, ecclesiastical life, municipal history and constitution, education, the growth of commerce and industry, architecture, parliamentary history, bibliography and sources. The scheme has a much higher educational value than those compilations of local details about the war to which local patriotism has in some quarters been restricted; and it embodies, or at least suggests, a novel and invaluable means of training in co-operative historical effort. For, in spite of the manifest advantages of such works as the *Cambridge Mediæval and Modern Histories*, the *Political History of England*, and Methuen's series, those publications represent a very diluted form of co-operation. They are, indeed, merely the binding together or publication in a common form of the products of individual historians who sometimes do not even know one another and have nothing in common except their editorial direction. True co-operation involves a pooling of technique and scholarship which can only be achieved by working together during production. That is what is meant by the Seminar method, and Professor Harte and his colleagues have set a useful example of practical activity to the branches of the Historical Association.

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MEANWHILE their number grows apace and seven new branches have been formed since we commented on the growth of the Association in April. These are Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Lincoln, East London, North London, North and Central Lancashire, and West Surrey, while the Bedford branch has been revived. Some doubts have been expressed about the policy of separate branches for different parts of London; but the East London Branch has signally justified itself by enlisting some seventy new members of the Association and inducing three-quarters of them to subscribe to HISTORY.

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WITH regard to personal matters we have to note the retirement of Professor Egerton from the Beit Chair of Colonial History at Oxford, of which he was the first holder, and the appointment of Mr. Coupland to succeed him. Professor Egerton has been one of the most expert and regular reviewers in HISTORY, and we hope that he will long continue such. We have also to note the appoint-

ment of Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, a member of Council, to the newly-instituted Lectureship in Diplomatic History in London, and to lament the premature death of Mr. Murray L. R. Beaven. He was one of the most promising of our younger historians and had devoted himself to original research in the Anglo-Saxon period. A year ago he was appointed Professor of History at Nottingham University College, but ill-health prevented him from taking up his duties.

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THE following useful information has been supplied by various authorities in answer to inquiries about the custody of university theses, which the Council initiated in November.

Cambridge.—Copies of theses for which research degrees have been obtained are deposited in the University Library.

Durham.—Copies of all prize essays and theses written by students of that College are deposited in Armstrong College Library.

Leeds.—Ph.D. dissertations are to be kept in the University Library. Theses for other degrees have been handed back to the candidates.

Liverpool.—On receipt of the Association's inquiry the Senate of the University made, on 10 November, 1920, the following Standing Order: "A copy of any thesis or dissertation submitted by a candidate for an examination or degree in the University shall be retained by the University and deposited for safe custody in the University Library. Any copyright that may be vested in the candidate shall not be affected thereby. Access shall be given to the theses only with the consent of the author for a period of five years from the date of submission."

London.—Copies of all theses and publications accepted are deposited in the University Library.

Manchester.—No formal arrangements have hitherto been made. Lack of them has been found inconvenient. The University will soon be considering what can be done to keep and make accessible the theses for M.A. and higher degrees.

Oxford.—Dissertations for the degrees of B.Litt. and B.Sc. are handed back to the candidate.

Essays for University Prizes are kept by the Registrar for a year (often much longer) and, if not claimed by their authors, are destroyed.

D.Phil. dissertations must be published and a copy sent to the Bodleian.

The D.Litt. is given for published work only. One copy of each work must be deposited in the Bodleian.

Sheffield.—Theses are kept in the Registrar's Office; they may be consulted on the recommendation of the Head of the Department concerned.

Wales.—Theses are deposited for about three months only (July to October), after they have been accepted, in the National Library at Aberystwyth. Further action is under consideration.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—In a recent number of *HISTORY*, the titles of a number of historical theses were published. It was an excellent idea to show what students at the various universities were doing. It inevitably awakened curiosity—in me at any rate, and I wish to ask your advice about the proper means to satisfy that curiosity.

I prepared a thesis on a subject which I may designate as " x^2y ." A student at another university prepared a thesis on " y^2 ." I am now preparing a thesis on " $x^2y^2z^2$." Our work has overlapped—how much I do not know. Dealing in part with the same subject, we must, almost certainly, have differed in our treatment and have drawn on somewhat different sources. In any case I would very much like to see that other thesis.

Here, however, is my difficulty: I do not know to what extent a thesis remains "private property." I have never met the student and I do not feel I can ask for the loan of the thesis for a few days. I would not on any account seek to "pick another person's brains"—and yet if two students are engaged, or have been engaged, on the same work, and are in no sense competitors, it seems a pity if they may not see each other's efforts. I have reason to believe that the work in question (which I have called y^2) is *good*, and this fact increases my reluctance to ask for the privilege of reading the thesis.

Could you tell me whether the theses retained by the Universities are placed in the University libraries? or in the History Schools? If I—a stranger—called at the University, would the librarian be likely to permit me, or be *able* to permit me to read the thesis? Is there any lawful, honourable way in which I can see the thesis without raising in the author's mind a suspicion that I wish to annex "private work"?

I would be grateful for any suggestion.

Y.

[Our correspondent will find some information on the subject in "Notes and News."—Ed.]

SIR,—May I draw your attention to a small oversight in the review of J. C. Davies' *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*, by X, on p. 179 of the current *HISTORY*? The quotation which your reviewer gives as from Marsilius, *Positiva lex*, etc. appears in Maitland's Gierke, *Political Theories*, p. 176, n. 264, as from Aegidius Romanus Colonna, III. 2, 29. Perhaps I ought to have verified this before writing to you; but of course the doctrine implied is counter to the views of Marsilius of Padua, according to whom the "*Pars principans*" may interpret the laws approved by the "*legislator*" or sovereign community, and supply what they do not determine; but is bound by such laws, and should be "corrected" for serious breach of them. Marsilius, indeed, would not be good evidence for the dominant opinions of his day. He is too much of a radical innovator.

C. W. PREVITÉ ORTON.

REVIEWS

- The Outline of History.* By H. G. WELLS. xx+652 pp. 1920 Cassell. 21s.
An Introduction to World History. By E. H. SHORT. xiii+248 pp.
The Light of History. By K. W. SPIKES. viii+247 pp. (New Teaching Series). 1920. Hodder & Stoughton. 4s. 6d. each.

THESE books, and especially Mr. Wells' volume, are a sign of the times that should be welcome to teachers and students of history. We seem to have arrived at a time when it has become clear that social, ethical and philosophical speculations will have to take history into account. Herbert Spencer, when fifty years ago he exercised so great a fascination over the thought of his generation, brushed aside the historical record of man as a thing of no importance. Rome and Greece, France, England and Germany had nothing to teach him. What mattered was the principles of biological evolution. Karl Marx, too, and most of the leaders of the earlier Socialist movement either neglected history in the ordinary sense of the word entirely, or noticed only such points as illustrated their theories. Comte was alone in stressing the importance of the three thousand years of the recorded history of man. But we have changed all that. There is now a general appeal to history and each appellant is sure that he has secured the muse's verdict. Mr. Penty supports his doctrine of guild socialism on a wide survey of the centuries. Mr. Chesterton has written the history of England in the interest of his religious and political views. Mr. Bernard Shaw is reported to be about to deal with the history of man in dramatic form. And here in this monumental volume Mr. Wells has given us his views of creation and evolution, of prehistoric and of historic man.

The qualities that the world knows so well in Mr. Wells' other books are to be seen here. There is amazing agility of mind, vast industry, great clearness of arrangement, a glittering style, arresting and unconventional phrases, an imagination that works with great rapidity especially on the external details of life and on all social relationships and organisations. Mr. Wells' book will leave, I do not doubt, an enduring mark on the thoughts of men about their relations to the world of time. The arrangement of the book is masterly. The author has succeeded, by his careful table of contents, by original diagrams, but above all by the clearness of his narrative and the frequent repetition of the main points, in giving to his vast and apparently disjointed subject a real impression of unity. The chapters on prehistoric man are excellent. Doubtless some of the conclusions are open to challenge and there is wide scope for imagination and conjecture; but it may be doubted whether there exists an account of the subject that is so likely to be of use to the ordinary student of history. Remarkable, too, is the way in which Mr. Wells handles the early civilisations of the East; enforcing their time relationships

and setting the civilisation of Crete in logical connexion with them; showing that there is nothing miraculous in the astonishing discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans and his co-operators. Another excellent section is the treatment of the Mongols and their influence on the events of the early middle ages. There are passages throughout the book that will long cling to the memory; the vision of the cave man peering at us out of all the triumphs of the modern world comes like a refrain. The chapters on the origin and development of language and writing perhaps show Mr. Wells at his very best.

The character of the book seems to alter and its value to diminish when we come to the history of Europe in the ordinary sense of the word—the Europe of the last three thousand years. In his account of prehistoric man and of the Far East Mr. Wells seems to accept the results of scientific research, to express his own conclusions with diffidence, and to devote himself chiefly to the lucid and brilliant exposition of others. But when once the modern world is in sight he attacks the generally accepted views of men and movements with the disdain and fury of a berserker. He has clearly a very poor opinion of the work of historians. The facts are there for anyone, he seems to say, and it is for anyone to judge them. The conclusions that a Grote, a Mommsen, a Gardiner, a Maitland, a Sorel have arrived at after a lifetime of patient research and study are thrown into the waste paper basket. We have instead a few picturesque details drawn from such writers as Plutarch or Carlyle or Motley, and then a rapid, vivid, dogmatic judgment. His editors, whose notes are so amusing a feature of the book,—Professor Murray, Mr. Barker, Sir H. H. Johnston and the others—protest, but in vain. Speaking of Athens Mr. Wells says: "There was yet no gutter journalism to tell the world of the vileness of the conspicuous and successful" (though I think Professor Murray could find a pretty close analogy to the gutter press and not a little eagerness to depreciate the great); yet the vileness of the conspicuous and successful is a constant motive in that part of the book that deals with post-Homeric Europe. The great names of history seem to irritate Mr. Wells; he wants to know what they are doing there without his permission. He is kinder to the unknown great men of pre-historic times, and to the dimly seen figures of oriental history than to the familiar names of the last three millenniums; kinder to religious leaders than to statesmen and soldiers; unkindest of all to the prominent men of the nineteenth century, which is handled in the spirit of contentious journalism.

The truth is that Mr. Wells approaches modern history not as a learner, but as a teacher and a judge. He has won by the best of all rights—by hard and fearless thinking—a philosophy of life, society and religion. He has made up his mind how the state should be governed, how industry should be organised; what religion should and should not be. With these fixed ideas he goes to history and tells us what he sees there. It is what all historians do more or less. All either openly and consciously or by suggestion and unconsciously import into history the ideas that they have acquired at least in part elsewhere. But hardly anyone does it so openly as Mr. Wells. Thus his judgment on Alexander and Cæsar, on Athanasius and Charlemagne and Rousseau and Gladstone, are mainly interesting for the light they throw on the author's philosophy of life, and hardly put in a plea for a revision of judgment

by those who do not already accept the author's ideas. For Mr. Wells would not say that he has brought new evidence to bear on the problems that are connected with these men's names. He does not seem to have lived in any century but his own; we do not feel in reading the book that he has looked at the problems and doings through the eyes of contemporaries. The book is a continuation of *An Englishman Looks at the World*, and the Englishman in question is chiefly interested in the problems of 1920.

The other two books both belong to a series bearing the imprimatur of Mr. Wells. They aim at dealing with history in a more general way than the ordinary text-book, and in a style that shall appeal more directly to pupils. They seem to have especially in mind the continuation schools which present so important a problem to all teachers just now. Mr. Short handles in 250 small pages what Mr. Wells treats in 600 very large ones. Miss Spikes limits herself to Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. Both books are well calculated to arouse interest in the subject and deserve warm commendation. But we wonder what answers Mr. Short's pupils will give to some of his questions: By whom was the first chapter of Genesis written?—Characterise Hammurabi of Babylon. What was the effect on Athenian life of the battle of Aegospotami?—Compare Raphael as a thinker with Leonardo da Vinci.

A. J. GRANT.

Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra. Translated from the Aramaic by A. COWLEY. 1919. S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d.

THE time of Ezra and the centuries immediately following are amongst the most obscure in Jewish history. Apart from the Old Testament material, and a few faint echoes in the Talmud, the only information available has to be gleaned from scanty references in non-Jewish sources. It is therefore of very great importance to have, in the documents here translated, authentic records from the time of Ezra himself. They let in clear light where before had been total darkness. They suggest questions which hitherto it has been useless to ask, since there were no data whatever on which to base an answer. The questions may indeed have to remain long unanswered, though the fortunate recovery of these documents justifies the hope of finding some more. It is no doubt true that the documents are not of very great importance in themselves, being for the most part legal contracts and the like. But so far as they go they are transcripts from real life, the life, moreover, of a society till now quite unknown. They are fragmentary, yet it is not beyond the skill of a scholar to divine their main meaning. They are for the most part documents of practical life, not of speculative opinion; and the reader of the translation can be reasonably sure that he has before him what the original writer meant to be understood. To the student of Jewish history they will be interesting and useful, if only by the remarkably negative character of their witness to Jewish religion. Indeed, from this point of view, they are valuable as giving a view of Jewish social life through a medium quite independent of the Old Testament. The archæologist will find many interesting clues and suggestions which will have no significance for the ordinary reader. On every ground the translation of these documents is to be welcomed as a real addition to the material for Jewish history. It

should be borne in mind, however, that the documents are few in number and of no great extent, and that the field which they illuminate is quite new. It would, therefore, be as yet unwise to draw far-reaching conclusions from these narrow premises. The facts recorded will suggest many points on which theories hitherto accepted may need revision, and a further suspension of judgment. But the main point at present is that here are facts, made known at first hand by the persons immediately concerned in them, and not reported on hearsay or quoted from earlier authorities. It was well done to include these documents among the texts to be translated, and they could not well be presented in a form more helpful than in Dr. Cowley's admirable little book. The documents themselves were published in facsimile by him and Professor Sayce in 1906; the originals are mostly in the Cairo Museum.

R. T. HERFORD.

The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Pirke Aboth). Translated from the Hebrew by W. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. 1919. S.P.C.K. 5s.

THE *Pirke Aboth* is one of the tractates of the Mishnah; and, by the difference of its contents from those of the main body of the work, can be more adequately reproduced in a translation. It is a collection of detached sayings, largely but not exclusively ethical, uttered by a comparatively small number of the teachers living during the period which it covers, and not arranged upon any defined system. It is not a methodical treatise upon ethics or any other subject; and the reader who should base his opinion of the Rabbinical Judaism of the early centuries upon the fact that some particular doctrine is or is not touched upon in the *Pirke Aboth*, would be certain to go wrong. He will find there much that shows the Rabbinical way of looking at things, but by no means all that the Rabbis saw, much less all that they thought about it.

A translation, even an excellent translation like this by Dr. Oesterley, can only go a little way towards putting the reader in touch with the thought and mind of the men whose words are translated. The translator is of course well aware of this, and has given, in his introduction and notes, what will carry the reader a little further towards the full understanding of the original, but will not take him all the way there. Whether that object can be reached at all by a translation and such amount of explanation as is given here, is a question which the editors have no doubt answered in the affirmative. I cannot share in that confidence; but, upon the lines to which they have restricted themselves, the book is on the whole excellent. But it will not enable the reader to understand, still less to sympathise with, the feeling of deep attachment which the *Pirke Aboth* has always awakened in Jewish minds. If it has had but little influence in non-Jewish circles, it has been cherished by Jews from at least the fourth century down to the present day. Christian Hebraists from the sixteenth century onward have occasionally translated it; but they have never caught the secret of it, and no continuous influence upon the thought or literature of Christian writers can be traced to these isolated attempts. The present translation is one of a series which is said to be important for the study of Christian origins. The study of the texts translated is beyond a doubt of great importance for that purpose; but the reader will do

well not to be disappointed if the help he derives is less than he needs, and not to take at its face value all that he reads in the translations presented to him. This is no reflection on the accuracy of the translation; it is only a caution, based on some amount of study of the literature here in question.

R. T. HERFORD.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-sixth Year of Henry III., 1241-1242. Prepared and edited by H. L. CANNON, Ph.D. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. London: H. Milford. 1918. 25s.

We owe it to the energy of an American scholar that the first Pipe Roll of a later date than the reign of John has seen the clear light of print, and regret that death has cut short Dr. Cannon's career before he could reap the reward of his patience and labour. Such a book is very welcome, and is a valuable addition to our printed material. It is, however, very hard to review, not only because it is unchivalrous to look too critically at a dead man's work, but because of the enormous difficulty of the undertaking, carried out for the main part from rotographs in the Stanford University of California, and by an editor who in the nature of things could not have that minute acquaintance with English topography and personal names that can come only from the familiarity of long residence. But there is little need to dwell on the defects of the edition; they arise from the very nature of the enterprise, and if likely sometimes to lead beginners astray, it will be enough to put the cautious scholar on his guard. After all, the main point is to get the text, and it is a great thing for any mediæval historian henceforth to have a thirteenth century Pipe Roll in his own study and to be saved both the expense and the physical labour of turning over the unwieldy membranes of the vast original under the restricted conditions of the Search Room of the Public Record Office. This edition is valuable for purposes of comparison with the familiar twelfth century rolls, for which we are indebted to the Pipe Roll Society. It is equally useful for tracing the development of the Exchequer, which, despite Madox, was not decadent in the thirteenth century. It throws a flood of light on the detailed history of an important year, and affords us much illumination of thirteenth century administrative and financial problems. We may then express unstinted gratitude to Dr. Cannon's memory and warm thanks to the Kingsley Trust, the Yale Press, and Professor G. B. Adams, whose liberality and initiative made the work possible. It is much to be hoped that the volume will have many successors. A typical Pipe Roll from the reign of each of the three Edwards would be a real addition to the reference library of the English mediævalist.

The enormous size of the later Pipe Rolls is illustrated by this volume swollen to the bulk of over 450 pages. Its study will show that the importance of the Pipe Rolls of the thirteenth century has perhaps been minimised. It is true that much of each roll had become "common form," repeated year after year. It is even true that the record of the individual transactions between each sheriff and accounting officer and the Crown are for many purposes superseded by the more convenient conspectus of the individual transactions of the Exchequer as revealed in the Issue Rolls and

the Receipt Rolls, to say nothing of the fine confused feeding which the Memoranda Rolls afford to the scholar who does not shrink from the labour of working through them. All these Exchequer records need to be made accessible by calendars. When this necessary process has been completed, they will be found to be as full of new light as are the Chancery Rolls of the period. We may perhaps think it significant of our incuriousness in scholarship that the first achieved step taken in this direction is by an American scholar and by American funds. It is not the only thing in which America has shown England the way.

To many workers the normal sheriffs' accounts are, with all their value, less important than the "foreign" accounts which the practice of the period enrolled on the Pipe Roll of the year. In 1242-1243 the great roll is not rich in them. There is, for instance, no account of the King's wardrobe, but we may welcome in this volume John of Gaddesden's compotus of the Queen's wardrobe, the first Queen's wardrobe account that has ever been printed. The accounts of Cheshire, then in the King's hands, which were tendered by its Justice, John Lestrangle, are recorded in the roll and are equally valuable to us.

The supreme merit of the book is that the text seems to be substantially trustworthy and, except with proper names, nearly always palaeographically correct. The method of printing this volume leaves nothing to be desired. It is modelled on that of the issues of the Pipe Roll Society and the press work comes from the same firm. The index also closely follows the well-known indexes of that society. In some ways perhaps the imitation of the Pipe Roll Society has been too close. The curious use which has turned the medial "u's" of the MS. into "v's," except in the case of proper names, must often mislead the beginner, who finds along with "St. Briavel's," which he knows, a "St. Briauels," which seems to be a different place. The index increases the number of separate appearances of the same local name, since some items are under "Sancti Briauelli," and others under "Sancto, Briavello, de" and "Sancto Briavello, de." In other respects, too, the indexes, full and accurate as they seem to be, lose something through the quaint headings under which the entries are thrown. It takes a lot of searching to find "Salenta" (Senena), wife of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, indexed neither under her own name nor under her husband's, not even under the curious entry "Filius," under which the custom of patronymics has condemned Welsh chieftains to hide their real names, but under "uxor." But errors in the index are rare, and we can use it with reasonable confidence when we have learnt the tricky method of the indexer. But who would look for "Hubertus de Ruilly senior" under "Oxoniensis, comes," or, still worse, find William Brewer, Bishop of Exeter, under the all-embracing entry "Oxoniensis, Willelmus episcopus"?

This last mistake suggests the real limitation of the edition. Though generally palaeographically correct, it is not critical. While the various readings of the Chancellor's Roll are meticulously recorded in the footnotes, the index always refers to the Pipe Roll reading, however incorrect it may be. The hiding away of the Bishop of Exeter's name is due to this fact. On p. 343 we find "Exoniensis" lurking in the note, though the erroneous "Oxoniensis" takes the place of honour in the text. But no one who thinks that there

can be a Bishop of Oxford in 1242 ought to use a Pipe Roll, and if he does he will fall into much worse errors than this little slip. Far more dangerous to the unwary is the large proportion of misreadings of proper names, both personal and place. Thus the "Limmig' comitis cest' debet" of p. 242 is indexed under "Cestr", Limmig comes de" (p. 367). Of course it is a place name, a manor of the earl, not a new addition to the list of lords of the great franchise. Some of the most obvious misreadings, "Indelawe," p. 6, for Ludlow, are repeated in the index, though we are grateful for some corrections, for instance, Ellesmere for the "Ellomere" and "Ellemere" of the roll. It would be an act of kindness to print an errata slip in which the more obvious of the misreadings of place and personal names are corrected. They are too numerous to be recorded here. Meanwhile a word of caution as to the large number of wrong name forms must be emphasised. A Pipe Roll is not an easy thing to edit. But no one can attempt the task with complete success, unless prepared to identify and put together, each in a single place, in the index the names of persons and places mentioned in his text. Caution is also needed as to some of the statements in the short Introduction.

T. F. TOUT.

The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester.
Ed. by JAMES TAIT. Part I. 1920. The Chetham Soc. (Subscription £1 per annum.)

SOME of the English counties appear to the topographer or the student of local history to have been specially favoured by Providence. Not only are their records better preserved, but, sometimes for that very reason, public spirit has found a more favourable soil. Among these we must certainly count Cheshire. It has shared with Lancashire the diligent care of the Chetham Society and the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, nor can anyone peruse the volume under review without admiration for the services of Sir Peter Leycester, the family of Randle Holmes, Dr. Ormerod with his somewhat uncritical "continuator," Mr. Helsby, Canon Morris and their modern successors. It is no small compliment to Professor Tait to say that he is not unworthy of the company after which he gleans.

For the register of St. Werburgh has long been known and used. It is not technically a chartulary, since it gives for the most part abstracts only of the less important documents. There was once a full chartulary, of which two leaves survive among the Harleian MSS. The editor has attempted to reconstitute it, so far as the means at his disposal permitted, by substituting for the abstracts in the register copies, obtained from other sources, of the original charters. Very few of the latter survive, but their tenor can be recovered in some cases from Royal Charters of *Inspecimus* on the Charter Rolls, a valuable *Inspecimus* by Guncelin de Badlesmere, Justice of Chester, now at Windsor, and 17th century copies of deeds now lost, by one or other of the Randle Holmes.

The Eaton Hall charter of Earl Ranulf II. is hardly on the same footing, though it also inspects and confirms earlier charters. It is a very puzzling document, and Professor Tait has some hesitation in accepting it as genuine. In view of the fact that it certainly had seals attached to it, though perhaps not the seal which it now bears, it is tempting to compare it with another document, also anomalous

in form, though not at all like it, of part of which a facsimile is given in *English Court Hand* (Clarendon Press), Plate VI. That document is a formal transcript transmitted to Rome for confirmation. It would presumably have been unsafe to have sent the originals. This suggestion corresponds very nearly to the view for which Professor Tait quotes Mr. C. G. Crump and Mr. J. P. Gilson, though he does not accept it himself.

The Eaton Hall Charter, puzzling as it is, is the "only one" of the charters of confirmation ascribed to the first four Earls of Chester "which belongs to a well-recognised type," and the editor has devoted much care to the study of this whole series of more or less dubious documents. His discussion should be compared with Mr. G. J. Turner's remarks on forged charters in the "Black Book of St. Augustine's, Canterbury." It is to be hoped this subject may be chosen by some candidate for the Doctorate of Letters for his dissertation. It needs much wider and more thorough exploration than it has yet received.

The introduction deals also with the life of St. Werburgh, the foundation and early history of the Abbey and of the Collegiate Church which preceded it, and with the Norman Organisation of the County of Chester. The Chartulary includes deeds relating not only to Cheshire and the Welsh border, but also to Denford (co. Northants), Sibsey, Maltby, Raithby and Tathwell (co. Lincoln), Chipping Campden (co. Gloucester) and Weston-upon-Trent, Aston-upon-Trent, Quarndon Park, Shardlow, Great Wilne, Morley, Smalley, Kidsley and Derby (co. Derby). These deeds appear not to have been used by the local historians. There are some interesting deeds relating to the water-supply of the Abbey, and we find from No. 311 that Chester possessed a limner or "illuminator" called Master Augustus.

A few criticisms may be offered, though it is difficult to find fault with such a careful piece of work. It seems hardly worth while to collate inferior copies such as those of Leycester or the *Monasticon* when Badlesmere's *insperimus* exists, though this course may be technically justified. The "writ of kindred" (No. 303) is more commonly known as a writ of "cosinage"; and it might be possible to fix a closer date than 1254-74 for Gilbert de Preston's eyre in Derbyshire, since the eyre did not usually take place oftener than once in seven years, and the commissions are usually on the Patent Roll. It seems likely that the eyre in question is that of 53 Henry III. (1268-9), of which the rolls are preserved.

C. JOHNSON.

Mediaeval Heresy and the Inquisition. By A. S. TURBERVILLE. vi + 264 pp. 1920. Crosby Lockwood. 10s. 6d.

MR. TURBERVILLE has much knowledge, a pretty turn for style, and the gift of putting his points in a coherent, attractive, and intelligible fashion. The result is an eminently readable book, which, so far as it goes, will convey to the reader a clear and reasonable account of the two immense subjects which he has chosen to treat of in a single volume of moderate compass. His method is to deal first with heresy and then with the Inquisition, a fashion which involves some anticipation and some repetition, but which is perhaps the most practical way of attaining its purpose. Altogether it is an essay, popular in its appeal but scholarly in its substance, of

a type that we have too few of nowadays. It is deserving of warm praise and of every encouragement, the more so since in these days of rigid specialism it comes from a young writer, hitherto known to historians by a treatise on the House of Lords under William III.

Unluckily the book has some of the defects of its qualities. It suggests some lack of familiarity with mediæval ways despite a vigorous, though perhaps rather rapid, attempt to understand them. Mr. Turberville's easy generalisations and sweeping affirmations about Platonism, Aristotelianism, Augustinianism and their like are not always those of a precise specialist either in philosophy or in theology. His methods are a little too summary, too sweeping, too direct for the very complicated phenomena with which he has to deal. To this must be added a good many slips in detail which will be readily pardoned in a book interrupted by military service and completed, perhaps, when the first zest of composition was over. But it is worth while recording for correction such mistakes as a confusion in numbering of the popes named Benedict, a confusion repeated in the index, which also makes a similar combination of "Boethius of Dacia" with Boethius the sixth-century philosopher of which the text is innocent. To suggest that Augustine was a neo-Platonist, to make "disgust with the Papacy" the basis of Dante's Ghibellinism; to make Peckham, when upholding his Dominican predecessors' condemnation of certain errors, launch diatribes against the Dominicans; and to see that in the war of Louis of Bavaria and John XXII. the issue was between "national" and "papal" sovereignty, will illustrate the one-sidedness of Mr. Turberville's hasty *obiter dicta*. Perhaps he has made the mistake of covering too wide a field and therefore having to rely on secondary more than original sources. Certainly towards the end he becomes somewhat vague, and it might be suggested that a more intensive study of a single typical source, let us say of Bernard Guy's *Practica*, would have left on the reader's mind a more enduring impression of inquisitorial methods than the rather hasty collection of facts from many sources which Mr. Turberville has presented to us. On the other hand, he has made an honest, and not at all unsuccessful, effort to expound heresy and the Inquisition from the mediæval point of view rather than from that of the modern man, but, unluckily, some of his own remarks seem to take us back into the atmosphere from which he had just escaped. Yet, with all its shortcomings, Mr. Turberville has written a book of promise, and still better work may be confidently expected from him, though perhaps it will not treat of the Middle Ages.

T. F. TOUT.

De Oudste handelsbetrekkingen van Holland en Zeeland met Engeland tot in het laatste kwartaal der XIV^{de} eeuw. By JAN RUINEN. 114 pp. 1919. Amsterdam: A. H. Kruyt.

THIS Amsterdam thesis is a very careful and critical examination of all data concerning "the oldest commercial relations of Holland and Zeeland with England down to the last quarter of the 14th century," to be found in the Dutch mediæval charter publications and in the Hanse publications, but especially in the English Calendars.

In that early period the Holland and Zeeland merchant did not yet occupy in English economic life a place of the same importance

as did the Hanseatic or the Italian merchant. Dr. Ruinen shows, for instance, that he had hardly any share in the wool export. It is true that the wool staple was several times placed in Middelburg and Dordrecht, but that was only when political reasons made it impossible to have the staple in Flanders or Brabant. One thing already distinguished the Holland and Zeeland merchant from the Fleming and the Brabander: he traded with his own ships. Indeed, the carrying trade of the two counties was already considerable. The Hundred Years' War, which crippled English shipping, favoured its development. Holland and Zeeland vessels plied between England and the Baltic, between England and Flanders and Brabant, and between England and France. Very probably herring fishing was the origin of Dutch merchant shipping. Already in the 13th century the Holland and Zeeland herring fishers played an important part in the economic life of Yarmouth, where they sold their fish. In England Lynn, Yarmouth and London were the centres of trade with Holland and Zeeland, in Holland Dordrecht and Briel, in Zeeland Zierikzee and Middelburg. That this was so is clearly seen, at least for the 14th century, for which the data are far more numerous than for the 13th. Many particulars we owe to a quarrel which in Edward II.'s reign repeatedly gave rise to negotiations between the King of England and the Count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut, the English levying an extra toll on the subjects of the Count in order to indemnify some English traders for losses suffered at the hands of Zeeland pirates. It is likely that resentment at this policy caused Count William III. to embrace the cause of Queen Isabella, who was, with her army, transported to England by Holland and Zeeland vessels. Edward III., of course, protected the foreign trader much more than his predecessor had done. Dr. Ruinen makes it seem very probable that he was the donor of an important privilege granted to Briel which has sometimes been attributed to Edward I.

The relations between Holland and England throughout the centuries so far have more frequently been made the subject of special investigations by Dutch than by English historians. Yet there are masses of documents in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum, for the most part in the English language. They ought not to be wholly left to the enterprise of Dutch students.

P. GEYL.

The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions. By MARGARET DEANESLY xx+483 pp. 1920. Cambridge University Press. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. Edited by G. G. Coulton.) 31s. 6d. net.

In his *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, Sir Thomas More wrote that he himself had seen English Bibles, fair and old, in the houses of his friends, and that such Bibles had been licensed for their use by bishops. Miss Deanesly takes this passage as her text, and writes, in her opening paragraph:—

Several points have been raised by his words: Were these translations the work of Wycliffe and his immediate followers? Or were they, as has been suggested, the authorised versions of orthodox Catholics, made before Wycliffe's time? Was the reading of all English Bibles viewed with suspicion and disapproval by the Church, or did her disapproval extend only to translations savouring of heresy? What, in short, is the history of Bible

reading by the laity in England, and what place do these translations known as the Wyclifite Bible take in it?

The questions, as she justly says, are of more than antiquarian interest: "they are part of the history of vernacular translations of the Bible in Europe," and it is not the least merit of her meritorious monograph that she does not take a merely insular view of her subject, but endeavours to illustrate the history of the English Bible by that of the vernacular Bibles of other countries. As it stands in the original, the passage in More's Dialogue (which Miss Deanesly a little later on quotes in full) suggests that one of her questions needs amplifying or recasting. If Miss Deanesly had asked More, "Is the reading of all English Bibles viewed with suspicion and disapproval by the Church?" he might have pointed her to the end of his paragraph: "Myself have seen and can shew you Bibles fair and old written in English, which have been known and seen by the bishop of the diocese, and left in laymen's hands, and women's, to such as he knew for good and catholic folk: but of truth, all such as are found in the hands of heretics, they use to take away." The Church of Rome "viewed with suspicion and disapproval" the reading of all vernacular Bibles by persons likely to use them to spread heresy; she permitted the use of sound versions "to good and catholic folk," under episcopal licence, for their edification. Whether the licence was easy or difficult to obtain would naturally depend on what was considered the danger of heresy at the time and place at which it was sought. When there was great fear of heresy, licences would naturally be difficult to obtain; when there was little or no fear they would be easier. In the long and interesting account which Miss Deanesly gives of Bible reading in Germany we can trace the pendulum swinging backwards and forwards more than once. There can also be little doubt that fewer difficulties were thrown in the way of Bible-reading in some places and dioceses than in others, even within the same country.

My own acquaintance with Bible problems at first hand began with the printed Bibles of the 15th century, and these have led me to associate the reading of vernacular Bibles with wealthy burghers and prosperous centres of trade. Of thirteen early German Bibles in the British Museum three were printed at Strasburg, five at Augsburg, two at Nuremberg, two at Cologne, one at Lübeck. All of them are folios, many of them are illustrated, and where we meet with illustrated vernacular books in folio it is generally a sure sign that it is the wealthy burgher class that is being catered for. The only parallels to these illustrated German Bibles are the fine series of Italian Bibles printed at Venice, those appearing in and after 1490 being profusely decorated with little woodcuts; but at Florence richly illustrated editions of the Epistles and Gospels in folio had a considerable vogue. All these were published two or three generations after the translation "lately made in the time of John Wyclif" had been condemned by the Council of Oxford, but they show what might be done in prosperous trading towns, in a lull between outbreaks of "heresy."

Miss Deanesly is more inclined to regard the smouldering embers of the last heresy as the predisposing cause of an appetite for vernacular Bibles than to contemplate this appetite as due to the natural desire of an educated burgher class to have the best of good

literature made accessible to them in their own tongue, as long as they did not thereby imperil their salvation. To me it seems certain that if Wyclif had died ten years earlier, the literary impulse towards translation was so strong about 1380 that an English Bible would have come into existence without his aid, and found readers among the rich citizens of London. Despite a little note (on page 300) especially devoted to my destruction I am still inclined to attach great weight to Caxton's statement that Higden's *Polychronicon* (which he was printing) was "Englished by one Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley, which at the request of one Sir Thomas Berkeley translated the said book, the Bible, and Bartholomew's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* out of Latin into English." Miss Deanesly calls this statement as to Trevisa translating the Bible "Caxton's guess," but whether he was right or wrong he was clearly not guessing, but making three statements about Trevisa, the first and third of which we know to be true. The attribution of the second Wyclifite version to John Purvey, first made by Waterton in 1729, was really a guess, possibly a happy one. But Caxton inserts the mention of a translation of the Bible without any idea of a need for justifying it, as if it had been a matter of common knowledge, and to me this is much more impressive than any amount of argument. At the very lowest it suggests that in 1482, when Caxton was writing, the Council of Oxford of 1408 had lost some of its terrors. At the highest we may reasonably argue from it, not indeed that Trevisa translated the whole Bible as he translated the *Polychronicon* and the *De Proprietatibus*, but that he had a hand in the translation, and that this therefore was not exclusively the work of "Lollards," made specifically for propaganda purposes. Even the more "advanced" Wyclifites could hardly have failed to see the usefulness of securing the help of some moderate men in the work of translation, and the fact that Trevisa was not doctrinally a Wyclifite surely is no proof that he did not help. I have very little doubt that Caxton's statement was inexact, as Sir Thomas More's statement was inexact, but behind even the inexactitudes of men like Caxton and More there is probably something worth searching for.

Moreover, even if we brush More and Caxton aside, we cannot brush aside the fact that not far short of 200 manuscripts of the Wyclifite Bibles have come down to us, about three times as many as in the case of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and that their existence has to be accounted for. To the best of my belief the Bibles have not been examined in the light of modern knowledge for clues, literary or bibliographical, which might suggest multiple authorship, and I think that this should still be done as a supplement to Miss Deanesly's very thorough survey of the documentary evidence and the conclusions which she deduces from it. It is quite possible that such an examination might be fatal to acceptance of Caxton's attribution, but the two arguments which Miss Deanesly adduces against Trevisa having had a hand in the earlier version are surely very slight. One of these is that it is doubtful whether he was in Oxford after 1376, the other that "there is no evidence that he was ever sufficiently in sympathy with the Wyclifites to have undertaken with them a rather risky task." There seems to me no need for assuming that participation in the translation, especially in that of the first version, could have been foreseen as likely to bring any great risk to a man otherwise untainted with heresy; Trevisa was

clearly fond of translating, and if he left Oxford in 1376 he would have had more leisure for such work. It does not seem unreasonable to ask for stronger arguments before submitting to regard Caxton's statement as wholly unfounded.

My interest in the authorship of the "Wyclifite" Bibles being my only justification for accepting an invitation to review Miss Deanesly's book, I will not apologise for using the bulk of my space on this topic. I owe to her a great enlargement of my own knowledge on the subject, more especially as to the dangers which the Church saw at certain times in the textual translation of even the most purely devotional parts of the Bible, the greatness of the difficulty caused to the rulers of the Church by the extreme ignorance of the clergy, and more especially the vicissitudes of Bible reading in Germany¹. As regards Bible reading in England her book is a storehouse of information, and that she has proved the greater part of her case for the "Wyclifite" origin of the only versions of the whole Bible made in England before that of Tyndale and Coverdale I have no shadow of doubt. Even if my feeling that in the moment of victory she has pushed pursuit dangerously far should receive more positive confirmation than is perhaps probable, students will remain deeply indebted to her monograph, and she must be warmly congratulated on so good a piece of work.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

The Stirling Merchant Gild and Life of John Cowane. By D. B. MORRIS. 1919. Stirling: Jamieson Munro, 7s. 6d.

Cirencester Weavers Company. A Review of its Records. By W. S. HARMER. Cirencester. 6d.

A PECULIAR interest attaches to the gilds of Scotland in each of the three main aspects of gild history. On the social and religious side as fraternities they show closer affiliation with continental tradition and preserve survivals from an earlier period than the English gilds. The dedications of weavers' gilds to St. Severus, of shoemakers' gilds to St. Crispin, of masons' gilds to the Quattuor Coronati, of smiths' gilds to St. Eloy, and of bakers' gilds to St. Aubert (Obert)—all clearly preserved in the sixteenth and later centuries—carry the gild tradition back to Roman times or to the Dark Ages, and were derived through the Netherlands. In the Edinburgh ordinances of the wrights and masons, the order of the craft in processions is to follow the usage of Bruges or "siclyk gud townes." In the second place the conflict of economic class interests is more marked in Scotland. There was a sharper cleavage not only between guildry and the crafts, but also between the royal burghs and the burghs of barony and regality than between the corresponding interests in England. And, thirdly, the Scottish Convention of Burghs as a constitutional embodiment of the privileges of the gild merchants is interesting to the English student as an indication of what Edward the Third's Estate of Merchants might have become if it had not been absorbed by parliament.

On each of these aspects Mr. Morris sheds some new light from the Stirling records. He makes out a strong case for the identifica-

¹ It is perhaps fair to note that some defects in Miss Deanesly's treatment of the printed German Bibles do not originate with her, but with Walther's *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, published in 1889 before the history of printing in Germany was as well known as it is now.

tion of the Fraternity of the Holy Blood at Stirling with the Guildry. The connection is clearly established at Edinburgh and Dundee and is probable at Aberdeen, Dunfermline, Linlithgow, Haddington, Lanark and Peebles, as well as at Stirling. Mr. Morris does not suggest a derivation of the cult of the Holy Blood from Bruges; but in view of the fact pointed out by him, that the earliest trade of Scotland was with Bruges, it is extremely likely. In the thirteenth century there was a Scottish Street in Bruges, and at the same period the Flemish merchants had a fortified house in Berwick. But, paradoxical as it may seem, the clear preservation of continental tradition was probably due to the limited character of Scottish intercourse with foreigners. In England, where the great fairs were free organs of international commerce and two-thirds of the foreign trade was, during the middle ages, in the hands of foreigners, the far greater and more continuous flow of immigrants was almost completely assimilated and the hated alien of one generation became the ultra-patriotic citizen of the next. In Scotland, where the fairs were controlled by the burghs and foreign trade was monopolised through a staple by the native oligarchy of the merchant gilds, foreign influences were more isolated and the weavers were still known as Brabanders at the close of the eighteenth century.

Along with the restrictions on the free inflow of capital and credit which were among the main causes of the retarded development of Scottish industry and commerce, there went corresponding restrictions on the outflow, and it is with these that the economic history of the guildry of Stirling is mainly concerned. The struggle with unfreemen and "the struggle with the craft," described in Chapters VI.—VII. represent an increasingly unsuccessful effort on the part of the merchants to prevent the accumulating capital of their fellow burghesses outside the guildry or of the traders and manufacturers in the non-privileged burghs or in the country from being used for the expansion of national commerce.

As regards the economic and political emancipation of the crafts, there were many violent fluctuations of policy during the fifteenth century, but the main crisis occurred in Stirling as elsewhere at the Reformation, when it was involved with other issues. An Act of Parliament of 1555 prohibited the crafts from having deacons, but next year the Queen Regent restored the privileges of the Stirling crafts, including their right to have four representatives on the Council and a bailie. The partial withdrawal of these rights by another Act in 1609 led to seven years of civic strife. The crafts withdrew their share of the ministers' and schoolmasters' stipends, and, mindful perhaps of Roman precedents, marched under arms with blue blanket and royal standard flying to their meeting place "on the hills." By the settlement of 1616 the guildry and the craftsmen shared the burgh monopoly of trade between them. Of greater national importance was the gradual relaxation of the restrictions on the trade of the burghs of barony and regality. Throughout the seventeenth century we find Stirling harassing the traders of Falkirk, Kilsyth or Callendar or the weavers of St. Ninians by due process of law or by "wrongous" imprisonment and, when legal resources began to fail, establishing horse, foot, and goose races in order to draw away the custom of a proposed neighbouring fair. After 1701 the burghs of barony and regality were equalised as regards trading privileges with the royal burghs, and in 1726

Stirling even thought it expedient to grant incorporation to the Fraternity of Chapmen in Stirlingshire who had previously elected their "Lord Chapman" by natural right.

The Life of John Cowane, the leading benefactor of Stirling, which occupies half Mr. Morris' volume, serves as an excellent supplement to the history of the merchant gild. John Cowane was Dean of Gild from 1624 to 1630 and later in 1632-3; he represented Stirling both in the Convention of Burghs and in Parliament, and was one of the Commissioners appointed to treat with England and Charles I. on the Fisheries project of 1630. But perhaps the most interesting facts recorded are those relating to his private interests, which do not greatly differ from those of a London alderman of the thirteenth century. He kept a shop, he farmed the teinds of the burgh, lent money on an extensive scale to the lairds of the district, and was a partner in several ships that engaged in privateering as well as in commerce. That in the course of a dubious career of piracy and counter-reprisals, Cowane gave "his ships to fight the Germans" (with whom Britain was then at peace), we can scarcely regard as more a matter for retrospective rejoicing than the fact that other adventurous Scots were then fighting for the Prussians against the Poles, for the Poles against the Prussians, or enlisting in the armies of France, Sweden, or Holland. The detailed account of Cowane's career with which the researches of Mr. Morris have furnished us is, however, a valuable contribution towards that as yet unwritten history of mercantilism in Scotland for which Prof. Scott has laid the foundations. In regard to one statement, a serious doubt suggests itself. Did the Scottish Parliament of 1625 really grant Charles I. a taxation of £400,000 sterling (p. 262)?

It is greatly to be desired that everyone in possession of unpublished gild records would follow the example of Mr. W. S. Harmer, the Senior Warden of the Cirencester Weavers Company. In publishing an account of the company, based on its Minute Book (1580—1796) in a series of articles for a local newspaper and then reprinting it in a booklet accessible to students he has done a twofold service to historical study. The company existed in the fifteenth century and probably earlier. The records begin in a period of growing exclusiveness. In 1614 the company required that a foreign weaver should pay an entrance fee of £10, and as late as 1742 it is found serving writs on all weavers to take up their freedoms. There was a fund from which loans of capital were made to poor members; and a small charitable endowment. The weavers had a seat in church for the wardens and met, as they still do, annually on St. Katherine's Eve. "For beer at Al holland tyde" (Nov. 1) suggests a libation to the shades of bygone weavers. Weavers Hall was an early meeting place of the Baptists, to which body most of the weavers belonged (which suggests a Netherlands ancestry) and John Wesley preached there.

G. UNWIN.

The Day of the Crescent: Glimpses of Old Turkey. By G. E. HUBBARD. 1920. Cambridge Univ. Press. 15s.

MR. HUBBARD has already published a book on Turkey—*From the Gulf to Ararat*—in which he describes his own experiences on the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission just before the war. In

the present book he transports us from the remote borderland of the Ottoman Empire, which has ceased to be Turkish territory in the meanwhile, to the city which was and remains the capital of the Empire, and gives us glimpses of life in that city in the great days of Turkey, as it appeared to Western eyes.

The Day of the Crescent is in fact an anthology of anecdotes from Western travellers in the 16th and 17th centuries: diplomatists and captives (two categories that were not always distinct at Constantinople when the Grand Signor happened to be exasperated by news of Christian victories on the frontier), soldiers and sailors both on the Turkish and on the Christian side, and even an organ-builder sent to erect an instrument presented to her Osmanli contemporary by Queen Elizabeth. The book is illustrated by good reproductions of characteristic pictures from the old travellers, displaying landscape and costume, and the writer has done justice to the quaintness and humour of his sources.

The Ottoman Empire is a fascinating subject for historians, because it baffles historical analysis. In some aspects it has all the appearance of a modern continental Great Power—the type that emerged in the 15th and 16th centuries and has perhaps received its death-blow in the recent European War, in which the Osmanlis have gone to ruin with their Hohenzollern, Hapsburg and Romanov cousins. From another angle Turkey seems not modern but archaic—a revival and continuation of the Byzantine Empire under a Moslem-Turkish façade, a response to the imperious claim of Constantinople, with its incomparable site, to be the capital of a great State. And sometimes, again, Turkey seems purely Oriental—standing towards the ancient Arab Caliphate as the Holy Roman Empire stood towards the Empire of Augustus and Constantine, and finding its parallels, not in any European monarchy, but in the transitory splendours of the Safawis in Persia and the Moghuls in Hindustan.

Mr. Hubbard's book arouses all these speculations, as well as amusing the reader by its more popular attractions, and the author, who writes with unaffected modesty, would hardly claim more for his work. During a sojourn in the Foreign Office between missions abroad, he lighted on a trove of old books in the library of that Department, and the present volume is the result. The chief criticism of historians will be the absence of a bibliography, for a good bibliography of the voluminous but first-hand evidence which the old travellers provide is the first step towards scientific work upon them from the historical point of view. This work is badly needed, and we look to Mr. Hubbard, or some other student of Turkey, to carry it out before long.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

Introduction to the Study of Russian History. (Helps for Students of History, No. 25.) By W. F. REDDAWAY. 1920. 32 pp. S.P.C.K. 8d.

Select Passages Illustrating Commercial and Diplomatic Relations between England and Russia. (Texts for Students, No. 17.) Edited by A. Weiner. 1920. 76 pp. S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.

MR. W. F. REDDAWAY'S general survey of the "outlines of Russia's history, her language, the periods of her development, and her literature" (§§ 1, 2, 4 and 5) is an attempt to help the student to solve, or at least to approach "the central mystery of the study—

the racial character of the Slavs" (p. 18). Short bibliographical remarks accompany this survey, which may be helpful, in so far as it may raise the student's curiosity and interest and lead him "to feel keenly before attempting to know systematically" (p. 22). But one might have expected a more cautious use of conceptions such as "the racial character of the Slavs" in an introduction planned for students of history. To specialise on "racial character" is even more dangerous than to specialise on "atmosphere." Some of Mr. Reddaway's remarks about the Tartaro-Prussian Empire suggest that he might endorse opinions such as: "The words 'Russian Empire' stand for a majestic world in which the mass of its people have no part" (Mary Pl. Parmele, *A Short History of Russia*, 1899). One is led to doubt whether Russian history is really at all the history of Russia and not somebody else's history. The alternative has indeed been used as a method admirably suitable for political objects throughout English books on Russia, without having been adequately discussed (*in historia orator*). One of the earliest writers on Russian history, John Milton (*A Brief History of Moscovia*, 1682), tried to find his way through "such a wood of words . . . whereby that which is usefull or cully worth observation . . . is either over-slip't, or soon forgotten" (Preface), "in a limitation of his object and in quoting accurately the names of the authors from whence these relations had been taken; being all either eye-witnesses or immediate relators from such as were" (p. 108). Unfortunately, this example has not established a tradition among the majority of English writers on Russia. They do not form an entity, but *membra disjecta*, chiefly of impressionistic literature. It seems to us that Mr. Reddaway has missed an opportunity to indicate the English authors who were conscious of the connexion between passing considerations and emotions on the one hand and adopted standards and methods on the other, in the study of Russian history. It would be worth while to compare the method adopted by Prof. Sir P. Vinogradoff in dealing in a few pages with the problem of "Russia and Europe" (*Bulletin of the Russian Society at King's College*, May, 1920) with those obtaining, if not predominant, in English books on Russia.

Mr. Weiner's selection of texts covers a period of 350 years. Short notes help the student to estimate the importance of the texts; but the bibliography annexed to the book, lacking such notes, will be misleading. It was obvious that documents bearing on the Eastern problem would hold an important place in the selection. In a later edition it might appear useful to insert the text of the London treaty of 1827, which led to the battle of Navarino, where the English, Russian and French fleets fought side by side.

A. MEYENDORFF.

A Short History of the Italian People. By JANET PENROSE TREVELYAN. xiii + 580 pp. 1920. Putnam. 25s.

MRS TREVELYAN has succeeded admirably in an exceedingly difficult task. She has written a summary of Italian history that is clear, interesting, and a real pleasure to read. History may be a science, but the writing of text-books is altogether an art and very rarely a successful one. Mrs. Trevelyan interests the reader because she seems thoroughly interested herself. The book is not overcrowded with dates and names and incidents. Hardly anything is

inserted unless it really contributes to the understanding of the development of Italy. It is a book that deserves a place beside Madame Duclaux's History of France, though it is fuller and rather more serious in tone than that charming sketch.

It is much to be regretted that it has been necessary to publish so excellent a book at so high a price. The size and the weight of the volume will prevent it from balancing Baedeker (or whatever is Baedeker's successor) in the pockets of the tourist, who will have regretfully to leave it on his shelves at home, although it is in character a perfect companion for an Italian holiday, and is the very thing for reading in the trains and streets of Italy.

The story of Italy is told from the beginning of the decline of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century to the end of the Great War—though this last is only sketched in the Epilogue—with great happiness of phrase throughout, and obvious first-hand acquaintance with the books and sources that are set down in the excellent bibliography. It is difficult to pick out portions for special note. The pages devoted to the Lombards—"the latest backwoodsmen who had swooped down upon the land of Virgil"—are an excellent proof that a summary need not be dry. Venice seems to attract the authoress more than Florence; or is it that she has despaired of giving any account of the tangled politics of Florence within the limits allowed? The story of Rienzi is capitally given. The account of the doings of Cavour and Garibaldi could hardly fail to be brilliant from the pen of Mrs. Trevelyan. But great things have been relentlessly omitted. Dante is left out. Saint Francis is very slightly touched. The word "Renaissance" is hardly used at all, which is to the good, and the usual analysis of its causes and characteristics is entirely dispensed with. On p. 313 there is a puzzling sentence. The court of Lorenzo the Magnificent is spoken of as a place "where the human mind, after the darkness of centuries, made its first prodigious advance into the realms of enlightenment." Does this sentence reveal in the writer a suppressed dislike of the great things of the 13th and 14th centuries? Does it mean that the "Orlando Furioso" is preferred to the Divine Comedy, that the "Prince" seems a work of enlightenment, and the "De Monarchia" of obscurantism? But even so why the first advance? Were the recovery of Aristotle, the study of Roman Law, the teaching of Greek, Giotto and Petrarch and Boccaccio *nothing*? But this is perhaps captious criticism of one sentence in a book that is a most welcome and valuable addition to historical literature.

A. J. GRANT.

De diplomatieke verhouding tusschen Engeland en de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1747-1756. By DR. A. KALSHOVEN. 1915. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.¹ 2.90 fl.

THIS is one of several Leyden theses on the diplomatic history of the Netherlands in the 18th century inspired by Professor Busse-

¹ We have also received from M. Nijhoff: *Rijks Archief-depot in de Provincie Zeeland: De Archieven van de recht-banken. De Zeeuwsche eilanden, 1456-1811*, edited by L. W. A. M. Lasonder (1914); *Jan van Henegouwen, heer van Beaumont*, by S. A. Waller Zeper (1914); *De Raad van State Nevens Matthias, 1578-1581*, by J. C. H. de Pater (1917); *Prins Willem II.*, by S. I. van Nooten (1915); *De Opvattingen over onze Oudere Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis bij de Hollandsche Historici des XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw*, by H. Kampinga (1917); and *Diplomatieke Betrekkingen tusschen Spanje en de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1678-1684*, by S. W. A. Drossaers.

maker, whose untimely death in 1914 prevented the synthetic work on the subject which he planned from being executed.

The period treated by Miss Kalshoven is that which preceded the famous reversal of the alliances at the opening of the Seven Years' War. Holland had once more become a faithful adherent of the Old System in 1747, when a Prince of Orange, son-in-law of the King of England, had again been raised to power. Indeed, the ruling Dutch party were to be the last faithful adherents of the Old System. They knew no other policy; they clung to it tenaciously when England and Austria were seen to be diverging more and more, and when it collapsed there was for them no other course than neutrality. Never was there more futile diplomacy than that on which Dutch statesmen spent their efforts in those years. They still could not look upon the Southern Netherlands in any other light but as the barrier between them and France, and all along they tried to induce their Allies, Austria and England, to look upon them in the same way and to help them restore the barrier to its previous efficiency. Then, when at last war broke out, the Southern Netherlands were on the same side as France!

The Orange tradition of friendship with England had more than anything hindered the Republic from taking up a freer attitude in the changing conditions of European policy. The principal statesman of the Orange party was Willem Bentinck van Rhoon, a younger son of William III.'s well-known friend. This man, whom Miss Kalshoven oddly describes as "a thorough Hollander," was really more of an Englishman—"il n'aime que la nation anglaise, et ne fait aucun cas de la Hollande," is what the French Foreign Office says of him, and his position affords the most striking example of the tendency which the Orange policy had of making Holland a vassal of England. Bentinck was as much a party man in England as he was in Holland, and in his papers, which are for the most part preserved at the British Museum, English and Dutch domestic and foreign politics are intimately mixed. The English Ambassadors in The Hague, too, could not help getting involved in Dutch party strife, and one may almost say that during those years a chapter of English history, perhaps a little loosely, but yet unmistakably, connected with the rest, was enacted in the unfamiliar surroundings of Dutch politics by a Stadtholder and his widow, and their councillors, supporters and opponents. That is why the English student of the period will find some interesting things in Miss Kalshoven's book.

P. GEYL.

Our Guardian Fleets in 1805. By H. W. HOUSEHOLD. 1919. Macmillan. 2s.

WHEN Lord Milford Haven appointed a special Admiralty commission to inquire into the tactics of Trafalgar, he did so, not only because the problem had gone for a century unsolved, but because the increasing literature on the subject had developed a highly contentious tone which cried aloud for arbitration. Mr. Hannay, in his introduction to Southey's "Life," had not hesitated to say that he looked vainly in Nelson for the genius which distinguishes the world's greatest commanders; while Sir James Thursfield, in *The Times*, attempting to re-establish the Admiral's preeminence, had made a bold effort to reconcile the actual Trafalgar tactics with the preparatory "Memorandum" which they seemed so insistently to con-

tradict. Mahan had demonstrated that to a naval officer the whole thing was as clear as daylight; and Sir Henry Newbolt had shown that the naval officer in question simply did not know what he was talking about. Lastly, Sir Julian Corbett, in his *Campaign of Trafalgar*, had unfolded the strategic complexity of a long series of operations to which the great battle itself stood as hardly more than the final curtain to a five-act play.

The books and articles thus engendered would form a full programme for a course of advanced study. Mr. Household has attempted to boil them down into the narrow limits of a school primer. How far it is wise to call the attention of children to the disturbing effect upon strategy of Craig's expedition, with which even specialists were unacquainted until Sir Julian Corbett's book was published, Mr. Household is doubtless a competent judge. But the discussion of naval tactics belongs to a different category altogether. Chapter X, "The Nelson Touch," is full enough of contentious matter to warrant a Commission of Inquiry all to itself. Not only that, but the explanatory comments under this head are in places positively misleading. Such in particular is the case with that most technical and intricate disposition, the line of Bearing. Mr. Household quotes someone else's definition of this manœuvre, and on p. 151 throws the gist of the thing into a diagram which suggests that he himself does not understand it. In imitation probably of Sir Henry Newbolt, he cuts out the definite article before the names of ships in the very hour when the "Society for Nautical Research" has collected evidence to prove that this should not be done, and never has been done except by those who value time or space above grammatical correctness.

GEOFFREY CALLENDER.

Commerce and Industry, 1815-1914. Vol. I. Historical Review; Vol. II. Statistical Tables. Edited by WILLIAM PAGE. 1919. Constable. 32s. + 24s.

Most teachers of history and of economics have felt the need of an economic history of the 19th century. There are good books on special industries, special institutions and special problems; but, as far as I know, no one has attempted to write any connected account of the economic development of the century as a whole. Perhaps, indeed, it was impossible to do so before the war. The result was unfortunate. The period after 1848 or even after 1832 tended often to be treated as a kind of epilogue to the so-called "industrial revolution." It was taught that modern industry and agriculture were the creation of the period between 1760 and 1850, and it was assumed that what the industrial system was in 1850, that in all essential features it was in 1900 and in 1914. If the first suggestion is sound enough for practical purposes, the latter is radically wrong. It may be conjectured that the difference in economic character between England in 1914 and in 1840 is at least as great as between England in 1840 and 1800, and that not only historical truth, but a sound judgment upon grave practical problems depends upon a due appreciation of that fact. It is not simply a question of economic policy, the phases in which have been explained *ad nauseam*, but of economic structure. The organization of all the greater industries on the basis of joint-stock finance, the growth of what, for want of

a better name, may be called economic imperialism, the change in the character of industry due to combination and amalgamation, the growth of the profession of industrial managers, a class seventy years ago almost unknown, and their assumption of many of the functions of the profit-making "employer" of economic text-books—these changes are as momentous in their own way as the thrice-told tale of the early factory system. The period from 1850 to 1914 has now passed into history, and it should have its economic historian.

"Commerce and Industry," which has been produced by the Editor and staff of the *Victoria County History*, with an interesting preface by Sir William Ashley, does something to fill the gap. It consists of two volumes, of which the first is a chronological narrative extending from 1815 to 1914, and the second contains a useful collection of statistical tables. Its plan is to deal with commercial and industrial issues in the order and form in which they presented themselves to Parliament, and the authority mainly used is Hansard. This method has certain obvious limitations. It does not make for an understanding of the deeper currents. It presents problems piece-meal. It focuses attention on rather a narrow stage, where values are apt to be distorted by the glare of the footlights. Economic questions come before Parliament in their last stages, and it is not easy for a reader to estimate their significance unless he knows a good deal more about their background than can be inferred from proceedings in the House of Commons. Debates are interesting as evidence of opinion, but they are hardly authoritative as a statement of facts or an estimate of their importance. On the other hand, what is lost in breadth is gained in vividness. Economic problems seen through the eyes of contemporaries and commented on in their words gain in reality and concreteness. The half-conscious development of economic policy under the pressure of events is brought home to the reader. Speeches and opinions which were worthless as an explanation of the facts with which they were supposed to deal may be of capital importance as a revelation of political and economic psychology.

In a work planned on these lines the questions which are handled most successfully are those which have become the subject of great political debates. One does not go to the speeches of politicians for a lucid account of the law or an explanation of the various stages in the development of a social or economic problem. I am not sure that the lay reader could make very much of the account given in this book of the changes in the legal status of trade unionism, or that, unless he weighed the tables very carefully, he would understand the main features in the economic development of England after 1880, on which the light thrown by the Tariff controversy—the subject of one chapter—is more oblique than direct. But financial policy is excellently handled, and a really useful account is given of the outstanding budgets of the last hundred years, and of the arguments by which they were supported. The great political agitations on sensational changes of public policy lend themselves easily to the method adopted. The New Poor Law of 1834, the controversy over Factory Legislation, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and the Tariff Reform Movement are explained through the speeches of their supporters and critics. The least satisfactory chapter in the book is, perhaps, the last, of which the title is "Unrest," and which deals with the agitation in the industrial world in the four years

preceding the War. I do not think any one who did not know from personal knowledge something of what was taking place then, would learn from it very much of the causes or significance of the movements of those critical years. The writer has obviously tried to present a dispassionate account of questions about which men felt and feel strongly. But he writes, perhaps, somewhat with the air of one who has "got them up" for the occasion. The speeches in Parliament on "labour unrest," the minimum wage, unemployment, and syndicalism (which is curiously stated to be "a remedy put forward by some of the younger members of the Labour Party") will afford amusement to the malicious and embarrassment to most of those who made them. But it is proverbially impossible to write the history of the day before yesterday. As a whole, the book is a solid and valuable piece of work. Its utility is greatly increased by the excellent selection of statistical tables contained in the second volume.

R. H. TAWNEY.

Gambetta. By PAUL DESCHANEL. viii + 336 pp. 1920. Heinemann. 15s.

A PATHETIC interest attaches to this book, for it must have been the last piece of work done by the author before his election to the Presidency of the French Republic which ended in so sad and strange a fashion. The book deserves too a welcome for its own sake. There is not much literature on the foundation of the third French Republic accessible to English readers; most of the text-books end at Waterloo or Sedan, and Hanotaux's great book on "Contemporary France," though it has been translated, is too long for most readers, and much less attractive in its English dress than in the original. M. Deschanel knew Gambetta well and was, he tells us, introduced to political life by him; he writes of him with enthusiastic admiration but with discrimination and criticism. At the same time the circumstances of its composition will hardly allow this to become the final life of the hero. It was written, we are told, during the progress of the great war and, when we remember that, it is really remarkable how great a detachment of mind is shown in it and how little mere abuse of the enemy is indulged in. But a prominent politician engaged in a mortal struggle cannot be expected to devote his whole thought to any piece of literary work, and there is something jerky in the arrangement and presentation. Less than one-third of the book is given to the Franco-German war, and most readers would have liked more about the really heroic effort of Gambetta to save France after the disaster of Sedan. On the other hand the story of the foundation of the constitution and Gambetta's part in it is told most clearly and interestingly, and with full knowledge of the meaning of every detail. It is a strange story. Those who founded the republic hoped that it would by slight readjustment become a monarchy of the English pattern; they built better than they knew, but quite differently from what they intended. It was made, says Hanotaux, "without design and without method, blindly and as a result of give and take and indecisive majorities. *Le hasard fut notre maître.*" Yet it has given France the most durable form of government that she has known since the great Revolution. Gambetta was won over from decided hostility to warm support when he

saw what its possibilities were. He feared the second chamber especially at first and saw in it later the real guarantee of the republic.

There is much speculation just now as to the possible modifications which the republican constitution may receive as a consequence of the great victory which France has won. The chapter entitled "The spirit of the 1875 constitution" will be read with much interest. Clearly M. Deschanel recognises that changes must come and ought to come. He rejects the idea of a president of the American pattern as only suited to a federal constitution; but he recognises that the practice of dissolution after a ministerial defeat would make a great difference to the working of the system, and he wants the President of the Assembly to be non-partisan and to copy the behaviour of the English Speaker. "In the practical working of Parliamentary institutions we are centuries behind the English," he says with some exaggeration. Other interesting *obiter dicta* are scattered up and down the book, but we have no space to quote them.

The translation is agreeable but there are some slips in the printing. On p. 66 it is said the Germans took Toulon on September 23, which is amazing until one realises that it is a slip for Toul. I can make nothing of a statement on p. 300 which seems to say that if Gambetta had lived to 1914 he would have been 63. He was born in 1838.

A. J. GRANT.

Zeebrugge and Ostend Dispatches. Edited by PROFESSOR C. SANFORD TERRY. 224 pp.; 13 photographs, 5 plans. 1919. Milford, 6s. 6d.

From the hour in which this country made its momentous decision to place its armies beside those of France in defending the cause of civilization, there rested upon the shoulders of the British fleet the tremendous task of carrying soldiers to the front in hundreds of thousands, and in safety. The Channel ports were utilized for embarkation, but the whole frontage of Channel ports could be turned in flank through the water-gap of Dover Strait. It became instantly necessary, therefore, to close this thoroughfare, and closed it was to all surface vessels as effectively as with a portcullis of iron. The guardians of the gate were the ships and men of the Dover Patrol; and the work done by them under the direction successively of Admiral Hood, Admiral Bacon, and Sir Roger Keyes can never be too thankfully remembered by their countrymen. It was so silently, so secretly, and so unostentatiously done, that landsmen forgot the perils of the sea-road until some hospital-ship, relying on its privileged immunity, accepted submersible risks and was torpedoed. So silently, so secretly, and so unostentatiously did the guardians guard the gate, that Britons as a whole might never have learnt to show a proper appreciation of the Dover Patrol had it not been that in the last year of the war Sir Roger Keyes accepted for his flotilla alone a task that by all the canons of warfare should have been treated as a combined operation.

Unrestricted U-boat activity had brought this country nearer to irremediable catastrophe than any war-device of Parma or Napoleon. The collapse of Russia, with the consequent release of German forces, made it impossible for the allied armies of the west to redeem the coastline of Flanders. The seaward extension of the Flemish flats

made it equally impossible for the battle-fleet of England to pulverize the shore batteries. And Bruges had become a spear-point aimed at England's throat, because daily (almost hourly) fresh submarines constructed there were shot through the canals which reached North Sea orifices at Zeebrugge and Ostend. To draw the sting from these two places would have been a work of grave difficulty, even if an army could have been released from other theatres, and even if that army could have been put ashore and could have overcome the shore defences. Failing military assistance, the Dover Patrol by itself strangled in the darkness the terror of Bruges; and, choking the gullets of Zeebrugge and Ostend, pushed back the U-boat base of operations three hundred miles from our coast.

How the deed was done Professor Sanford Terry shows by the help of original documents. First, he takes the grand attack of April 23, and, after a brief introduction, quotes the report of Captain Carpenter, of the *Vindictive*, the official narrative issued by the Press Bureau, and in laughable juxtaposition the German Admiralty's account, with its vain attempt to camouflage the truth. The Professor then sums up results, shows why a second attack was needed at Ostend, and, after re-marshalling the forces, quotes similar authorities to those already quoted for the first attack. In every case he annotates his document with a running commentary of dates, names, and suchlike addenda, meticulous enough to satisfy the thirstiest craving for exactitude. The footnotes also embody references to ephemeral narratives, more especially those of participants or eye-witnesses.

The careful reader, who is ready to make an effort to assimilate things for himself, has therefore, by the time he reaches page 109, been put in possession of all the essential facts that bear on what in France has been called "the finest feat of arms in the naval history of all times and all countries." And, thus prepared, he will be able to read with understanding and profit the actual dispatches of Sir Roger Keyes, which fill up the remainder of the book (pp. 111-215).

By no means the least valuable adjuncts to a handy collection of material are the picturesque diagrams and the super-excellent photographs. Some cavillers will perhaps complain that maritime documents make heavy weather for the uninitiated; but whatever decorum attaches to flag-rank vocabulary, Captain Carpenter at least is breezy enough. As they sailed for Zeebrugge, the Admiral signalled "St. George for England!", drawing from the *Vindictive* the pertinent reply, "May we give the Dragon's tail a damned good twist!"

GEOFFREY CALLENDER.

The War and Social Reform. By BASIL WORSFOLD. 1919. Murray. 6s.

Economic Phenomena Before and After War. By SLAVCO ŠEĆEROV. 1919. Routledge. 10s. 6d.

MR. BASIL WORSFOLD'S *The War and Social Reform* was written in September, 1918, and has as "its primary purpose to tell and help others to tell the men who have fought for England and the Empire that we at home are seeing to it that their sacrifices shall not have been made in vain." It contains a summary of some of the changes in agricultural and industrial organisation made during

the war, together with some proposals for others. It would be unfair to criticise it. Its irrelevance to-day is less the fault of the author than of the change of circumstances and temper since he wrote. It has some historical interest as an illustration of the way in which during the war an able and kindly man looked at some of our social and industrial problems.

The aim of Mr. Šečerov's book, *Economic Phenomena Before and After War*, is to discover "a possible statistical connection between the state of economic phenomena in a community and an approaching war." The subject is interesting and important; nor, as far as the reviewer knows, has it ever been adequately investigated. Mr. Šečerov certainly succeeds in presenting a *prima facie* case for further inquiry. The argument is difficult, though that is possibly not any criticism upon the author. What it is designed to show is that in the periods immediately preceding war economic development displays certain special characteristics—a declining phase in the growth of population, an ascending phase of consumption, and a disproportionately large production of "secondary" as compared with "primary" goods. The result is held to be an unstable equilibrium which is followed by war. The statistics are abundant and suggestive. The weakest point in the book is perhaps the omission to explain the process by which economic pressure is in practice translated into the political reasons (or pretexts) advanced for war. But Mr. Šečerov would probably answer that to do that is outside his province.

R. H. TAWNEY.

A Handbook to the League of Nations. By SIR GEOFFREY BUTLER. Longmans. 1919. 5s.

Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations. By D. P. HEATLEY. Clarendon Press. 1919. 7s. 6d.

An Introduction to the Peace Treaties. By A. P. SCOTT. University of Chicago Press. 1919. \$2.

THESE three books on kindred topics, of which we regret notice has been so long delayed, have been followed by many others on similar subjects. An itch to record, comment on, expound, and otherwise write about diplomacy, and things international generally, has recently been afflicting writers whose zeal is more worthy of praise than their knowledge or experience. These three books have, however, been written by historians who have come to their subjects in the natural course of their studies and thus avoided many of the pitfalls into which even the most circumspect may fall when traversing new country. Sir Geoffrey Butler's *Handbook* shows how necessary is a knowledge both of International Law and of International Diplomacy to an exposition of the Covenant, and his little book is therefore the best short account of it which has yet appeared. The same practical wisdom and shrewd appreciation of the foibles of mankind which enabled him to play so distinguished a part during the war have also made it something more than an academic study. The various factors which have gone to the making of the League are admirably brought out in a succinct and lively narrative, and nowhere are so many different points of view combined in so small a compass. The treatment is necessarily slight; but the forty-eight pages contain a mass of information and suggestion, and are followed

by that commentary on the Covenant which is so much to the credit of the Secretariat of the League of Nations Section of the British Delegation at the Paris Conference. Lord Robert Cecil's Introduction of a few pregnant sentences effectively damns the Balance of Power.

Mr. Heatley's *Study* is aimed at a different class of readers. A work which furnishes students with a guide to the essentials of diplomatic history is badly needed, since Sir Ernest Satow's volumes are more for the use of the diplomatist than the historian. It is all the more to be regretted, therefore, that Mr. Heatley has not made a better arrangement of the large mass of facts of every kind which he has collected together in this book and which are the result of a very wide reading. There is no logical connexion between the different parts of the book and no perspective at all. Long quotations from abstruse writers on a variety of topics are interspersed with summaries of modern text-books, and it is impossible to find any principle which has dictated the choice of the subjects to which attention is directed. But, if the book be simply regarded as a quarry of valuable material, it has its uses, and the judicious reader will find much that it will take him a long time to extract from the sources which Mr. Heatley has consulted.

Professor Scott's clear and impartial *Introduction to the Peace Treaties* (which, however, appeared at too early a date to include that with Turkey) should be useful for study circles. The various points of view on most of the big problems are concisely stated, and the reader is left to draw his own conclusions, though Professor Scott admits a bias in favour of the League of Nations and is throughout appreciative of the best side of British policy. The book is also one more proof of the influence which *The New Europe* exerted outside England.

C. K. WEBSTER.

Practical Hints for Junior Teachers: the History Lesson. By

PROFESSOR A. A. COCK. iv+32 pp. E. Arnold 6d.

The Teaching of History. By E. L. HASLUCK. iii+121 pp. 1920. Cambridge Univ. Press. 8s.

History as a School of Citizenship. By HELEN M. MADELEY. 106 pp. 1920. Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d.

THESE three books, whose differences of price are by no means proportionate to their differences of either size or value, offer guidance and advice to the teacher of history both as to the aim which he should keep in view and as to the means which he should employ to achieve his aim.

Professor Cock's little pamphlet on "The History Lesson," though limited to thirty-two pages, is packed full of concentrated wisdom and useful suggestions. It contains ten sections, each of which could easily be expanded into a chapter, or even into a volume. Its treatment is so highly condensed that it is difficult to summarise it further within the limits of a review. Let it suffice to indicate the main contentions of the author, and to urge every history teacher, whether junior or senior, to procure the pamphlet and make its contents his own by diligent perusal. Professor Cock advocates a thematic rather than a chronological presentation of history; he gives judicious advice as to the use of time-charts and other apparatus; he indicates the modes of instruction suited to the

different school ages of the children; he defends the use of text-books, but he strongly urges that they should be supplemented by the employment of original sources; he provides valuable suggestions concerning the correlation of history with the other subjects of the curriculum. Even when—as in the departure from chronology—he does not command assent, he is always inspiring and stimulating.

Mr. Hasluck writes comprehensively, sensibly, and well, on all aspects of his subject: but his book suffers from lack of adequate table of contents, section headings, and index. It is not easy to refer to him on any particular topic. His "Introduction" is an omnibus into which are thrust indiscriminately opinions concerning matters so diverse as the purpose of history teaching, the sort of history to be taught, the grading of the syllabus, modes of instruction, and the materials for a three years' course in English history. Close reading is necessary to sort the subjects out. The subsequent chapters have more unity. They deal successively with the presentation of history, the correlation of history with kindred studies, the use of libraries and museums, and pitfalls into which teachers are liable to tumble. Finally, Mr. Hasluck provides specimen lessons and a short bibliography.

Miss Madeley's aim is to show how history can be so taught as to subserve the ends of citizenship. She is no jingo, and no exclusive patriot. But she recognises the fact that the individual's best chance of self-realisation, and his best opportunity of rendering service to mankind, is through the State of which he is a citizen. She feels, moreover, that history is the effective means by which the young intelligence can be trained to realise the greatness of its heritage and the splendour of its possibilities. Nothing could be saner, wiser, or more truly international than her outlook. When she comes to discuss how, especially by means of local history, the civic sense may be developed in children she is full of sound suggestion based on wide experience and experiment.

F. J. C. HEARNshaw.

Pictures of Social Life. By E. STEVINSON. 1920. 153 pp. Harrap. 2s.

The Story of Cambridgeshire. By W. CUNNINGHAM. 1920. Cambridge University Press. 5+63 pp. 5s.

From Gild to Factory: A First Course of Economic History. By ALFRED MILNES. 3rd edition. 1920. 179 pp. Macdonald & Evans. 3s.

A Social History of England. By E. M. WILMOT-BUXTON. 1920. xii+222 pp. Methuen. 6s.

PSYCHOLOGY and social science have of late combined to force reform in both the subject-matter and methods of history teaching. Knotty problems of religious philosophy and of constitutional law are recognised as hard food for the child to digest, and his attention is now directed to the social rather than the political, to the lives of the people rather than the Government. To awaken interest is now the aim rather than to supply knowledge; but this carries with it the danger that the enthusiast may not insist on scientific accuracy or so train the memory and the will as to form sound habits of scholarship in his class. Miss Stevinson should beware

of this pitfall. Her little reader belongs rather to fiction than to history. The stories are readable and the illustrations calculated to attract children and set them questioning, but both draw more deeply on the imagination than on historical evidence, except in the case of the small insets drawn from well-known manuscripts.

On the other hand the late Dr. Cunningham's book, which incorporates lectures given to teachers and is altogether adult in style, sparkles with illuminating sidelights on mediæval life, and is compact with reliable information. In most political histories the life of the people is of secondary interest, and for its understanding we still need that masses of evidence should be collated and sifted with the utmost care by experts in research. Such evidence often lies hidden among the details of local history, and in *The Story of Cambridgeshire* the experience of such an expert is offered to the teachers of the town. Its scientific value is, however, available for a much wider circle, since the story of Cambridge is but a sample of the life of England, and to display it from its primitive beginnings through the periods of Roman, early English, Norman and mediæval rule is to cut a section through the growth of the nation and examine its structure as with a microscope. It illustrates national history at almost all points.

From Gild to Factory is a book addressed to the adult student beginning to read economics, and is a handy monograph. Except in chapter I, where he attempts a summary account of the making of England, the author relies strictly on his economic studies, describing the gradations in the organisation of industry from the domestic stage to the capitalistic factory system of to-day; and since the English is the only economy dealt with, the sub-title of the book is perhaps a little misleading. Mr. Milnes gives an interesting account of the Danish influence on our early commerce and the growth of gilds. The episode of the Black Death is treated as causal rather than as the culminating incident in an evolutionary change such as recent research indicates. The summary of agricultural history, which, by the way, would surely come more naturally before the story of the industrial revolution, contains a valuable discussion of that much abused term "enclosures."

Very different from the last in scope is Miss Wilmot-Buxton's *Social History*, and also in being addressed to children. Its scope is the vast one of accounting for the changes in our social life from 450 A.D. to 1900, and as the author herself says, "much has been dealt with in a brief and elementary fashion." There is a somewhat uncritical demand among teachers for compendious manuals on the new subject of social history, and this Miss Wilmot-Buxton's book seems calculated to meet effectively. The text is marred by the heavy type headings so common in schoolbooks; but the plan of concentrating on typical topics and at times even on particular examples makes possible some use of detail which is further aided by brilliant scraps, only too brief, from contemporary writings. Scientific treatment is perhaps harder to attain in this branch of history than in any other, especially in a small book on so vast a field, otherwise such omissions as that of the common field system of farming, forming as it does the background to the growth of manors, towns, and courts, would be unaccountable.

M. E. MONCKTON JONES.

SHORT NOTICES

IN *Scenes from the Life of Long Ago*, by I. M. Gamble and K. G. Maris (74 pp.; Heffer, 2s. 6d.), the new methods of history teaching appear. Five little plays are produced, one from the desk of a school-girl of fifteen, and we are told that the plays have already been successfully staged at school. They illustrate early British life, and are the outcome of practice in dramatisation of history lessons. This method of illustrating history is natural to children and certainly if well conducted helps them to a live interest in unfamiliar times and conditions. The book should be welcomed by teachers, especially as an indication of what children may be brought to do; for the child's own product will teach him more, however rough it be, than any ready-made adult's play. Antique forms have led the writers into slight errors here and there: "lie thee" for "lie thou," and an unnecessary use of inversion, etc. The simpler the language the better, archaism may overload, not embellish. M. E. M. J.

Henry III, by J. F. Waight (Allen and Unwin), the first of three plays in a "Trilogy of Freedom," suffers dramatically to some extent from the nature of its subject and intention, the former delaying the action by much financial discussion, the latter compelling writer and reader to a rather conventional view of Simon de Montfort's merits. It has, however, spirit and colour and at times a real poetic fervour. H. J.

THE new edition of *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries* (Bell; 16s.) has undergone no revision. But the original work is, in a sense, a classic; and Cardinal Gasquet, occupied as he has been for years with service in another field of learning, was probably well advised to leave it substantially as in the fifth edition (1899), when he revised many of the references to bring them into accord with Dr. Gairdner's volumes in the *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, issued since the work was first published in 1888. To the cheaper reprint of 1906 he added a preface dealing with the evidence of Cromwell's Visitors in 1535; and the only change made in this 8th edition is a second new preface of five pages, illustrating from the records of Glastonbury and Durham the relations between the monks and their tenants. E. J. D.

It is not the fault of Sir A. W. Ward that the connecting links between the two subjects of his singularly interesting lecture on *Shakespeare and the Makers of Virginia* (The British Academy [Milford], 4s.) are of so slight a character. He is able to lay emphasis on the suggestive fact that the description of the shipwreck in *The Tempest* is almost certainly derived from a private letter written from Virginia by William Strachey; but he is too discerning a critic to be able to follow Professor Gayley in his endeavour to connect the opinions of Shakespeare with those of the founders of Virginia. None the less valuable, however, is his account of those founders, and

his masterly, though brief, analysis of the political views put forward in the various plays. It may be noted that the date of the introduction of tobacco into Virginia is given on one page as 1606, and in the next as 1616. Is not the date of Rolph's action generally given as 1612? There seems confusion with regard to the period of government of Sir Thomas Dale. It seems to be implied that, after his arrival in 1611, he was superseded in the same year by Gates, and did not resume the government till 1614.

H. E. E.

Two more volumes of Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher's *Historical Portraits* have come from the Clarendon Press (12s. 6d. each), vol. iii., covering the eighteenth century, and vol. iv., bringing the series down to 1850, at which date, we presume, portraits cease to be, or rather have not yet become, historical. Mr. C. F. Bell, of the Ashmolean Department of Fine Art, contributes an interesting introduction on British portrait-painting during the period, somewhat critical of the great Reynolds-Gainsborough-Romney school, but more appreciative of "the greatest portraitist of the succeeding generation—Sir Thomas Lawrence." He also deals with the sculptors and medallists, with occasional reference to the caricaturists, who are not represented in these reproductions. The opening sentence of his second paragraph—"The year 1723, which witnessed the disappearance of Kneller and the birth of Sir Joshua Reynolds, saw also the accession of Louis XV."—causes a little wonder at first sight; what is meant is that Louis XV., who had succeeded his great-grandfather in 1715, completed his thirteenth year in 1723, thus by the law of France attaining his royal majority and terminating the Regency of Orleans. Mr. Fletcher's biographical notes are also a characteristic record of personal predilections, emphatically expressed. He is too pronounced a personality himself to give his characters much chance unless they personate his own opinions. "To call Fox a patriot would be to justify Dr. Johnson's terrible definition of that word." But the sketches are lively and entertaining, and the frankness of the caricature and the invective is their best antidote. The literary characters are more attractive than the political. Samuel Richardson displeases Mr. Fletcher most, but politics intrude even upon the literary portraits, and "it is eminently characteristic of Lord Macaulay that he affected a boundless enthusiasm for Richardson's works." Nevertheless, these four volumes make a splendid historical portrait gallery.

THE Library Committee of the City Corporation is to be commended for issuing a facsimile of *A Letter from the Committee of New York to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, 5th May, 1775*. The Editor supplies a prefatory note which reproduces, as is appropriate, the point of view of the City of London of the time. A short notice is not the place for controversy; but the unwary reader may be reminded that there is another side to the shield; and that distinguished American historians have been found in open revolt from the Bancroft tradition. Meanwhile it is interesting to note that even the more moderate supporters of the American cause could speak of "the ignominious yoke" and "the galling fetters of slavery." At the time, however, they still professed themselves "zealous for an indissoluble union with the parent State," and impressed "with the necessity of a controlling authority to harmonise the commercial interests of the various parts."

H. E. E.

The Story of our Empire, by Percy R. Salmon (Harrap; 276 pp.; 3s.) is flag-wagging of the most aggressively jingo type, a product of war-excitement and likely to sow the seed of future war in the minds of readers either British or foreign. The crying need that our democracy should grasp the responsibilities which the Empire lays on them and learn to deal with them in a spirit of justice and generosity makes the production of such works the more culpable.

M. E. M. J.

MR. C. R. L. FLETCHER, the author of *The Great War, 1914-18* (Murray, 6s.), explains that it stands substantially as it was written in the six weeks following the armistice, and he fears that it may be found to contain many mistakes. As described on the wrapper, it is a living story of the principal events, written in a vivid style. A good sense of proportion has been shown in selecting features of the war for more detailed description. The author has the confidence of his opinions and is free with his criticisms, which, on the facts as known at the time, are sound and well balanced. In the light of later evidence he has probably altered his opinion that Maunoury, who we now know was acting under the orders of Gallieni, "spoiled Joffre's strategic plan," by attacking von Kluck's exposed flank, and so opening the way to the first victory of the Marne. While as a rule critical of politicians, the author has no good word to say for Nivelle, who suffered so severely from their influence upon his plans. Nearly all the places mentioned in the text are marked on the outline maps, a great virtue in a book claiming to be only a "sketch," not always to be found in more pretentious histories.

G. G. A.

A Concise Historical Atlas, by B. V. Darbishire (33 pp., Bell, 1920, 2s), and a *Pictorial Atlas of English History*, by J. S. Lay (48 pp., Macmillan, 1919, 1s. 6d.), are both books of diagrams rather than atlases. The former gives, by means of bold sketches, a remarkable amount of text-book information about the development of the political boundaries of the countries of Europe, particularly in the 19th century, and as a result of the war. To this is added a wealth of diagrams on the development of the world and of the British Empire, as well as a very full list of dates giving the chief military and political events in connection with the maps. The *Pictorial Atlas* is a work of a type very common in the past, intended to present history in a popular and graphic manner, but with insufficient attention to its effect in creating sound impressions. Some of the maps are seriously misleading, e.g., the battlefields of the Wars of the Roses are represented as occurring in Plantagenet times; the original thirteen colonies of the American Union are shown as the earliest settlements in America. Some of the pictures round the maps are little better—a castellated round tower is shown for a Norman castle; a figure in bombast breeches and a Tudor ruff, with a round shield, is given as a typical Stuart warrior. These are a few of many obvious errors.

J. A. W.

OTHER writers of text-books would do well to follow the example of the late Dr. Vincent Smith, who, a few months before his death, not only added a summary of events from 1912 to 1919 to the 8th edition of his *Student's History of India* (Clarendon Press, 3s.; 7th edition reviewed *supra*, July, 1919) and incorporated the list of additions and corrections into the text, but so thoroughly revised it as

to enable him to conclude his preface, characteristically: "the book now agrees with my other publications and is as accurate as I can make it with my present knowledge."

VOLUMES XVI. and XVII., Oct. 1918-July 1920, of the *Scottish Historical Review* (MacLehose; 4s. a quarter), contain an unusual number of articles of general interest. Among them are Dr. Neilson's on Brus *versus* Balliol, 1291-2 (Oct., 1918), suggesting that the civilians employed by Edward I. found in the Roman law precedents for the Court whose *centumvirale iudicium* awarded the crown to Balliol; Professor Hannay's on The Church Lands at the Reformation (*ibid.*) and on Gibraltar in 1727 (July, 1919); Miss Margaret Adam's on the causes of the Highland Emigrations to America, 1770-5 and 1783-1803 (July, 1919, and Jan., 1920); and Professor W. P. Ker's on the Spanish Story of the Armada (April, 1920). There are also some important reviews, and the number for Jan., 1919 includes an appreciation by Professor Firth of the work of the late Professor Hume Brown, with a bibliography and portrait.

AMONG the contents of Vol. V., April, 1919-Jan., 1920, of the *Catholic Historical Review* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.; \$3 annually) are the following, of interest to others besides students of the history of Roman Catholicism. Documents (all translated): Father Exobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California (1604), edited by Dr. H. E. Bolton from a copy lately found in the Archivo General de Indias; the second part of the Pedro Fages MS. on California (1770), edited by Dr. H. I. Priestley; the answers given by Fr. José Señan, of California, to a long *Interrogatorio* on the condition of the Indians issued by the Spanish Government in 1812, edited by the Rev. Z. Engelhardt. Articles: the Church in Greenland in the Middle Ages, by Dr. L. M. Larson; A Franciscan in California (Lasuén: d. 1803), by Dr. C. E. Chapman; Paul de St. Pierre of Illinois (1751-1826), by the Rev. J. Rothensteiner; and a Guide to the Materials in the archives of Westminster Cathedral on American Church History, 1675-1798, by Dr. P. Guilday.

WE have also received Professor Hutton Webster's *Early European History: Ancient Times* (Harrap; 6s.), which is practically the same as a book we have already reviewed (*supra*, April, 1916), with some omissions in the text and additional illustrations; *The Church, the Empire and the World*, a collection of addresses by Sir Arthur Hirtzel, Assistant Under-Secretary for India (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.); and *The Royal Guide to Windsor Castle* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.) by the late Sir W. St. John Hope, based upon his well known architectural *History of Windsor Castle*. In the research preliminary to that work so much new material came to light that the accepted history of the castle had to be completely rewritten; the results are indicated in this admirable guide book by plans of the two wards, coloured so as to show the dates of all parts of the building, from the 12th century to the 19th.

E. J. D.

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH, 1919-20.

[Under this heading it is proposed to indicate the main lines of historical research pursued in various Schools of History, by giving lists of theses and publications accepted for higher degrees, essays by graduates awarded University Prizes, etc.,¹ with the names of the Professors and other teachers, if any, under whose direction they were prepared. When the work has been printed particulars of publication will be added in footnotes. In each University the degree of Doctor of (or in) Letters (or Literature) may be awarded on consideration of the candidate's whole contribution to the advancement of learning; in all except Birmingham, Leeds, and London the work submitted must be published. Theses accepted for the lower degrees are frequently published later, wholly or in part.²]

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

PRIZE ESSAYS.

The *Adam Smith Prize* (triennial) is for a subject in economic science or economic history. The *Hare Prize* (quadrennial) is for a subject in ancient Greek or Roman history. The *Le Bas Prize* (annual) is "for the best English essay on a subject of general literature, such subject to be occasionally chosen with reference to the history, institutions, and probable destinies and prospects of the Anglo-Indian Empire." One of the *Members' Prizes* (annual) is for "an English essay on some subject connected with British history or literature." The *Prince Consort Prize* and *Thirlwall Prize* are given in alternate years for historical essays.

The Thirlwall Prize was not awarded in 1919.

Prince Consort, 1920.

*The Art of War in Italy, 1494-1528.*³ By F. L. Taylor.

*The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration.*³ By C. S. S. Higham.

RESEARCH DEGREES.

Historical subjects may be offered for the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Doctor of Philosophy (instituted 1919), and Doctor of Letters. Copies of the theses are deposited in the University Library.

Research B.A.

Candidates for this degree carry on their work "under the direction and supervision prescribed by the Degree Committee, and under such conditions, if any, as may be laid down by that Committee."

1919. The causes which determined the Fall of the Roman Republic. By H. M. Thurston.

Serbia at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. By K. T. Lukovitch.

1920. The Commotes of Snowdonia. By G. L. Jones.

Litt.D.

Candidates for this degree must be Masters of at least five years' standing, or Bachelors of Medicine of at least seven years' standing, and must submit printed work which claims to be an original contribution to the advancement of science

¹ The regulations under which the various degrees and prizes are awarded may be found in the *Calendars* of the respective Universities.

² Publication as a book is indicated by printing the title in italics, publisher and date being given in the notes. Publication in other forms is indicated by the notes only. In the doctorate lists, etc. signifies various papers and articles.

³ Both these essays, and also that by Mr. R. H. Snape on *Monastic Finance in the Middle Ages* (*supra*, iv, 241), will be published by the Cambridge University Press in 1921.

or learning. Since the Degree Committee never specifies the extent to which the several works submitted to them by the same author have influenced their favourable judgment, it is only possible here to specify one of the author's principal works.

1920. E. H. Minns. *Scythians and Greeks*.¹

G. G. COULTON.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS.

M.A.

John of Salisbury and the Becket Conference. By Sybil V. Lumb. 1920. (Miss Cooke.)

St. Francis and England. By G. R. Whittaker. 1919. (Miss Cooke.)

Wentworth in Ireland. By Marguerite Gillman. 1919. (Prof. Grant.)

The Fall of Clarendon. By A. Dobson. 1919. (Prof. Grant.)

Dryden as a Mirror of his Age. By Elsie Jennings. 1920. (Prof. Grant.)

The Abolition and Emancipation Movements in England. By Ida Garton. 1919. (Prof. Grant.)

A. J. GRANT.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

M.A.

In this University graduates in Honours proceed to the M.A. Degree by reports on research work in progress, under approved Teachers, and only those who obtained a pass degree are required to present a thesis for the M.A.

The Pitmen of Tyneside and Weardale: Conditions of their Life and Work in the first half of the Nineteenth Century: with some reference to the Keelmen and Sailors engaged in the Coal Trade. By Bessie B. F. Allan. 1920. (Dr. G. S. Veitch.)

The Reform Movement in Tyneside and Wearside, 1812-1832. By Mary B. G. Allan. 1920. (Dr. G. S. Veitch.)

C. K. WEBSTER.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

Historical subjects may be offered not only for the degrees of M.A., Ph.D. (instituted 1919), and D.Lit., but also for those of M.Sc. (instituted 1914) and D.Sc. (Economics). Copies of all theses and publications accepted are deposited in the University Library, South Kensington.

M.A.

Theses accepted for External M.A. are not included in this list, as they were not prepared under the direction of the University.

The Irish Society, 1609-1625. By Marjorie E. Perrott. 1920. (Prof. Newton and Mr. W. B. Worsfold.)

The organisation of the English Factories in the East Indies, 1600-1642. By Mary W. Thomas. 1920. (Prof. Newton and Mr. W. B. Worsfold.)

The Adhesion of the Royal Navy to Parliament at the outbreak of the Civil War. By Isabel G. Powell. 1919. (Mr. J. W. Allen.)

The Evolution of the Administration of the Treasury in England during the years 1660-1714. By Doris M. Gill. 1919. (Mr. E. I. Carlyle and Miss Helen Cam.)

The Relations between England and the Scandinavian Countries in the Seventeenth Century as illustrated by the acquaintance shown by English writers with Scandinavian languages, literature and myths. By Mary E. Seaton. 1920. (Prof. Caroline Spurgeon.)

D.Sc. Econ.

1919. G. H. Scholefield. *The Pacific, Past and Future, and the policy of the Great Powers from the Eighteenth Century*.²

1920. External. A. W. Parry. *Education in England in the Middle Ages*.³

D.Lit.

1920. J. Mann. *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*; ⁴ various articles in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, etc.

E. JEFFRIES DAVIS.

¹ Cambridge University Press, 1913.

² Murray, 1919.

³ Tutorial Press, 1920.

⁴ Milford, 1920.

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.¹

Historical theses and published work may be offered for the degrees of M.A., M.Ed., M.Com., Ph.D. (instituted 1918), D.D. and D.Litt.

Fellowship and graduate scholarships are also awarded on condition of undertaking research.

M.A.

The Stapeldon-Melton Exchequer Reforms and their Execution. By Dorothy M. Browne. 1920. (Prof. Tout.)

(a) *John Smith the Se-Baptist, Thomas Helwys and the first Baptist Church in England*;² (b) *John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers*.³ By the Rev. W. H. Burgess. 1920.

The Old Dissenting Meeting House: its Structure, Furniture and Services. By the Rev. G. Randall Jones, B.D. 1919. (Prof. Tout and the Rev. A. Gordon.)

The Settlement of the Madras Presidency, 1765-1827. By Annie Bradley. 1920. (Prof. Muir.)

The Development up to 1818 of the Relations of the British Power in India with the Native States. By Phyllis J. Mudie. 1920. (Prof. Muir.)

The Early English Cotton Industry.⁴ By G. W. Daniels. 1920. (Prof. Unwin.)

D.D. (partial fulfilment of requirements).

1920. The Rev. H. McLachlan. *The Methodist Unitarian Movement*;⁵ *The Letters of Theophilus Lindsey*.⁶

T. F. TOUT.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

The Prizes for Historical Essays were all suspended in 1919, and the Beit and Herbert and Arnold in 1920 also.

Lothian. 1920. *The Knights of Malta*. By R. Cohen.

RESEARCH DEGREES.

Historical subjects may be offered for the degrees of Bachelor of Letters, Doctor of Philosophy (instituted 1918) and Doctor of Letters.

B.Litt.

Candidates for this degree carry on their work under the supervision of the Board of Faculty within whose sphere their subject falls, and that Board subsequently appoints the examiners of the candidates, and recommends those approved for the degree. It is not always possible to say under what particular professor a candidate's work was conducted, and therefore the Boards are mentioned instead.

January-June 1919.⁷

Roman Education under the Empire. By A. O. Gwynne. (*Literæ Humaniores*.)

The History of the Church of Serbia, 1219-1463. By Y. S. Andrić. (*Theology*.)

The History of the Serbian Church under Turkish Rule. By P. Yevtić. (*Theology*.)

Cyprus under the Turks, 1571-78. By H. C. Luke. (*Modern History*.)

Religious Controversies in the Sixteenth Century, and their Influence in France and England. By I. Georgević. (*Theology*.)

¹ In the last list (*supra*, iv, 180) the degrees obtained by Elsie Tesh, Dorothy Sutcliffe, Margaret Tout, Florence M. G. Evans and Sophia Weitzman were wrongly dated; all were conferred in 1919. On the other hand there was an omission: the Langton fellowship thesis on *The Chartist Movement*, by the late Mark Hovell, since completed and edited by Professor Tout and published by the Manchester University Press (1918).

² James Clarke, 1911.

³ Williams and Norgate, 1920.

⁴ Manchester University Press, 1920.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ For theses accepted in 1918 *vide supra*, iv, 244. That by T. J. Haarhoff on *Schools of Gaul* has been published by Milford, 1920.

Session 1919-20.

Bodleian MSS. relating to the later Tudors, with special reference to the Currency Literature of the Period. By F. J. Routledge. (Modern History.)

The Last Years of a Frontier: a History of the Borders during the Reign of Elizabeth. By D. L. W. Tough. (Modern History: Prof. Firth.)

*Wales in the Seventeenth Century.*¹ By J. C. Morrice. (Modern History: Prof. Firth.)

The Administration of Scotland during the Reigns of Charles II. and James VII. By W. B. Gray. (Modern History: Prof. Firth.)

A Critical Examination of Bossuet's Attitude on the Question of the Gallican Church. By V. A. A. Barry. (Modern History.)

A Comparison of the British System of Colonial Government in the American Colonies during the Half-Century preceding the Revolution with that in British Canada before the Rebellion of 1837. By W. J. Mulholland. (Modern History: Prof. Egerton.)

The Development of Ideas as to the relations which should exist between the United Kingdom and the Dominions since the grant of Responsible Self-Government. By H. H. Duncan. (Modern History: Prof. Egerton.)

A Comparison of the Currency and Banking Systems of Canada and the United States with some reference to that of Great Britain. By C. E. Johnston. (Modern History.)

Recent Progress in the Application of Theories of Taxation. By R. W. Green. (Modern History.)

C. H. FIRTH.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES.

A., B., C. indicate Aberystwith (Prof. Edward Edwards), Bangor (Prof. J. E. Lloyd), and Cardiff (Prof. H. Bruce) respectively.

M.A.

1918-19.

The Cymwds of Gwynedd, prior to the Edwardian Conquest. By G. L. Jones (A.).

The History of the Town, Lordship and Castle of Builth. By G. Wozen-croft (A.).

Carmarthenshire under the Tudors. By T. H. Lewis (C.).

Early Methodist Associations and Societies in Wales. By M. Gelly (C.).

The Chartist Movement in Wales. By Myfanwy Williams (B.).

1919-20.

Hill-top Camps, with special reference to those of North Cardiganshire. By R. U. Sayce (A.).

The Lordship and Castle of Chirk, 1282-1660. By Mary Jones (A.).

The Available Data for the Black Death in Wales. By Winifred S. Williams (C.).

The Contribution of Wales to the British Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By W. A. Bebb (A.).

HERBERT BRUCE.

¹ Bangor: Jarvis and Foster, 1918.

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS

- ANGLO-GALLIC COINS. By L. M. Hewlett. xvi+278 pp.+xvii plates. A. H. Baldwin and Sons. 15s.
- A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By Williston Walker. xiii+624 pp. T. and T. Clark. 14s.
- AN OUTLINE ITINERARY OF KING HENRY THE FIRST. By W. Farrer, Litt.D. 182 pp. Oxford Univ. Press. 18s. (Reprinted from *English Historical Review*, July and Oct., 1919.)
- THE CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF EDWARD OF CARNARVON. By T. F. Tout. 50 pp. (From "the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.") 2s.
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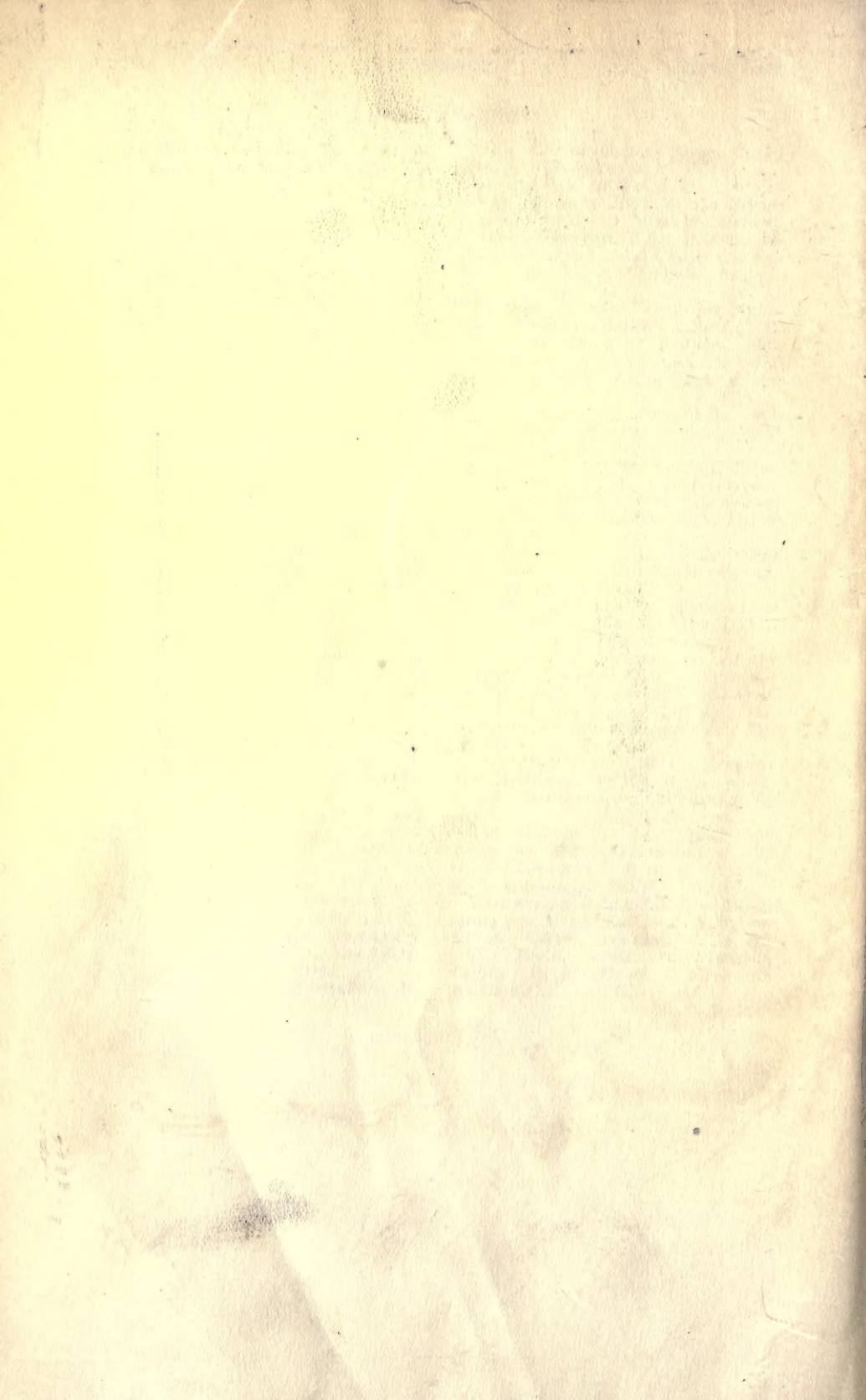
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